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* The articles in this volume are arranged in the order in which they were presented at the congress, with the exception of the session on "Christianity in Rus' Before 988." The papers in that section have been rearranged chronologically, and the article by Miroslav Labunka, originally in the session on "Problems of the Kievan Legacy," has been added to it—*The editors*.

BYZANTIUM AND OLD RUS'

ST. VOLODIMER

ORGANIZATION OF THE CHURCH

ECHOES AND AFTERMATH OF THE CONVERSION

LINGUISTIC ASPECTS

IDEOLOGICAL ASPECTS

JURIDICAL ASPECTS

Preface

In preparing the International Congress Commemorating the Millennium of Christianity in Rus'-Ukraine, its organizers were guided by two considerations: that our speakers be the leading scholars in the field, and that a comparative approach be used in treating the topic of the Millennium and its aftermath. The present volume bears testimony that the organizers adhered to these two guidelines. We hope that the results of the Ravenna proceedings offered here will meet with the approval of the international scholarly community.

The following Italian institutions and committees contributed to the success of the congress and therefore helped shape the present volume: Comune di Ravenna; Assessorato alla Cultura del Comune di Roma; Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo (Spoleto); Dipartimento di Paleografia e Medievistica, Università di Bologna; Comité International des Études Slavo-Romanes; Associazione Italiana degli Slavisti; and the members of the Italian Committee (for the Millennium), Antonio Carile (Bologna), Michele Colucci (Rome), Ovidio Capitani (Bologna), Ludovico Gatto (Rome), and Riccardo Picchio (Naples).

Proper intellectual principles do not by themselves assure the success of a scholarly undertaking. Fully to assure its success, such an undertaking needs enlightened patronage. We would not have been able to hold the congress or produce this volume without generous financial support coming from two sources: the initial gift by the late Josyf Cardinal Slipyj; and the help extended by the Millennium of Rus'-Ukraine Christianity Committee (New York), headed by Dr. Stephen Woroch. The latter's unstinting efforts aroused the Ukrainian community in the United States to action. Our thanks, as well as those of scholars at large, go to those benefactors.

A publication even well conceived and generously supported cannot see the light of day without the work of the editorial staff. We thank Uliana M. Pasicznyk and Kathryn Dodgson Taylor for steering the volume through all the stages of production.

The editors also appreciate the help of those colleagues who checked the non-English texts, namely: Vladimir Vodoff and Dominique Négrel (Paris), who read the French; Riccardo Picchio (Naples) and Federica Lamperini (Harvard University), who read the Italian; and Nina Pritsak (Wellesley), who read the German articles.

Omeljan Pritsak
Ihor Ševčenko

OPENING REMARKS

I

OMELJAN PRITSAK

Високопреосвященні Владики,
Високоповажані Пані і Панове,
Дорогі Друзі!

Сьогодні ми з Вами переживаємо одну із унікальних подій в історії культурного людства. Щасливим керуванням судьби, ми удостоїлися бути свідками і учасниками Тисячолітнього Ювілею Хрещення Руси-України.

Майже точно до дня, тисячу років тому, в день Сошествія св. Духа р. б. 988, каґан Руси Володимир Святославич вирішив у Києві, столиці України, що кияни і його Русь повинні прийняти віру Спасителя.

Це був не тільки знаменний релігійний та політичний акт. З хвилиною охрещення почала входити на Русь вища культура базована на письмі. Дотеперішнє циклічне думання замінило лінеарне. Почалася творити на Руси-Україні свідомість своєї землі і свого народу. Почав вистукувати невпинно годинник історії.

Я дуже щасливий і гордий, що мені припала ця висока честь бути президентом Міжнародного Конґресу Тисячоліття Християнства Руси-України.

Я від серця вдячний усім Вам, учасникам Конґресу, доповідачам, студентам та гостям, що своєю активною участю Ви вшановуєте наше всенародне святкування, що завдяки Вам стало також святом всесвітньої науки.

Окрема подяка—яку я складаю також від імени своїх гарвардських колеґ—належиться італійським колеґам, Високопреосвященному Архиєпископові та Управі міста Равенни, що свідомі своєї великої традиції столиці візантійського екзархату, прийняли нас до свого гостинного міста.

В минулому році—як друга із чотирьох точок нашого Гарвардського Проєкту Тисячоліття (першою була організація Конґресу), ми почали видавати багатотомову „Гарвардську Бібліотеку Давнього Українського Письменства.'' Як третий том „Бібліотеки'' появилася „Палінодія'' західно-українського православного автора Захарії Копистенського,

написана поміж 1617 та 1627 рр.

Там (наше видання стр. 201) Копистенський зачисляє Равенну до керівних громад християнства від самого початку його існування. Він пише: „И Равенская [фундация] которыю той же Петръ апостолъ фундовалъ черезъ Аполинара ученика своєго."

Шановні учасники Конґресу! В оцій хвилині твориться історія. Тисяча років дивляться на нас, щоб нам побажати успіху у нашім творчім науковім діялозі впродовж біжучого тижня.

Оцим уважаю Міжнародний Конґрес, присвячений Тисячоліттю Християнства Руси-України, відкритим.

Your Excellencies,
Esteemed Ladies and Gentlemen,
Dear Friends,

We are most fortunate, you and I, that today we can take part in a rare, even unique event in the cultural history of mankind. Thanks to Divine Providence, we are privileged to witness and participate in the millennial anniversary of the Christianization of Rus'-Ukraine.

One thousand years ago, almost to the day, on Pentecost in the year of our Lord 988, the kagan of Rus', Volodimer Svjatoslavič, decreed in Kiev, the capital of the Ukraine, that the Kievans and all of his Rus' should accept the faith of the Holy Redeemer.

This was an act momentous not only in religious and political terms. From the moment of baptism, higher culture, based on a system of writing, began to permeate throughout Rus'. A cyclical mode of thought was displaced by linear time. There began to develop in Rus'-Ukraine a consciousness of one's own land, one's own people. The clock of history began to tick.

I am most happy and proud that I have the high honor to head the Congress of the Millennium of Christianity of Rus'-Ukraine. I am grateful with my whole heart to all of you, the participants in the congress—speakers, students, and guests—that by your active participation you help honor our national celebration, which, thanks to you, has also become a celebration of international scholarship.

Special thanks, which I offer in the name of all my Harvard colleagues, belongs to our Italian colleagues, to His Grace the Archbishop, and to the municipal authorities of Ravenna, who, conscious of its glorious tradition as the capital of the Byzantine Exarchate, have graciously welcomed us to their city.

Last year we began the publication of a multivolume "Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature." We thus initiated the second of a four-part Harvard Millennium Project (of which the first was the organization of this congress). The third volume of this series, the *Palinodija* of the West Ukrainian Orthodox author Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj, written between 1617 and 1627, has appeared. There (on p. 201 of our edition), Kopystens'kyj includes Ravenna among the leading communities of Christendom from its very beginning. He writes: "And also the Ravenna [foundation] which was founded by the same Apostle Peter through Apollinarius, his disciple."

Esteemed participants in the congress! At this moment history is in the making. One thousand years look back upon us to wish us success in our creative, scholarly dialogue over the course of this week.

I now declare the International Congress, commemorating the Millennium of Christianity in Rus'-Ukraine, to be in session.

Eccellenze,
Illustri Signore e Signori,
Cari Amici!

Oggi noi viviamo insieme un evento unico nella storia del mondo civile. Per un felice concorso della sorte ci è dato di essere testimoni e partecipi del Giubileo Millenario della Cristianizzazione della Rus'-Ucraina.

Quasi in questi stessi giorni, nel giorno della Discesa dello Spirito Santo dell'anno 988, il *Kagan* della Rus' Volodimer Svjatoslavič decise a Kiev, capitale della nostra Ucraina, che i kieviani e i sudditi tutti della Rus' ricevessero la Fede del Salvatore.

Non fu soltanto un atto di grande significato per la religione e per la politica. Dal momento del Battesimo incominciò a penetrare nella Rus' una cultura superiore, basata sulla scrittura. Al pensare ciclico si sostituí il tempo lineare. Incominciò il battito continuo dell'orologio della storia.

Sono lieto e lusingato che sia toccato a me l'alto onore di essere a capo del Congresso per il Millenario della Cristianizzazione della Rus'-Ucraina.

Esprimo di tutto cuore la mia gratitudine a voi tutti—partecipanti al Congresso, relatori, studenti e ospiti—per il prestigio che conferite, con la vostra partecipazione, alla nostra compatta celebrazione nazionale che, grazie a voi, si è anche trasformata in un solenne evento della cultura mondiale.

Un ringraziamento particolare, che porgo qui anche a nome dei miei colleghi di Harvard, spetta ai colleghi italiani, a S. E. R. Monsignor Arcivescovo e all'amministrazione civica di Ravenna che, consapevole della sua grande tradizione di capitale dell'Esarcato bizantino, ci ha

ospitalmente accolto in questa città.

L'anno scorso, per realizzare la seconda delle quattro imprese previste dal nostro Progetto Harvardiano per il Millennio (prima impresa è stata proprio l'organizzazione di questo congresso), abbiamo incominciato a pubblicare la «Biblioteca Harvardiana di Letteratura Ucraina Antica», che comprenderà molti volumi. E' cosí uscita, come terzo volume, la *Palinodia* dell'autore ortodosso dell'Ucraina occidentale Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj, scritta fra il 1617 e il 1627.

Kopystens'kyj (a pagina 201 della nostra edizione) annovera Ravenna fra le comunità preminenti della cristianità, fin dalle sue origini: «e la [sede] di Ravenna - egli scrive - che lo stesso [San] Pietro Apostolo fondò per il tramite di Apollinare, discepolo suo».

Egregi congressisti! In questo momento si sta facendo la storia. Mille anni ci guardano e auspicano successo al nostro dialogo scientifico nel corso di questa settimana.

Dichiaro aperto il Congresso Internazionale dedicato al Millennio della Cristianità della Rus'-Ucraina.

II

IHOR ŠEVČENKO

Eminenze, Eccellenze, Cari Colleghi, Cari Partecipanti ed Ascoltatori, Cari Amici, Signore e Signori!

Il mio collega Omeljan Pritsak si è rivolto in primo luogo agli ucraini che sono tra di noi, ed ha avuto delle buone ragioni per farlo. La nostra presenza qui deve moltissimo alla generosità delle communità ucraine dell'America del Nord. Ora prendo la parola io, rivolgendomi a *tutti* i presenti a nome dell'Istituto Ucraino di Ricerca all'Università di Harvard, istituto americano che è uno degli organizzatori di questo Convegno. Secondo le usanze diplomatiche dovrei quindi parlare in inglese. Ma poichè Harvard è un'università ambiziosa e sostiene di essere un'istituzione di richiamo mondiale, e l'italiano è una delle lingue mondiali, vi parlerò in qualità di rappresentante di Harvard in italiano. Lo farò anche come il solo laico ortodosso presente su questo palcoscenico, poichè il Professor Geanacoplos, rappresentante di Sua Eminenza Iakovos, Arcivescovo dell'America del Nord, del Sud e di tutta l'Australia, all'ultimo momento non è potuto venire a causa delle sopraggiunte difficoltà cardiache.

Mi preme innanzi tutto di ringraziare tutti quelli che si sono impegnati per aiutarci: in primo luogo il Comune di Ravenna, il sindaco, gli assessori che prenderanno la parola dopo di me, e tutta la squadra municipale che ha messo a nostra disposizione la sua esperienza organizzativa con la solita efficienza e cordialità.

I nostri ringraziamenti vanno anche al Professor Antonio Carile qui presente che da più di un anno si è instancabilmente dedicato alla preparazione di questo Convegno.

Infine, un ringraziamento speciale va a una persona che non è italiana, ma che studia l'italiano con grande entusiasmo. Senza questa persona, nessuno fra noi stranieri sarebbe presente in quest'aula, perchè è Lei che ci ha procurato biglietti, camere e tessere grazie alle quali profitteremo dell'eccellente cucina romagnola—mi riferisco all'Amministratrice del nostro Istituto, la Signorina Brenda Sens.

Il titolo del nostro Convegno menziona le parole di "Rus'" e di "Ucraina": Rus', perchè questo era il nome del vasto impero governato da Volodimero; Ucraina, perchè il battesimo ha avuto luogo nel territorio dell'Ucraina; dunque, fra i primi battezzati c'era forse qualche antenato di un ucraino qui presente. Ma noi all'Istituto di Harvard non rivendichiamo il

battesimo della Rus' come una proprietà sentimentale ucraina, ma come un avvenimento della storia mondiale, le cui ripercussioni continuano nel mondo presente. Questo avvenimento comunque deve essere studiato con uno spirito scientifico e non sentimentale, e deve essere celebrato al più alto livello della scienza storica contemporanea. Per questo, nel preparare il nostro Convegno, noi ci siamo rivolti ai luminari degli studi medievali e moderni del mondo, inclusa l'Europa Orientale, senza riguardo alla loro religione—o all'assenza di questa—, nazionalità od opinioni socio-economiche. Come vedrete in questi giorni, la loro risposta è stata tanto positiva, che abbiamo fra di noi il fiore dell'erudizione "battesimale" Kieviana ed il fiore degli eruditi che si occupano delle conseguenze del battessimo sul territorio ucraino, bielorusso e russo.

Perchè la scelta di Ravenna per il nostro Convegno? Le ragioni sono almeno due. Primo, nell'immaginazione del pubblico colto, la Ravenna del passato è innanzi tutto una città bizantina, e in fin dei conti la luce della fede cristiana è arrivata a Kiev da Bizanzio, cioè Costantinopoli. Questo fatto, e gli ulteriori sviluppi religiosi spiegano come la maggioranza degli ucraini appartenga alla variante ortodossa della cristianità. Ma v'è anche una seconda ragione. A prescindere dal suo aspetto bizantino, ad intervalli Ravenna è stata anche capitale dell'Impero d'Occidente; durante il decimo secolo, Kiev ha avuto qualche contatto anche con la cristianità latina; inoltre, a cominciare dal trecento, il territorio ucraino ha subito l'influsso dell'espansione occidentale, alla quale i letterati del paese hanno reagito vigorosamente. Ciò facendo, hanno utilizzato argomenti ortodossi; tuttavia, alcuni di questi argomenti provenivano dal bagaglio culturale occidentale. Questa reazione ha contribuito con mezzi compositi al senso di identità particolare che si è sviluppato sul territorio ucraino nel Seicento.

V'è forse anche una terza ragione che giustifica la scelta di Ravenna per il nostro Convegno: immagino che qualche Goto dell'ambiente di Teodorico avesse antenati che duecento anni prima abitarono nelle steppe dell'Ucraina.

Sono rappresentati qui gli Stati Uniti, l'Europa Occidentale, la splendida Albione, i Paesi socialisti e l'Unione Sovietica, nella persona del rappresentante della Repubblica Ucraina. Con una tale concentrazione di ingegni ci auguriamo i migliori risultati, degni dell'occasione e della città nella quale si svolgono le nostre discussioni. Un'ultima parola va agli ascoltatori che non fanno comunicazioni: dovete sapere che anche voi siete indispensabili per il successo del nostro Convegno; ogni oratore ha bisogno di pubblico numeroso ed entusiastico. Tutti siano i benvenuti!

INAUGURAL SESSION

Religious Missions Seen from Byzantium

IHOR ŠEVČENKO

I

If, attracted by our beautiful poster, a middle-aged Japanese tourist were to stroll into our hall here in Ravenna and attend the lecture which I am about to deliver, he would have no trouble understanding some of its premises. As he would remember pre-1945 Japan, he would find it natural that the Byzantine emperor should have been called "an earthly god of sorts"; and as he would have studied Japanese medieval history, the statement, say, that tenth-century Byzantium had a developed lay and ecclesiastical bureaucracy with literary tastes would have a familiar ring to him. But, being a Shintoist, an adherent of a worship that is not for export, our tourist would wonder why there should have been Byzantine religious *missions* at all.[1]

[1] The full story of Byzantine religious missions is still to be written. For a first approach, cf. D. A. Zakynthinos, "Activité apostolique et politique étrangère à Byzance," *La Revue du Caire* 16 (1946): 179–97; P. K. Polakis, Ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ ἐκκλησία καὶ ὁ κόσμος τῶν βαρβάρων, in Πανεπιστήμιον Θεσσαλονίκης, Θεολογικὴ Σχολή, Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρίς 1 (1953): 450–538; the brilliant essay by H.-G. Beck, "Christliche Mission und politische Propaganda im byzantinischen Reich," *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo*, vol. 14 (Spoleto, 1967), pp. 649–74, reprinted as item IV in idem, *Ideen und Realitäten in Byzanz* (= Variorum Reprints [London, 1972]); F. Dvornik, "Missions of the Greek and Western Churches in the East During the Middle Ages," *XIII International Congress of Historical Sciences* (Moscow, 1970), *Doklady Kongressa*, I, 4 (Moscow, 1973), pp. 181–201; Isrun Engelhardt, *Mission und Politik in Byzanz; ein Beitrag zur Strukturanalyse byzantinischer Mission zur Zeit Justins und Justinians* (= Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia, 19) (Munich, 1974): much of the information on early Byzantine missionary activity given in the present article owes it debt to this dissertation; and, above all, Ch. Hannick, "Die byzantinischen Missionen," in *Kirchengeschichte als Missionsgeschichte*, II, 1: *Die Kirche des frühen Mittelalters* (Munich, 1978), pp. 279–359, esp. 354–59 (bibliography on p. 358). For Byzantine missions in particular areas, cf., e.g., E. A. Thompson, "Christian Missionaries among the Huns," *Hermathena* 67 (1946): 73–79; idem, "Christianity and the Northern Barbarians," in A. Momigliano, ed., *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century* (Oxford, 1963), pp. 56–78; G. Moravcsik, "Byzantinische Mission im Kreise der Türkvölker an der Nordküste des Schwarzen Meeres," *Proceedings of the XIII International Congress of Byzantine Studies* (1967), pp. 15–28; L. Müller, "Byzantinische Mission nördlich des Schwar-

Three answers—two general, one particular—could be of help to him. "Go therefore and make disciples of all nations" are Christ's own words; these words are alive today, for they open the Apostolic Letter of Pope John Paul II issued on the occasion of the millennium that we are celebrating today. In Christ's wake, the fledgling faith was championed by St. Paul, a convert who was an organizer and missionary of genius and who made it what it is today; hence, it is not astonishing that St. Paul's words about the merciful God "Who will have every man to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth" were quoted in connection with missions in late antique and medieval texts written in Syriac, Greek, Latin, and Slavic. From its very beginnings, Christianity has been a missionary religion, a rare breed among the world's faiths, the others being Buddhism, the now extinct Manichaeism, and Islam.[2]

The third answer to our tourist would be more peculiar to Byzantium itself. It would have to do with ideology and with the concept first adumbrated by Eusebius, Constantine the Great's contemporary and eulogist, soon after the triumph of the new belief. This concept made the Byzantine Empire coextensive with Christianity. Thus, any gain for the empire was a gain for Christianity and any gain for Christianity outside the confines of the civilized world was a gain for the empire. It would follow that any missionary undertaking that involved the Byzantine government would combine religion with politics. We should keep this statement in mind

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zen Meeres vor dem elften Jahrhundert," ibid., pp. 29–38; F. Dvornik, *Byzantine Missions among the Slavs* (New Brunswick, 1970); D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth* (New York and Washington, 1971), pp. 84–86 (Bulgaria); 137–53 (Moravia); 173–201 (Khazars, Alans, Rus'); V. Vavřínek, "The Introduction of the Slavonic Liturgy and the Byzantine Missionary Policy," in *Beiträge zur byzantinischen Geschichte im 9.–11. Jahrhundert* (Prague, 1978), pp. 255–8l; A. Avenarius, "Xristianstvo na Rusi do 989 g.," ibid., pp. 301–315. For a comparative treatment of the christianization of Rus', including a discussion of Byzantium's impact on various peoples at the time of their baptism, cf., e.g., AN SSSR, Institut Slavjanovedenija i Balkanistiki, *Vvedenie xristianstva u narodov Central'noj i Vostočnoj Evropy. Kreščenie Rusi* (Moscow, 1987); G. G. Litavrin, ed., *Prinjatie xristianstva narodami Central'noj i Jugo-Vostočnoj Evropy i kreščenie Rusi* (Moscow, 1988); B. N. Florja–G. G. Litavrin, "Christianization of the Nations of Central and South-East Europe and the Conversion of Old Rus'," *Byzantinoslavica* 49 (1988): 185–99; S. A. Ivanov, "Rol' xristianizacii v otnošenijax Vizantii so Slavjanami," in *Slavjane i ix sosedi. Meždunarodnye otnošenija v èpoxu feodalizma* (Moscow, 1989), pp. 4–6 (good points). Cf. also fn. 7 below.—For "an earthly god of sorts," cf. Theophylact of Ochrid, *Letter* 12, 5–6, ed. P. Gautier, *Théophylacte d'Achrida, Lettres* (Thessalonica, 1986), p. 167.

[2] Cf. the Apostolic Letter *Euntes in mundum* (January 25, 1988), 1. The quotations are Mt 28: 19, Mk 16: 15 (Christ's words) and I Tim 2: 3–4 (St. Paul). On Christianity as a world missionary religion, cf. Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Missions*, 2nd ed. (1986), esp. pp. 15–119 (to the year 1500): excellent, with a good (but mostly English) bibliography, pp. 479–99.

throughout this lecture, especially when we come to speak of governmental missions.[3]

Before we take leave of our imaginary Japanese tourist—curious, but not quite well-versed in Christian church history—we owe him a bird's eye view of the missionary achievements of Christianity on the eve of the baptism of Rus'. By the middle of the tenth century, the church ruled by the patriarchate of Rome could look back with pride upon the past successes of its missions. Much of the heartland of Europe had been won for the faith; St. Augustine of Canterbury returned Britain to the fold, and eighth-century England gave St. Boniface to Germany; Charlemagne had converted the Saxons by sword and by baptism; further east, the Bohemians and Poles were, or were about to become, Christian. For all that, much was still to be done. Scandinavia, Iceland, and Finland were outside the Christian realm; so were the Prussians, amidst whom St. Vojtěch-Adalbert was to suffer a missionary martyr's death about 1000; and so were the Lithuanians, whose time would come only centuries later. By about 950 western missions could claim to have extended Christianity over a respectable if not overwhelmingly large area. The brilliant future of these missions still lay ahead.

The story was different for various churches ruled by eastern patriarchates, whether Orthodox or Monophysite. By the mid-tenth century, only one important achievement, the subject of our gathering, lay ahead of one of them, the church of Constantinople; the great triumphs of the eastern missions were in the past—but what a past it had been! In Africa, Berber tribes were converted after the destruction of the Vandal state in Justinian's time. Ethiopia was Christianized in two stages, once in the fourth century by a free-lance missionary taking his cues from Alexandria, another time in the sixth by a Syrian team of saints. Under Justin I, an Ethiopian-Byzantine coalition waged a war against the South Arabian king of Jewish faith. After his defeat, Christianity triumphed in his state. South of the Isis Temple in the Egyptian Philae and south of today's Aswan Dam, the three Nubian kingdoms, the southernmost one lying in today's Sudan, joined the Monophysite or Orthodox form of Christianity about 540, to remain Christian

[3] Among the vast literature on Eusebius's political theology, cf., e.g., R. Farina, *L'impero e l'imperatore cristiano in Eusebio di Cesarea. La prima teologia politica del cristianesimo* (Zürich, 1966), esp. pp. 193–94, 252–55, 312–19; T. D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Cambridge, Mass. and London, 1981), pp. 253–55 and 393–94; G. Barbero, "La patristica," in L. Firpo, ed., *Storia delle idee politiche, economiche e sociali*, II, 1 (1985), esp. pp. 496–503, 539. For later periods, cf. the paradoxical essay by P. Christou, "The Missionary Task of the Byzantine Emperor," *Byzantina* 3 (1971): 279–86 (the emperor was viewed as successor to the apostles; yet the motivation behind his activity was not primarily political).

until the late fourteenth century. In the area of the Danube, Byzantium converted the king of the Herules and his entourage in Justinian's early years.

Between the sixth and the early tenth centuries, peoples of the eastern shore of the Black Sea and of the Caucasus, the Abasgians, the Tzanes, and the Lazes, received baptism from the empire through their rulers or owing to the efforts of missionaries. (The conversion of Armenians and Georgians, the fourth-century joiners of the Christian community, is a story apart.) Huns residing in the Bosphorus on the Crimea and Sabirian Huns living north of the Caucasus were baptized under Justinian, the former through their ruler, the latter through the work of free-lance Armenian missionaries; the latter were helped, however, by the imperial government. The Balkans and Central Europe of the ninth and tenth centuries were the stage of Byzantine missionary activity with which this audience is well familiar. I shall merely list the second conversion of the Serbs, the government-supported mission to the Dalmatian Slavs under Basil I (d. 886), the baptism of the Bulgarians under Michael III (a. 864), and the two glorious failures—the Cyrillo-Methodian mission in Moravia and attempts to establish Byzantine Christianity first in what was Pannonia and then in what became Hungary.

In the east, and starting with the fifth century, Byzantine Christianity, partly in its Hellenic and Orthodox, but mostly in its Semitic and Monophysite garb, brought about the conversion of Arabic tribes loosely dependent on the empire or on Sassanian Persia. Proselytizing went on in Syria, between the Tigris and the Euphrates, and in the Sassanian Empire proper. The latter activity was carried on at the risk of death, both for the converts and for the converting missionaries. Later on, the vicissitudes of trade and of the movements of peoples caused by Arab and Mongol conquests sent Byzantine converts much further into the East—the thirty thousand Alans said to have formed the guard of Kublai Khan in Beijing in the second half of the thirteenth century were Orthodox descendants of the Caucasian Alans converted about 900, roughly in the time of the Byzantine patriarch Nicholas Mystikos.[4] Later in the century, the conversion of the Alans was to be

[4] The far-flung Nestorian missions in Central Asia, India, China, and Mongolia are beyond our purview, for they cannot properly be "seen from Byzantium." Towards the end of the fifth century, Nestorians, persecuted on Byzantine soil, got the upper hand among Christians in the Sassanian Empire; henceforth, the missionary activity of their "Persian Church" was carried out mostly from Sassanian Ctesiphon.—On Orthodox Alans in China, cf., e.g., J. Dauvillier, "Byzantins d'Asie centrale et d'Extrême-Orient," *Revue des études byzantines* 11 (1953): 62–87, esp. p. 78; on Orthodox Sogdians of Xwārezm who had a liturgy translated into their own language (a language last mentioned in 1307), cf. ibid., pp. 67–68. It seems that the "Sugdi" of the *Life* of Constantine, Apostle of the Slavs, 16:8, were Sogdians (in Greek Σόγδοι). [I see now that the same idea has already been proposed by L. Řeháček, "Sugdové v

followed by the final conversion of Rus'. At the time of the latter event, the Byzantine Chancellery and the Patriarchal Palace could draw upon five hundred years of missionary experience.

II

Byzantine missions were most intensely pursued within two spans of time, the sixth and the ninth–tenth centuries. Thus the religious activism of the empire started late. With two exceptions, we cannot name any Germanic peoples that would have adopted Christianity en masse outside of the imperial boundaries, before settling on imperial soil.[5] The empire's sixth-century activism may be a corollary of the power struggle with Sassanian Iran with whom the empire competed along the vast zone extending from the Caucasus to the Red Sea. The missionary activity of the ninth and tenth centuries fell into a period when the empire was getting the upper hand, both in the Balkans in its relations with the Bulgarians and in Asia Minor in its struggle with the Arabs, and when it had recreated material preconditions for reestablishing elite culture in letters, visual arts, and in the art of conspicuous consumption.[6] On the eve of the conversion of Rus' Constantinople was, with the possible exceptions of Cairo and Baghdad, the most civilized and glamorous city of the world and the barbarians, both Christian and pagan, knew it. The empire used well its prestige with these barbarians, even though in the tenth century few practical options for missionary activity were open to it, perhaps fewer than those open to the contemporary West. There were four such options: missions to the Hungarians, the Khazars, the Pečenegs, and to the Rus'. Hungarians were the only Byzantine defeat, having been won over by the West by the year 1000.[7] Negotiations directed both from Kherson and Constantinople for establishing a Byzantine hierarchy in Khazaria went well at the beginning of the century,[8] but by the

stsl. Životě Konstantinově,'' *Slavica Pragensia* 13 (1971): 53–70, esp. pp. 65–69.]

5 The exceptions are the Rugi and the Lombards. Cf. Thompson, ''Christianity,'' esp. pp. 76–78.

6 On the renewed strength of the empire in the ninth century, see W. Treadgold, *The Byzantine Revival: 780–842* (Stanford, Cal., 1988).

7 This was an honorable defeat. True, Prince Géza and his son Stephen adhered to the Roman church in the 970s, but the first Hungarian chieftains were baptized, and the first bishop for Hungary was ordained, in Constantinople in the middle of the tenth century. Byzantine ecclesiastical influences continued in Hungary until well after the eleventh century. Cf. Gy. Moravcsik, ''The Role of the Byzantine Church,'' in the same author's *Byzantium and the Magyars* (Amsterdam, 1970), pp. 102–119, and Gy. Györffy, ''La christianisation de la Hongrie,'' in this volume of *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, cf. esp. bibliography in fns. 1 and 29.

8 Nicholas Mystikos, *Letters* 68 and 106, ed. R. J. H. Jenkins and L. G. Westerink, *Nicholas I Patriarch of Constantinople, Letters* (Washington, D.C., 1973), pp. 314–15; 388–91; 554–55; 569. The date of both letters is 919–920; a bishop, requested by the Khazars, was

second half of that century Khazaria was no more; some Pečeneg tribes were converted and settled along the Danube by the mid-eleventh century;[9] there remained the Rus'. And we know what happened to the Rus'.

III

Byzantine missions can be divided into three categories. The first category comprises missions in which the imperial government intervened militarily to back up the cause of the faith: such were the cases of the Abasgians and the Tzanes and of the Huns of the Crimean Bosphorus. The second encompasses those missions in which the government was involved by means of diplomacy, but often appears in our sources as merely reacting to the initiative of foreign chieftains who either applied or re-applied for membership in the Christian community or showed preference for the Byzantine form of Christianity: such were the cases of the Lazes in the sixth century and of the Khazars, the Dalmatians, and the Moravians in the ninth and the tenth. Finally, missions of the third kind were the work of sometimes officially supported but more often free-lance activists filled with Christian or partisan zeal: such was the case of the Monophysite missionaries either ferreting out the remains of paganism in Asia Minor or criss-crossing the eastern zone that encompassed both the Byzantine and the Sassanian states. At some time the Monophysite missionary empire covered a territory larger than that which belonged to the Latin and Greek Orthodox Christianities taken together.

Of these categories of missions, the first, involving military or police intervention in case of need, was the least important one. Even attempts to convert the Jews in the ninth century were done by offering incentives rather than by applying force.[10] Byzantium provides no parallel to the Germanic conversions by sword, whether those of the Saxons by Charlemagne or the Obotrite Slavs by Henry the Lion, for instance, or of the Prussians by the Teutonic knights. Even the quasi-total assimilation of the Slavs of Greece, a process that was well advanced by the tenth century, was hardly attributable to Byzantine military campaigns—for few of them are attested—or to the dynamism of Byzantine missionaries in Slavic

about to be chosen by the bishop of Kherson and ordained in Constantinople.

9 Ioannes Scylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, Κωνστ. ὁ Μονομάχος, 16 = 456, 57–457, 14, ed. I. Thurn (Berlin, 1973).

10 Cf. the main passage in Theophanes Continuatus, 5, 95 = 341,8–342,6, Bonn [unless otherwise stated, all Byzantine historians will be quoted hereafter from the *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, published in Bonn]; for other passages concerning the conversion of the Jews under Basil I, cf. J. Starr, *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire* (Athens, 1939), nos. 61–72; 76; 78–79.

enclaves—for we hear of them only in the tenth century. It was rather the result of something comparable to what had happened to the Germanic invaders settled inside the frontiers of the empire a few centuries earlier: an important impulse toward assimilation—read Christianization—must have come from the very own elite of the Slavs settled in Greece. This elite, of which we can find traces in the ninth century, wished to establish spiritual links with the world in the midst of which it was living and in which it wanted further to advance.[11]

The second category of missions, those in which diplomatic activity was camouflaged as a reaction to requests from outside, constitutes the bulk of Byzantine missions and in all probability includes the ones to the Rus'. The best description of at least two missions of this sort is to be read in the *Lives* of Cyril and Methodius. These *Lives* are Byzantine documents. They glorify two Byzantines. They rest in part on Byzantine texts written in Greek. The author of one of them was familiar with the Greek milieu of Rome and was imbued with a Byzantine world view; finally, both texts reflect Byzantine missionary practices.[12] For all that, I suspect that we owe the preservation of these treasures to the fact that they were written in the barbaric Slavic tongue. Not a single line in Greek contemporary sources, relatively plentiful, refers to the Slavic or to the more numerous non-Slavic activities of the two apostles. When we reflect on this we should not be surprised that roughly contemporary Byzantine sources, less plentiful for the end of the tenth century than they are for the ninth, do not mention the baptism of Volodimer; they devote only a miserable couple of lines to that baptism's circumstances.[13]

[11] On this topic, cf. the unpublished paper I delivered in Rome in 1985 at the celebration of the 1100th anniversary of the death of St. Methodius. There I postulated that the fabulously rich widow Danelis or Danelina (cf. Theophanes Continuatus, 5, 11, and 73–77 = 226, 23–228, 21; 316, 20–321, 10, Bonn) was a representative of the ninth-century Slavic elite of the Peloponnesus in the process of assimilation.

[12] The preceding sentences sum up my views on the cultural coordinates and sources of the *Lives* of the Slavic apostles. At this point, they have to be taken on faith.

[13] Cf. Leo Diaconus, *Hist.*, 175, 9–10, Bonn (capture of Kherson by the Tauroscythians); Scylitzes, *Hist.*, Βασιλ. καὶ Κωνσταντῖνος, 17 = 336, 88–92, ed. Thurn (alliance with Volodimer against Bardas Phocas; Volodimer's marriage with Basil II's sister Anna). The story which introduces Volodimer into the narrative of the ninth-century baptism of the Rhos is a late compilation ultimately based on Scylitzes, *Hist.*, Βασιλ., 43 = 165, 17–166, 43, ed. Thurn. For its text, cf. W. Regel, *Analecta byzantino-russica* (St. Petersburg, 1891), xxvii–xxx and 50, 21–51, 23 and P. Schreiner, "Ein wiederaufgefundener Text der *Narratio de Russorum Conversione* und einige Bemerkungen zur Christianisierung der Russen in byzantinischen Quellen," *Byzantinobulgarica* 5 (1978): 297–303; cf. also a late story of the baptism, ed. C. Papoulidis, "The Baptism of the Russians in the Iviron Codices 1317 and 1319 of the 18th Century," *Balkan Studies* 22 (1981): 80, 7–81, 36 (based in part directly on Theophanes Continuatus, 5, 97). For the latest bibliography, cf. F. B. Poljakov, "Nachlese zum 'Novum Auc-

Stories of missions of the third category, those carried out by government-supported or by free-lance activists of the east, are the most fun to read. We owe the bulk of them to the Monophysite John of Ephesus, who wrote in Syriac. They are replete with colorful, if not always edifying, detail. A few illustrations: two rival missions, the Orthodox one supported by Justinian and the Monophysite one supported by his wife Theodora, vied for the ear of the Nubian ruler; the story tells us how Theodora browbeat the Byzantine frontier governor and how the Monophysites won the race by ruse; we further hear how during the two years of his stay with the Nobads, Julian, Theodora's Monophysite chief of mission, sat naked but for a loin cloth in caves filled with water from the third to the tenth hour of the day on account of the unbearable heat of the place;[14] how the Monophysite bishop Symeon successfully debated the Nestorians, but invited the Sassanian governor, that is a pagan Magian, to be the debate's umpire—to us a humiliating display of sectarian zeal;[15] how for seven years the same Symeon collected on special linen cloths the beliefs of various Christian peoples in many towns, not out of scholarly interest, but to prove that the Nestorians were a minority religion; this protégé of Theodora redeemed himself in our eyes by converting the magnates of a Saracen tribe and having them build a church on that tribe's territory.[16]

Along with such amusing stories and with reports of small-scale successes at converting Bedouins, we read of missionary efforts of staggering proportions: Jacob Barradaeus, the founder of the Jacobite Church, was both supported and hounded by the government. As mostly the latter was the case, he had to be swift in his travels to avoid arrest. Nevertheless, he is said to have ordained one hundred thousand priests, both within and without the frontiers of the empire.[17] In Asia Minor, John of Ephesus acted as agent of the government. He himself claims to have built over ninety churches and ten monasteries there. He is also credited with having baptized twenty-three thousand souls and with having burned two thousand pagan books in the province of Asia alone. Using Justinian's funds he converted many thousands of souls from idolatry in Caria alone, had twenty-four churches built there, and converted a central pagan temple, to which fifteen

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tarium BHG,' " *Byzantion* 58 (1988): 186 and fn. 14.

[14] John of Ephesus, *Hist. Eccl.*, pars III, lib. IV, capp. 6–7, ed. E. W. Brooks, *Corpus Script. Christ. Orientalium*, Scriptores Syri, Ser. 3, vol. 3 (Louvain, 1936), 136–39.

[15] John of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, I, ed. E. W. Brooks, *Patrologia Orientalis* (henceforth *PO*), 17 (1923): 144, 147–52.

[16] John of Ephesus, *Lives* (as in fn. 15), I, *PO*, 17 (1923): 154–57; 140–41.

[17] John of Ephesus, *Lives* (fn. 15 above), II, *PO*, 18 (1924): 690–697 (696: Jacob ordains as many as one hundred thousand priests!); III, *PO*, 19 (1925): 153–58.

hundred smaller temples were subordinate, into a monastery.[18]

Sometimes mass conversions were brought about not by a peripatetic missionary, but by a charismatic sedentary figure. Cyril of Scythopolis, a sixth-century Orthodox source, tells us what happened not far from Jerusalem in the twenties of the fifth century. An Arab tribal chief, a former vassal of the Sassanian Persians, moved over to Byzantine territory and met the famous ascetic Euthymios, who healed his paraplegic son. The chief and his family were baptized. Soon the chief returned with many Saracen men, women, and children and asked that they be given the word of salvation. This larger group was duly baptized after some catechesis: in gratitude for this, the tribal chief built for Euthymios a bakery, three cells, a cistern, and a church. Soon the whole tribe settled near Euthymios, who traced for them the outline of a church, and made a layout for tents to be located around it, indulging in a town planning of sorts; in this way, he contributed to the Bedouins' sedentarization. Euthymios often visited the new settlers until he appointed a priest and deacons for them. More Bedouins joined the original tribe, so that a number of camps came into being around the ascetic. Thus, the source tells us, "the wolves of Arabia" became part of Euthymios's spiritual flock. Finally, upon Euthymios's proposal, the wealthy tribal chieftain was made "Bishop of the Tents" as a most appropriate person to guide souls to salvation. The patriarch of Jerusalem approved the idea.[19]

IV

When we look at Byzantine missions as a whole, we can discern characteristics that they have in common. One such characteristic is shared by almost all. Byzantine governmental missions (and even some free-lance ones) were missions from above to below. The same mechanism worked among the barbarians as well. Christianity may have taken first roots in a barbarian land through trade or through the efforts of Byzantine prisoners of war forcibly settled there—such were the Christian beginnings for the Georgians, for Ulfila's Goths, and for Tsar Krum's or Omurtag's ninth-

[18] John of Ephesus, *Lives* (fn. 15 above), II, *PO*, 18 (1924): 660; ibid., *Hist. Eccl.* (fn. 14 above), pars III, lib. III, capp. 36–37, pp. 125–28; F. Nau, "Analyse de la seconde partie inédite de l'Histoire Ecclésiastique de Jean d'Asie," *Revue de l'Orient chrétien* 2 (1897): 482 (seventy thousand pagans converted, ninety-six churches and twelve monasteries built); for other sources, cf. Engelhardt, *Mission* (fn. 1 above), pp. 12–19.

[19] Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii*, ed. E. Schwartz, *Kyrillos von Skythopolis* (Leipzig, 1939), 19–25, esp. pp. 24–25.

century Bulgarians[20] —but Christianity's final triumph was due to the decision of the barbaric ruler and of his elite. No matter whether the convert came to Constantinople in person or wrote for missionaries to come to him; whether he was the king of the Huns, the Lazes, the Herules or a Bedouin tribal chief settled near a charismatic ascetic; at the decisive stage it was the head of a state or tribe through whom the Grace of the Holy Ghost descended first upon his family and then seeped down to the people. Upon reflection we find that this was a Christian practice of long-standing, attested at one end by Athenagoras's apology of the new faith addressed to Emperor Marcus Aurelius in the second century, and at the other by the papal envoys who had hopes of converting Ivan the Terrible in the sixteenth.

In listing further common characteristics of Byzantine missions I shall lump together fact and the devices of imperial diplomacy and propaganda. The barbarian ruler about to be baptized and his entourage were showered with lavish gifts of gold, silver, and silk, as well as baptismal, garments.[21] If the ruler came to the capital, a festive reception would be arranged for him in the palace; he would be given a high place of precedence at the imperial table and thus displace and occasionally displease high Byzantine dignitaries.[22] The emperor would act as godfather of the newly baptized ruler—our examples abound. That ruler would sometimes be given a Byzantine lady of high standing in marriage.[23] On the territory newly gained for the

[20] For prisoners of war and merchants as carriers of the new faith to the pagans, cf., e.g., Thompson, "Christianity," pp. 57–62; cf. also Zachariah of Mitylene, *Syriac Chronicle*, trans. F. J. Hamilton and E. W. Brooks (London, 1899), p. 329 (Roman captives among the "Huns"). For the times of Krum and Omurtag, cf. Theophanes Continuatus, 5, 4 = 216, 9–217, 20, Bonn. That Byzantine missions were "from above to below" was well seen by Engelhardt, *Mission* (fn. 1 above), pp. 77, 89, 170.

[21] Some random examples: John of Ephesus, *Hist. Eccl.* (fn. 14 above), pars III, lib. IV, 6 = p. 136, 13–14; 7 = p. 138, 14–15 (Nobads); Malalas, *Chron.*, 413, 10–21, Bonn and *Chron. Paschale*, 613, 19–614, 9, Bonn (Tzath); Malalas, *Chron.*, 428, 1–2, Bonn (Grepes); ibid., 431, 19–20 (Grod); Scylitzes, *Hist.*, Κωνσταντ. πάλιν αὐτοκρ., 5 = 239, 63–64 (Bulcsu).—On providing baptismal garments for pagans of Corsica, cf. Pope Gregory the Great, Letter 8, 1 (a. 597) in *Monum. Germ. Hist., Epistulae*, II (1957), p. 2, 4; on providing poor Jews of Agrigentum with them, cf. Letter 8, 23 (a. 598), ibid., p. 25, 1–2.

[22] Here belongs the story of Amorkesos (Imru' al-Qais) who visited Constantinople under Leo I in the 470s, ate at the imperial table, participated in the deliberations of the senate, and was seated above the patricians—this in the hope that he would become a Christian. Cf., e.g., C. de Boor, ed., *Excerpta de legationibus*, II (Berlin, 1903), pp. 568–69 (from Malchus of Philadelphia; I would prefer πρὸ τῶν πατρικίων instead of πρωτοπατρικίων in 569, 24–25).

[23] Some examples: Justinian I (d. 565) was godfather of the Hunnic king Grod and of the king of the Herules Grepes (Agrippas); Heraclius (d. 641), or his brother Theodore, of a "Hun" (Onogundur?) ruler; Leo IV was godfather of the Bulgarian khan Telerig, about 777; Constantine VII was godfather of the Hungarian chieftain Bulcsu, about 948. Under Justin I,

faith, missionaries would introduce such agricultural improvements as the culture and grafting of fruit trees and planting of vegetables.[24] Before conversion the newly baptized ruler—for which read the newly baptized upper class—would view the land of the Romans as the promised land. Back home, he would feel "one" with the empire as a member of a new family, would wish "to submit to the unbreakable community" of the Byzantines and would, or at least should, keep eternal peace with them.[25] This family feeling would extend not only to the empire itself, the source of Light; in theory, it would also include Christian barbarian neighbors of the convert. "I will help expel your enemies from your land," wrote the king of the Alodaeans to the king of the Nobads; "for your territory is my territory and your people are my people, now that I am a Christian[26] <just as you are>." In the Byzantine version of things the new convert would ask to be a vassal of the empire and would undergo the obligation of defending the emperor's possessions or of sending troops to him upon the latter's demand.[27] But even the Byzantines had to admit that on one occasion a converted ruler extracted territorial concessions from the empire in exchange for embracing Christianity.[28]

V

While we have a fair idea of the workings of Byzantine missions on the higher governmental and ecclesiastical levels, we are poorly informed about

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Tzath of Lazica, baptized in Constantinople, married a (grand?) daughter of a patrician; cf. Malalas, *Chron.*, 413, 7–9, Bonn and *Chron. Paschale*, 613, 14–17, Bonn.

24 Zachariah of Mitylene, *Syriac Chronicle* (fn. 20 above), p. 330 (in the sixth century, the Armenian bishop Mak went to the Sabirian Huns, "planted plants and sowed various kinds of seed and. . . . baptized many"); Theophylact Hephaistos of Ochrid, *Vita Clementis*, 23, 68 = ed. Milev (1955), 78 (in the ninth century, Clement of Ochrid brought the culture of fruit trees to the Bulgarians from Greece). For the West, cf. F. Flaskamp, *Die Missionsmethode des hl. Bonifazius* (Gesch. Darstellungen und Quellen, hrsg. von L. Schmitz-Kallenberg, 8), 2nd ed. (Hildesheim, 1929), p. 48 (St. Boniface's missionaries cleared forests, introduced viniculture and, most probably, better strains of vegetables).

25 Theophanes Continuatus, 4, 15 = 164, 21–165, 2; 165, 8–10, Bonn (Bulgarians).

26 John of Ephesus, *Hist. Eccl.* (fn. 14 above), pars III, lib. IV, 52 = p. 179, esp. 179, 15, quoting Ruth 1:16 and 3 Reg. 22:5.

27 For an example of vassalage as consequence of baptism, see Malalas, *Chron.*, 434, 10, Bonn ("India," i.e., Ethiopia of Axum); cf. also the cases of Tzath of Lazica and Grepes, king of the Herules, Engelhardt, *Mission* (fn. 1 above), pp. 81–82, 84. According to the Slavic *Life* of Cyril-Constantine, cap. 11, 2, ca. 860 the Khazar kagan, hoping to be bapztized soon, offered to be the Byzantine emperor's friend (i.e., ally) and to serve him, wherever the latter would wish to be served. For further examples, cf., e.g., I. Dujčev, "Légendes byzantines sur la conversion des Bulgares," in idem, *Medioevo byzantinoslavo*, III (Rome, 1971), pp. 63–75, esp. p. 64, fn. 3. For sending of troops, see p. 25 and fns. 50 and 51 below.

28 The ruler was Boris-Michael of Bulgaria. For a euphemistic description of the territorial adjustment, cf. Theophanes Continuatus, 4, 16 = 164, 23–165, 6, Bonn.

the nuts and bolts of these enterprises. We can infer from one case that teams of missionaries were first sent out to prepare the ground for the arrival of the regular hierarchy in the mission land; that these missionaries felt uncomfortable abroad, complained about living conditions there and were spelled by others.[29] We also know that some of them were rewarded with high positions upon their return from the hardship posts. Thus, Euthymios, missionary to the Alans, became Abbot on Mt. Olympos in Bithynia and an envoy to the Bulgarian tsar Symeon.[30]

These are, however, slim pickings. We are also poorly served when it comes to two essentials: the language in which the Word was preached and the methods by which the new message was passed on to the next generation. We read and reread the *Lives* of Cyril and Methodius and the Greek *Life* of their disciple Clement. Beyond that, we are reduced to *obiter dicta*, contained mainly in non-Greek sources. We learn from Syriac texts that the Scriptures had been translated into the language of the Sabirian Huns, probably by an Armenian missionary.[31] We further note that the protégé of Empress Theodora, Bishop Symeon, the Illuminator of the Saracens, had the gift of tongues. Wherever he went he spoke the local language on the third day of his stay there.[32] In search of parallels we consult the ample documentation about St. Willibrord's, St. Willehad's, St. Liudger's, and above all, St. Boniface's mission to eighth-century Germany; and find that the latter and his team preached in the dialects of the Frisians, Hessians, and Thuringians; this was commendable, though it must have been easy for speakers of a Germanic tongue to do so (St. Liudger was a native Frisian). St. Boniface understood the needs for preaching in the tongue of the prospective converts so well that he predicted—wrongly, as we now know—that the *rustica gens hominum Sclaforum et Scythia dura* (presumably comprising Ukrainian territories) would never see the light of baptism because the language of the Slavs was unknown to the missionaries.[33]

29 Cf. Nicholas Mystikos, *Letter* 79, p. 339 (fn. 8 above; date: 912); *Letter* 133, esp. 7–13, p. 432 (date: ca. 915); *Letter* 135, pp. 436–42 (date: 918?). On the system of rotation (*iterumque misit*. . . .) practiced by the church of Salzburg in its missionary activity in Carinthia, cf. *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum*. . . ., cap. 5, ed., e.g., H. Wolfram, *Conversio*. . . . (Vienna, 1979), pp. 43–44, and Richard E. Sullivan, "The Carolingian Missionary and the Pagan," *Speculum* 28, no. 4 (1953): 709.

30 Nicholas Mystikos, *Letter* 9, 264–73 (fn. 8 above), p. 68; date of the letter: 917.

31 Zachariah of Mitylene, *Syriac Chronicle* (as in fn. 20 above), pp. 329–30.

32 John of Ephesus, *Lives* (fn. 15 above), II, *PO*, 18 (1924): 155.

33 Quoted after F. Flaskamp, *Die Missionsmethode* (fn. 24 above), p. 33 and fn. 161, whose interpretation I follow. On lack of evidence that Frankish and Bavarian missionaries knew Slavic and on the use of interpreters by those missionaries, cf. Sullivan, "The Carolingian Missionary," (fn. 29 above), p. 715, esp. fn. 66. Thirty-six years after his "Carolingian Missionary," Sullivan provided us with the latest bibliography on the techniques adopted in the

When we turn to the Greek-writing Byzantines, however, we meet with virtual silence on the subject of missionary languages. Thus, when we are through with quoting and requoting the opening passages of John Chrysostom's *Sermon* in the Gothic Church at Constantinople,[34] we point out, quite correctly, that the Byzantines were aware of translations of the Holy Writ done on their own territory or in neighboring lands and we recall the Slavic apostles' self-serving attack on the trilingual heresy.[35] Many of us still infer from this that Byzantium displayed a benevolent attitude toward national languages. Alas, this benevolence, as opposed to benevolent neglect or to tactical considerations, is hardly attested. Not even in John Chrysostom's *Sermon*, if we read it in context of John's struggle against the Arians and upper-class pagans,[36] and certainly not in Theophylact Hephaistos of Ochrid—whose portrait has been recently drawn with a great deal of empathy and judgment by Professor Obolensky—even though Theophylact's *Life* of Clement rests on some Slavic or at least pro-Slavic sources.[37] In a word, it is difficult to square this postulated benevolence with Byzantine cultural pride, well attested between the ninth and eleventh centuries, a pride that accorded the Greek tongue the first place among all languages.[38]

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course of Carolingian missions in his "The Carolingian Age: Reflections on its Place in the History of the Middle Ages," *Speculum* 64, no. 2 (1989): 277, fn. 22.

34 Migne, *PG*, 63, cols. 499–510, esp. cols. 499–502, 503–504.

35 Cf. *Life* of Cyril-Constantine, 16.

36 The point of Migne, *PG* 63, cols. 499–502 was that Greek pagan philosophic subtleties were no longer a living force even among Greek speakers (ὁμοφώνοις), while the unadorned Christian truth carried great authority among non-Greeks (ἑτερογλώσσοις). It was also sound tactics of John to provide the Goths, usually of Arian observance, with Orthodox priests, deacons, and readers who were "of the same tongue (ὁμογλώττους) as they"; cf. Theodoret, *Hist. Eccl.*, 5, 30 = p. 330, ed. L. Parmentier and L. Scheidweiler, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1954).

37 Cf. the harsh words I reserved for Theophylact in *Slavic Review* 23 (1964): 229, fn. 32; for a more sympathetic treatment, cf. D. Obolensky, *Six Byzantine Portraits* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 34–82, esp. 77–82. It remains for our context that Theophylact deplored the poverty of Latin (cf. *Discussion.... Concerning Latin Errors*, ed. P. Gautier, *Théophylacte d'Achride, Discours...* [Thessalonica, 1980], 257, 5–6; 11–15) and scorned the "beastly" Bulgarian clergy of about 900 for their inadequate knowledge of Greek (cf. *Vita Clementis*, 22, 66 = ed. Milev [1955], 76).

38 The *locus classicus* is the Letter of Ps.-Photius to Zachary, Catholicus of Armenia. The text as we have it is hardly by Photius (cf. B. Outtier in Laourdas–Westerink, *Photii...* [as in fn. 47 below], III [1985]), XI, but it is old enough. For a translation of the relevant passage and information on editions, cf. F. Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity in Byzantium....* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), pp. 239–40.—Doubts concerning Byzantine benevolence towards foreign liturgical languages seem to be gaining ground. Cf., in addition to my opinion in *Slavic Review* 23 (1964): 228–31, Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth* (as in fn. 1 above), pp. 151–53; Řeháček, "Sugdové" (as in fn. 4 above), pp. 60–61; and Vavřínek, "The Introduction" (as in fn. 1 above), pp. 255–66.

In short, Greek historical reports on Byzantine missions are a cause of frustration for seekers of concrete detail. Perhaps all is not lost, however, for along with the historical reports on these missions, we possess a fairly vast category of texts which I would like to call imaginary reports. This class of texts, as yet untapped for our purposes, comprises more than half a dozen items and amounts to well over one thousand pages. I am referring to novels of sorts; they are either novels about the apostles set in the time of the beginnings of Christianity in the first century, when everybody was a pagan and when missionary activity was the hero's only task; or they are hagiographic novels set in a later time where the hero confronted the Jews or the Muslims. Among the candidates for our study the apocryphal Acts of the Apostles may be of too early a date to be of use, except as sources for literary motifs in hagiographic novels and as texts that established working of miracles as the missionary's most effective tool. The remaining texts, however, may yield results both for literary and traditional historians of the missions, even later missions; for these texts date from the eighth to the tenth centuries. At the least they tell us what people contemporary with the first missions to the Rus' imagined missionary activity to have been like; at the most they might have drawn upon the actual missionary experience of their own time for their anachronisms. Here belongs the disputation of Gregentios, Bishop of the Himyarites, with the Jew Herban[39] —containing some structural parallels to Constantine-Cyril's dispute with the Khazars; here also belongs the long *Life* of Theodore of Edessa in which we hear of a conversion, and the subsequent martyr's death, of a caliph in the time of Emperor Michael III (d. 867).[40]

The pride of place, however, should be reserved for two *Lives* set in the first century after Christ. These are the interminable eighth-century *Life* of a supposed contemporary of St. Peter, St. Pankratios of Taormina in Sicily—the full text of which has recently been established in an important work by Dr. Cynthia Stallman,[41] and the shorter *Life* of Apostle Andrew

[39] Gregentios: cf. F. Halkin, ed., *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, 3rd ed. (Brussels, 1957) (hereafter *BHG*), nos. 705–706i; idem, *Auctarium BHG* (1969), pp. 77–78; idem, *Novum Auctarium BHG* (1984), p. 82.

[40] Theodore of Edessa: F. Halkin, *BHG*^{3}, nos. 1744–1744e (no. 1744 is 120 pages long!); idem, *Auctarium BHG* (1969), p. 180; idem, *Novum Auctarium BHG* (1984), pp. 202–203.

[41] Pankratios: F. Halkin, *BHG*^{3}, nos. 1410–1410m; idem, *Auctarium BHG* (1968), p. 146; idem, *Novum Auctarium BHG* (1984), p. 165. Cf. now Cynthia Jean Stallman, *The Life of S. Pancratius of Taormina*, I–II, unpublished Dr. Phil. diss., Oxford, 1986 (hereafter, Stallman, *Pankratios*).

dating soon after 800 and in part dependent on that of Pankratios.[42] Pankratios, a missionary in his own right, behaved quite reasonably in matters of language. We should not inquire here how Avars could find their way into Sicily or South Italy in the first or even eighth century after Christ—but they did, after having been made captive. When these Avars were about to be baptized, St. Pankratios asked the chief authority of Taormina what language they spoke; thus, he asked a question parallel to the one Constantine-Cyril had asked Emperor Michael III about the Moravians. The Avars, it turned out, spoke neither Greek nor Latin. Consequently, in every sentence devoted to Pankratios's subsequent conversation with them we are reminded that he talked with them through an interpreter. The very moment the Avars had been baptized, they began to speak Greek, a miracle to be sure, but one that, if not taken literally, contained a kernel of historical truth.[43]

The *Life* of Pankratios offers other information for which we look in vain in historical missionary reports. It gives a list of liturgical and ritual books and objects that the newly ordained priests and bishops took with them on their missionary journeys or used in combating the idols. It refers to books containing scriptural passages, meaning lectionaries, that were to be read to the newly baptized on great feasts. It mentions the copying and correcting of books needed by the new flock. It describes model books containing representations of the Life of Christ or of Old and New Testament events to be put on the walls of churches that were to be built in the newly Christianized areas; moreover, in an early anticipation of slide lectures, model books

42 Andrew the Apostle: F. Halkin, *BHG*^{3}, no. 102; idem, *Auctarium BHG* (1969), p. 22; idem, *Novum Auctarium BHG* (1984), p. 21.

43 Stallman, *Pankratios*, I, pp. 269–74, esp. pp. 269, 14–270, 4: ἤρξατο οὖν ὁ μακάριος περὶ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας [i.e. Avar captives] ἐρωτᾶν αὐτόν, ποίου γένους ἐστὶν καὶ ποῖα γλῶσσα ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ φησίν, ''τέκνον, ἔχεις Ἕλληνας τῆς σοφίας πρᾶξιν εἰληφότας;'' ὁ οὖν Βονιφάτιος πρὸς τὸν μακάριον, ''οὐχί, πάτερ, ἀλλὰ πάντες Ἄβαροι εἰσίν, ἔθνος πάνυ μιαρόν, μηδ' ὅλως τῆς πατρικῆς γλώσσης προσεγγίζοντα. Cf. pp. 270, 15–271, 3: ἐνέγκας [sc. the governor] δὲ καὶ ἑρμηνέα, εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὅτι, ''ἡμεῖς Χριστιανοὶ ἐσμὲν καὶ Χριστὸν ὁμολογοῦμεν, καὶ ἐὰν μάθετε καὶ ὑμεῖς τὸ Ἑλληνιστὶ καὶ Ῥωμαϊστί, ποιοῦμεν ὑμᾶς Χριστιανούς.'' Cf. pp. 271, 12–272, 1: ὁ δὲ μακάριος διὰ τοῦ ἑρμηνέως εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς, '' ἄνδρες, εἴπατε ἡμῖν τὰ μεγάλα, ἃ ἑωράκατε, καὶ ἡμεῖς λέγωμεν ὑμῖν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ τὸν λόγον.'' οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες πρὸς τὸν μακάριον διὰ τοῦ ἑρμηνέως, ''ἡμεῖς Ἀβαρικὸν ἔθνος ἐσμέν. Cf. pp. 274, 7–10: καὶ ἦν ἰδεῖν φοβερὸν θέαμα ἐπὶ τῷ ἀλάλῳ ἔθνει, ὅτι, ὡς ἐκυβίστουν ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ ἀνήρχοντο πεφωτισμένοι, διανοίγεσθαι τὰς γλώσσας αὐτῶν καὶ λέγειν, '' δόξα σοι, Χριστὲ ὁ θεὸς τὸ ἀληθινὸν καὶ δεδοξασμένον φῶς.'' In *Pankratios*, II, pp. 269–88, Stallman makes a valiant attempt to uphold the episode's general historicity.

were to be used simultaneously with readings from the Gospels.[44] The *Life*

[44] Liturgical and ritual books and objects, Stallman, *Pankratios*, I, p. 11, 2: "φέρε μοι τὸν τόμον τῆς χειροτονίας καὶ τοῦ ἐνθρονιασμοῦ [sic]." Cf. pp. 35, 11–36, 2: ἦν γὰρ ὁ μακάριος ἀπόστολος Πέτρος δεδωκὼς αὐτοῖς ἅπασαν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν κατάστασιν, τόμους δύο τῶν θείων μυστηρίων, εὐαγγέλια δύο, ἀποστόλους δύο, οὓς ἐκήρυξεν ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος ὁ ἀπόστολος, δύο δισκοποτήρια ἀργυρᾶ, δύο σταυροὺς ἔχοντας ῥάβδους κεδρίνους, τὴν διακόσμησιν τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἤγουν τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὴν Παλαιάν τε καὶ τὴν Νέαν Διαθήκην, ἃ ἐγένοντο κατὰ κέλευσιν τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων. Cf. pp. 44, 5–14: καὶ λαβὼν ὁ μακάριος Παγκράτιος τὸν τίμιον καὶ ζωοποιὸν σταυρὸν καὶ τὰ ἅγια εὐαγγέλια καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου Πέτρου τοῦ ἀποστόλου καὶ τὰς καθολικὰς αὐτοῦ δύο ἐπιστολὰς καὶ τὴν ἱστορίαν τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἃ καὶ ποιήσας ἐν πίναξι χαρτῴοις ἦν σὺν τῇ τοῦ ἀποστόλου εἰκόνι, καὶ ταύτας τὰς δύο εἰκόνας σὺν τῷ σταυρῷ διακατέχων, προσῆλθε τῷ Φάλκονι, καὶ ἐγγίσας τῷ ἀνδριάντι καὶ τύψας αὐτὸν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ, οὐδαμοῦ ῥῆσις, οὐδαμοῦ πνοή, οὐδαμοῦ ἡ τῶν ἀκαθάρτων δαιμόνων ἀλαζονεία, ἀλλὰ μόνα καὶ κενὰ τὰ θυσιαστήρια τοῦ ἀναισθήτου Φάλκονος.—Copying books for missionary purposes and reading on great feasts, ibid., pp. 275, 13–276, 2: ὁ δὲ μακάριος πρός με [sc. Evagrios, the purported author of the *Life*], "λάβε [sic?], τέκνον, σὺν Ξανθίππῳ, μᾶλλον δὲ Ἐπαφροδίτῳ, καὶ γράψατε αὐτοῖς τῶν μυστηρίων τοὺς τόμους καὶ τὰς διαφόρους τῶν ἐπισήμων ἑορτῶν ἀναγνώσεις καὶ τοῦ ἀποστόλου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν, ἅπερ ἀναγινώσκομεν τὰς ἑορτὰς τὰς μεγάλας."—Model books for pictures to be put on walls of churches, ibid., pp. 12, 11–13, 2: Πέτρος πεποίηκεν τὴν ἱστορίαν ἅπασαν τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν διεκόσμουν, ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὅτε ἄγγελος τὸ 'χαῖρε' κέκραγεν τῇ παρθένῳ, μέχρις ὅτου καὶ ἀνελήφθη ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός,. . . . αὐτοὶ ἐνετύπουν αὐτὰς ἐν πίναξι χαρτῴοις καὶ παρεδιδώασιν [sic] τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, καὶ αὐτὸς μετὰ τὴν πλήρωσιν τῆς οἰκοδομῆς ἐνετύπου αὐτάς. Cf. pp. 86, 14–88, 14: "τέκνον Εὐάγριε, ἔνεγκέ μοι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καὶ τὰς μεμβράνας τὰς ἐν ἱστορίᾳ οὔσας καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας," ἃς καὶ ἔστησεν ἐνώπιον ἡμῶν, ὅτε τὸ παννύχιον ἐπετελοῦμεν, καὶ ποιήσας τὸ πρέπον σέβας, ἐξηγέρθη, καὶ ἀναπτύξας τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον [τὸ] ἅγιον εὐαγγέλιον, λέγει πρός με, "τοῦτο ἡμῖν ἀνάγνωθι, τέκνον." ὁ δὲ μακάριος κατέσχε τὰ τοῖς πίναξιν ἐγκείμενα. ὡς οὖν ἠρξάμην ἐγὼ ἀναγνῶναι, αὐτὸς ἑρμήνευεν καὶ ὑπεδείκνυεν αὐτοῖς ἅπασαν εἰκόνα τῆς ἐν σαρκὶ οἰκονομίας τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου, ἅσπερ παρέδωκεν αὐτῷ ὁ μακάριος ἀπόστολος Πέτρος. ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἅπαντα κατὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν τοῦ ἁγίου εὐαγγελίου ὑπέδειξεν, ἀπὸ τοῦ τὸν ἄγγελον τῇ παρθένῳ προσελθεῖν καὶ ἀφ' οὗ ἐτέχθη, καὶ πῶς ἐβαπτίσθη καὶ πῶς ἐσταυρώθη, καὶ καὶ ἕκαστα σὺν τῶν θαυμάτων καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν. ταῦτα μὲν πάντα, ὡς προείρηται, ὑπεδείκνυεν αὐτοῖς εἰς πλείονα φωτισμόν· τὸν εὐαγγελισμόν, τὴν γένναν, τοὺς μάγους, τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν τοῦ Ἡρώδου, τοὺς ποιμένας, τὴν φάτνην, τὸ σπήλαιον, τοὺς ἀναιρεθέντας παῖδας, τὸν Πρόδρομον, τὸν Ἰορδάνην, τὸν κύριον κατελθόντα ἐν τοῖς ὕδασιν, τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἐρχόμενον ἐπ' αὐτόν, τὰ ἀκόλουθα τούτων, τοὺς ἀποστόλους, τὰς ἰάσεις. τὰς παραβολὰς δὲ πάσας διερμηνεύων, ἐσαφήνιζεν πάντα τὰ ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ μικρά τε καὶ μεγάλα ἐγκείμενα, μᾶλλον δὲ πάντα μεγάλα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ οὐδὲν ταπεινὸν ἢ χαμερπές. τὰ μὲν ἐν τοῖς πίναξιν ὑπέδειξε, τὰς δὲ παραβολὰς διερμήνευσεν αὐτοῖς λέγων ὅτιπερ, "τεκνία μου ἀγαπητὰ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ταῦτα πάντα τὰ ἀγαθὰ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς καὶ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν σαρκωθεὶς ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου εἰργάσατο ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὀφθεὶς καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συναναστραφείς." ἦλθεν οὖν ὁ μακάριος καὶ ὑπέδειξεν αὐτοῖς τὸ πάθος, τὸν σταυρόν, τὴν ταφήν, τὴν ἀνάστασιν, ἕως ὅτου ἀνελήφθη εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους τῶν Ἐλαιῶν, καὶ πληρώσας πάντα, ἐκαθέσθη, κελεύσας καὶ Βονιφατίῳ σὺν Λυκαονίδη καθεσθῆναι· ἵστατο γὰρ ἕως ὅτου πάντα ὑπέδειξεν αὐτοῖς. λέγει οὖν πρός με ὁ μακάριος, "τέκνον, πτύξας ἀποθοῦ εἰς τὴν θήκην αὐτοῦ τὸ ἅγιον εὐαγγέλιον." Cf. pp. 38, 14–39, 6: καὶ λαβὼν ὁ μακάριος τοὺς πίνακας, οὓς ἦν ἱστορήσας ὁ Ἰωσήφ, ἀναπτύξας ὑπέδειξεν

of Pankratios also contains a catechetic sermon in which St. Peter relates the story of the Old Testament; endless as it is, it covers only the period from Adam to Abraham.[45] The *Life* of St. Andrew puts the same kind of sermon in the first-called apostle's mouth; mercifully, Andrew's sermon is much shorter.[46] Sermons on the Old Testament strike us as a complicated and boring way to introduce ignorant pagans into the new religion, but this method must have been used in actual practice: we find a similar exposition at the beginning of the historical *Life* of the Slavic apostle Methodius into which it must have been inserted from some text used for missionary purposes. And in a short while we shall find the same practice again, when we discuss the relevant passages of the Primary Chronicle.

A parallel case of providing the new flock with overly complicated didactic material is offered by the stories of the ecumenical councils that we read, among other texts, in Patriarch Photius's letter to the newly baptized tsar Boris-Michael.[47] The doctrinary intricacies of these stories strike us as ill-suited to the addressee. One way to explain the presence of the reports on the councils in Photius's letter to Boris would be to assume a respectable degree of religious sophistication on the part of the Bulgarian tsar or his entourage. Still, the presence of the reports on the ecumenical councils at the beginning of the *Life* of Methodius indicates that they must have been part of the missionary practice.

Dividing Byzantine mission reports into historical and imaginary has its virtues for the student of the baptism of Rus'. It enables him to set up a third, intermediary category: that of hybrid mission reports. These refer to actual events, but present them in a miraculous setting. Using this classification, we are able to find a niche for the longest Byzantine report on the conversion of the Rus': the ninety-seventh chapter of the *Vita Basilii*, the biography of Emperor Basil I (867–886), a mid-tenth-century text that

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αὐτοῖς λέγων, "θεῖναι μὲν πρῶτον τὸν εὐαγγελισμόν, τὴν γέννησιν, τὸ πῶς ἐβαπτίσθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Προδρόμου, τοὺς μαθητάς, τὰς ἰάσεις, τὴν προδοσίαν, τὴν σταύρωσιν, τὴν ταφήν, τὴν ἐκ τοῦ Ἅιδου ἔγερσιν, τὴν ἀνάληψιν· ταῦτα πάντα ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ διακοσμεῖτε, ἵνα ὁρῶντα τὰ πλήθη τῶν εἰσιόντων, ὑπόμνησιν τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως τοῦ κυρίου λαμβάνοντες, ἀναζωπυροῦνται.

45 Stallman, *Pankratios*, I, pp. 28, 12–34, 3.

46 Cf. A. Dressel, ed., *Epiphanii monachi et presbyteri edita et inedita* (Paris and Leipzig, 1843), pp. 60–63.

47 The letter—more appropriately, a *liber hortatorius*—dates from 865. The latest edition is by B. Laourdas and L. G. Westerink, *Photii patriarchae Constantinopolitani Epistulae et Amphilochia*, I (1983), 1–39 (=*Ep*. 1). Of the letter's 1208 lines, 559 are devoted to the councils. For an English translation, cf. Despina Stratoudaki White and Joseph R. Berrigan, Jr., *The Patriarch and the Prince* (Brookline, Mass., 1982). The Old Testament was a source for sermons preached by western missionaries as well. There, however, it played a less prominent role. Cf. Sullivan, "The Carolingian Missionary" (fn. 29 above), pp. 715–20.

deals with the "first" conversion that occurred in the 860s. That chapter displays several *topoi* by now familiar to us from historical missionary reports: lavish gifts offered to the barbarians; a link between a peace treaty and baptism; the ruler and his elite examining the new faith; use of the Old Testament in preaching—but it also contains a miracle. This precious text is analyzed for its historical information and misinformation in every treatment of Christian beginnings in Rus' and will be discussed by Vittorio Peri; for our purposes here, it will be enough merely to adduce it in translation.[48]

> The emperor also conciliated the indomitable and utterly godless nation of the Rhos with the lure of generous gifts of gold, silver, and of silk garments: he concluded a treaty of peace with them, persuaded them to partake of the salutary baptism, and made them accept an (arch?)bishop who had received his ordination from Patriarch Ignatios. Having arrived in the country of the said nation, the archbishop gained their acceptance by the following deed. The ruler of that tribe convened an assembly of his subjects and presided over it, together with the elders of his entourage; the latter clung to their superstitions even more tenaciously than the rest, because they had so long been accustomed to them. In discussing their religion and that of the Christians, they called in the prelate who had recently arrived among them and inquired what his message was and what instruction they were about to receive. The prelate held out the Holy Book of the Divine Gospel and recited to them some of the miracles performed by our Savior and God; he also revealed to them some of the marvels wrought by God in the Old Testament. Forthwith the Rhos said, "unless we are shown some similar thing, especially something like that which, as you say, <happened to> the three young men in the furnace, we shall not in the least believe you, nor shall we again lend our ears to what you tell us." The prelate put his trust in the truth of Him Who said, "Whatsoever ye shall ask in my name ye shall receive," and, "He that believeth in me, the works that I do he shall do also, and greater works than these shall he do" (provided that whatever is done, is done for the salvation of souls, not for the sake of display), and said to them: "Though one ought not to tempt the Lord God, yet if you have resolved from the bottom of your hearts to join God, then you may ask Him whatsoever you wish, and God surely will accede to it because you have faith, even if I myself be lowly and the least of men." They asked that the very book of the Christian faith, that is, the Divine and Holy Gospel, be thrown into a fire built by them; should it be preserved without damage

48 This translation is a part of my forthcoming new critical edition of *Vita Basilii* (=Theophanes Continuatus, bk. 5). *Loci paralleli* to *Vita Basilii*'s 97th chapter are: Photius's *Letter* 2, 293–305 (to the Oriental Sees) = I, 50 ed. Laourdas–Westerink, *Photii*. . . (as in fn. 47); Theophanes Continuatus, 4, 33 = 196, 12–15, Bonn; and the texts quoted in fn. 13 above.—For recent discussions of our chapter as history, cf. L. Müller, *Die Taufe Russlands* (Munich, 1987), pp. 62–64; V. Vodoff, *Naissance de la chrétienté russe* (Paris, 1988), pp. 30–34. For a curious way in which Photius, Prince Volodimer the Great, and Bishop Leontij of Rostov met in Rostovian hagiography of ca. 1200, cf. F. B. Poljakov, "Die Auffassung der byzantinischen Mission in der lokalen hagiographischen Überlieferung über den Heiligen Leontij von Rostov," ed. K. Chr. Felmy et al., *Tausend Jahre Christentum in Russland* (Göttingen, 1988), pp. 445–59.

and remain unconsumed, they would join the God of whom he preached. These words having been uttered, and after the priest lifted his eyes and his hands to God and said, "Jesus Christ our God, this time as well glorify Thy holy name in the presence of all that nation," the Book of the Holy Gospels was thrown into the fiery furnace. Several hours passed, the furnace was put out, and it was found that the holy volume remained unscathed, unharmed, and having suffered no injury or shrinkage from the fire—even the tassels at the book's clasps suffered no corruption or outward change. When the barbarians beheld this, they were astounded by the greatness of the miracle, and abandoning all doubts, began to be baptized.

VI

Byzantine missionary reports, whether historical, hybrid, or imaginary, come in handy when one is rereading the Primary Chronicle.[49] I shall cull my six illustrations from the pages that cover the reigns of Ol'ga, Svjatoslav, and Volodimer.

1. The Byzantine emperor reproached Ol'ga for not fulfilling her promise to send "warriors to him for help."[50] The emperor was not as feebleminded as the Chronicle makes him out to be: he simply claimed his due from the newly converted barbarian ruler—we remember that in the system of the Primary Chronicle Ol'ga had just been baptized in Constantinople and the emperor had acted as her godfather. The emperor's reproach was not a literary device, but part and parcel of contemporary diplomacy. Some twenty-five years before Ol'ga's visit to Constantinople, the Byzantine patriarch Nicholas Mystikos, aware of the Bulgarian menace of the 920s, reminded the recently baptized ruler of the Caucasian Abasgians of his duty to support the empire militarily, should he be called upon to do so.[51]

2. The interminable retelling of the Old Testament put at the beginning of the speech that the Philosopher held before Volodimer[52] no longer disturbs us, for by now we know that both the imaginary and the hybrid mission reports referred to the same pedagogical device.

3. We will not wonder at the "curtain," that is, a piece of cloth that the Philosopher produced in front of Volodimer as a visual aid of sorts,[53] for we remember the model books with scenes from the Life of Christ that were distributed to missionaries in the *Life* of Pankratios.[54]

[49] The Primary Chronicle (hereafter *PVL*) will be quoted after the text prepared by D. S. Lixačev, *Povest' vremennyx let*, I (Moscow and Leningrad, 1950).
[50] *PVL*, 45.
[51] Nicholas Mystikos, *Letter* 162, 13–19 (fn. 8 above), p. 486; date of the letter: 924–925.
[52] *PVL*, 61–71.
[53] *PVL*, 74.
[54] Cf. p. 21 and fn. 44 above.

4. Nor will we wonder why the Philosopher's curtain should have contained a picture of the Last Judgment. We read in a tenth-century Byzantine source that the Last Judgment was presented for the same purpose one hundred years earlier in Bulgaria—true, not on a curtain but on a wall of Boris-Michael's hunting lodge—that the effect was immediate and that it turned Boris-Michael, a barbarian, into a Christian.[55]

5. When the emperors Basil II and Constantine VIII appealed to the one faith that would now unite Volodimer with the Byzantines, they referred to the motif of brotherhood and solidarity used in imperial propaganda for centuries, including the early tenth century when it was invoked during wars with Symeon of Bulgaria.[56]

6. In a much-quoted short passage the Chronicle tells us how Volodimer selected children of prominent people to submit them to "book-learning"—whatever this meant—and how the bereft mothers of those children broke out in lament.[57] There may have been reality behind the mothers' lamentations, but the Chronicle's passage is on a summary side; even so, scholars, from the eighteenth century to the twentieth, spent some effort to squeeze the elixir of Cyrillo-Methodian heritage out of it.[58] This story has a Syriac parallel that I prefer for the fullness of its detail and for the light it casts on the meaning of the Primary Chronicle's term *učenie knižnoe*.

[55] Cf. Theophanes Continuatus, 4, 15 = 163, 19–164, 17, Bonn. The connection between the passages in *PVL* and Theophanes Continuatus was made before. Cf., e.g., Dujčev, "Légendes," (fn. 27 above), esp. p. 66, fn. 2.

[56] *PVL*, 76. As parallels, cf. the text republished by R. J. H. Jenkins, "The Peace with Bulgaria (927) Celebrated by Theodore Daphnopates," in *Polychronion. Festschrift F. Dölger* (Heidelberg, 1966), pp. 287–303, esp. p. 289 (μηκέτι Σκύθης καὶ βάρβαρος. . . .Χριστιανοὶ δὲ πάντες) and p. 293 (οἱ τοῦ ἑνὸς ἑνικώτατοι). Cf. also the view of Bulgarians and Byzantines put in the mouth of Boris-Michael by Theophanes Continuatus 4, 15 = 164, 24, Bonn (ὡς ἤδη ἓν ἀλλ' οὐ δύο ὄντων αὐτῶν). Cf. also Nicholas Mystikos, *Letter* 8, 14–24 (fn. 8 above), p. 46; *Letter* 9, 19–25, 192–96, pp. 54, 64 (on Christianity's having created a bond between Symeon's Bulgarians and the Byzantines: they are ἓν σῶμα in faith). Cf. also the texts I adduced in *Slavic Review* 23 (1964): 226, fn. 22. For a western parallel from the ninth century (hope for a bond between the Franks of Louis the Pious and the Danes), cf. Rimbert, *Vita Anskarii*, quoted in Sullivan, "The Carolingian Missionary" (as in fn. 29 above), p. 724, fn. 113.

[57] *PVL*, 81.

[58] In 1791, F. V. Karžavin wrote in his *Précis historique sur l'introduction des lettres en Russie* (St. Petersburg): "Car ce ne fut que dans l'intention d'éclairer son peuple qu'il [sc. Volodimer] fonda des Ecoles dans lesquelles il fit entrer de force les enfents [sic?] des gens de distinction pour y apprendre à lire et à écrire. On voit par là que l'Eglise Russe a fait usage dès son origine, pour le service Divin, des livres traduits du Grec en Slavon par le Filosof [sic] Kirile autrement l'Evêque Konstantine." Reprinted by S. Dolgova, "Neizvestnoe russkoe soobščenie XVIII v. o Kirille i Mefodii. . . . ," *Kirilo-Metodievski Studii* 5 (1988): 191. For a modern statement, cf. D. Obolensky, "The Cyrillo-Methodian Heritage in Russia," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 19 (1965), esp. pp. 58–59.

Symeon the Mountaineer, a free-lance missionary active in a semi-pagan region along the Euphrates, tonsured eighteen boys and twelve girls—not a bad male to female ratio for any American college; for this, Symeon had to withstand lamentations, rage, and curses of the children's mothers. He provided the boys and girls thus selected with writing tablets and taught them for some five years, until they were about to reach puberty and had to be separated. In the meantime, they had learned the Psalter and the Scriptures, which was their *učenie knižnoe*.[59]

VII

The purpose of our Ravenna gathering is not to learn, for instance, that Leo I, a fifth-century Byzantine emperor, had the Arab chieftain Amorkesos seated high up at the imperial table so as to entice him to become a Christian;[60] to measure how deeply felt were the new bonds of solidarity between two recent royal converts in sixth-century Nubia; to be informed of the methods that Symeon the Mountaineer used to teach semi-pagan children on the west bank of the Euphrates; or, finally, to learn how the children's mothers reacted to Symeon's methods.

Still, it is good to put things into their context. In this lecture I have been suggesting all along, without saying it in so many words, that the baptism of Rus' was a local variant—granted, a complicated one—of a general pattern that could be traced across half a millennium. Attention to the pattern may help us better to understand both the variant itself and the local sources reporting on it; thus, Amorkesos's advantageous seating at Leo I's banquet should make us recall Ol'ga's high position at the imperial table during her visit in Constantinople five hundred years later.[61]

In the present lecture the Byzantine pattern occupied the center stage. In the days that shall follow, the opposite will happen: we will devote our attention to the peculiar, and perhaps unique, characteristics of the Rus' variant.

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[59] On Symeon the Mountaineer as teacher of children who hitherto had "no time to leave the goats and learn anything," cf. John of Ephesus, *Lives* (fn. 15 above), I, *PO*, 17 (1923): 241–46. For western eighth- and ninth-century parallels, especially to having children of the (newly converted?) nobles instructed in the faith, cf. Sullivan, "The Carolingian Missionary," (fn. 29 above), p. 713, esp. fn. 50.

[60] Cf. p. 16 and fn. 22 above.

[61] The story of Amorkesos was known in the learned milieu of Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Princess Ol'ga's host, for it has been transmitted in the *Excerpts* from reports about foreign embassies to Byzantium, a collection made under Constantine's auspices. For the source, cf. de Boor in fn. 22 above.

THE MISSIONARY PHASE

Mission, Conversion, and Christianization: The Armenian Example

ROBERT W. THOMSON

Armenia as a country, and the Armenians as a people, have on various occasions attracted attention in the world at large. But foreign interest in Armenia has been sporadic at best; and outsiders have rarely commented on the internal history of that land, reserving their ink for such events as involved their own countries. Any investigation of Armenian history is thus heavily dependent on local sources. With regard to the present theme—the conversion of Armenia to Christianity—this drawback poses a special difficulty. For not only do the first documents written in Armenian post-date the conversion of the Armenian court by a century or more; all Armenian literature was produced by Christians, most of them clerics in the Armenian church.[1] Not surprisingly they present a generally self-serving interpretation of the establishment of Christianity in their country, and they bring an anachronistic view to their historical enterprise.

The development of Armenian literature may thus be seen as a stage in the Christianization of that people—not necessarily as the final stage, but as the point when the self-awareness of Armenians as a distinct branch of Christendom took root. So in this paper I endeavor, first: to trace the origins of Christianity in Armenia—the "Mission"; second, to describe the

[1] Although there are echoes of pre-Christian epic tales and songs in the later written literature, such pagan themes and their singers (*gusan*) were discouraged by the Christian clergy. For a general view of Armenian literature, see V. Inglisian, "Die armenische Literatur," in *Armenisch und Kaukasische Sprachen*, Handbuch der Orientalistik, I 7, ed. B. Spuler (Leiden and Cologne, 1963). The most noteworthy remnants of epic tales and songs are preserved in the works of P'awstos Buzand, *Patmut'iwn Hayoc'* (St. Petersburg, 1883), reprinted with introduction by Nina G. Garsoian (Delmar, N.Y.), 1984; and Movsēs Xorenac'i, *Patmut'iwn Hayoc'* (hereafter Movsēs) (Tiflis, 1913), reprinted with an introduction by R. W. Thomson (Delmar, N.Y., 1981), translation and commentary in R. W. Thomson, *Moses Khorenats'i: History of the Armenians*, Harvard Armenian Texts and Studies, 4 (Cambridge, Mass., 1978). The system of transliteration used here for Armenian is that of the *Revue des études arméniennes*.

establishment of a regular ecclesiastical structure and the extension of the Christian faith over the country (these do not necessarily coincide)—the "Conversion"; third, to assess the role of the church[2] as an increasingly dominant force in Armenian society—the "Christianization"; and finally, to point to the growth of a specifically "Armenian" attitude which prevented the reunion of this branch of Christendom with the neighboring churches after the schisms of the sixth and seventh centuries. So although the comparable events that took place in Kievan Rus' in the tenth century will not receive direct attention, I trust that the discussion of these themes in the Armenian context will provide worthwhile analogies for a better understanding of the general question of Christianization.

Armenians were no more immune than other peoples from the desire to claim an apostolic origin for their local church. The spread of the various traditions that described the supposed missionary travels of Jesus' own disciples is not our concern here.[3] Suffice it to say that already in the late fifth century a tradition that Thaddaeus, one of the seventy, had preached in Armenia and had been martyred there was known to some Armenian writers.[4] And by the eighth century it was thought that the apostle Bartholomew had reached Armenia.[5] In any event, there was never any suggestion that these early missionaries had founded viable Christian communities. So if Saint Gregory the Illuminator was considered to have taken over the chair of Thaddaeus,[6] that cathedra had been unoccupied for two and a half centuries. Our historical investigation must begin in the third century, when the first hints are made in contemporary sources that there were Christians in Armenia.

The earliest reference to Christians in Armenia seems to be in Tertullian.[7] However, he is adapting the passage in Acts 2.9–10, which gives a list of people who heard the apostles preaching in their own tongues. It is

2 By "church" I mean here hierarchy and formal organization, not the community of the faithful.

3 For a general view, see F. Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity in Byzantium and the Legend of the Apostle Andrew*, Dumbarton Oaks Studies, IV (Cambridge, Mass., 1958).

4 P'awstos, III, 1; Movsēs, II, 33–34. The story of Addai/Thaddaeus is based on an adaptation of the Syriac *Teaching of the Apostle Addai*: Labubna, *T'ult' Abgaru* (Venice, 1868). See further M. van Esbroeck, "Le roi Sanatrouk et l'apôtre Thaddée," *Revue des études arméniennes* 9 (1972): 241–83.

5 Movsēs, II, 34. See further M. van Esbroeck, "Chronique arménienne," *Analecta Bollandiana* 80 (1962): 423–45 (esp. pp. 425–29, S. Barthélemy).

6 The connection between Thaddaeus and Gregory was made even clearer by the tradition that the latter was conceived over the tomb of Thaddaeus. See the Karshuni version of Agathangelos, par. 8 (ed. M. van Esbroeck, "Un nouveau témoin du Livre d'Agathange," *Revue des études arméniennes* 8 [1971]: 13–167), and Movsēs, II, 74.

7 *Adversus Judaeos*, VII, 4.

thus not hard evidence. In the middle of the century a letter was sent by Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, to the Armenians "whose bishop was Meruzanes." The document does not survive, so it is unclear who the "Armenians" were. The term was applied to Armenians living outside the historical boundaries of Greater Armenia, in Cappadocia and Pontus—"Armenia Minor." So a bishop with an Armenian name in such a community does not imply that there was yet a regular church in Armenia Magna. (This "Meruzanes" is otherwise unattested.)[8] Eusebius refers to the Armenians as Christians at the time of Maximin's persecution (312–313). But again it is not clear which Armenians are intended, since Maximin's persecution extended over Asia Minor, and this passage in Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History* was written well after the conversion of the Armenian court.[9]

If we disregard the story of Thaddaeus/Addai, which was adapted by Armenians from the Syriac account of the conversion of Edessa and dated the foundation of the Armenian church to the time of Jesus' disciples, Armenian tradition is unanimous in regarding Gregory the Illuminator as the founder of that church. The accounts of the life and works of Gregory are numerous and indicate a continuous reworking of tradition. The earliest Armenian written version (which could not predate the creation of the Armenian script in the early fifth century) is lost, though renderings in Greek and Arabic survive. The standard Armenian version is attributed to a certain "Agat'angelos." The complications of this story and its involved textual history are not immediately relevant.[10] The main points are straightforward.

[8] Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, VI, 46.2. The only Armenians with the name Mehrujan or Merujan attested in literary sources were members of the Arcruni family, whose territory was in the area east and south of Lake Van. The name is of Iranian origin; see H. Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1897), pp. 52–53.

[9] Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, IX, 8.2. In the *Demonstratio Evangelica*, I, 6.20d, Eusebius again refers to the Armenians as being Christians "in our day." This work was written after 314, but before the Council of Nicaea.

[10] The Armenian text, *Agat'angelay Patmut'iwn Hayoc'*, was published in Tiflis in 1909. For the direct Greek translation see G. Lafontaine, *La version grecque ancienne du livre arménien d'Agathange*, Publications de l'Institut orientaliste de Louvain, 7 (Louvain, 1973). The Arabic and subsidiary Greek versions were published by G. Garitte, *Documents pour l'étude du livre d'Agathange*, Studi e Testi, 127 (Vatican City, 1946). The main versions are compared in the introduction to R. W. Thomson, *Agathangelos: History of the Armenians* (Albany, 1976). For more recent discoveries and general discussion, see G. Winkler, "Our Present Knowledge of the History of Agat'angelos and its Oriental Versions,' *Revue des études arméniennes* 14 (1980): 125–41.

(1) Gregory had been raised as a Christian in Caesarea in Cappadocia. He returned to Armenia with the king, Trdat, while the latter was still a pagan, and was imprisoned.

(2) The immediate occasion for the miraculous conversion of the Armenian king Trdat was the martyrdom of nuns, supposedly refugees from Roman persecution. Torments fell on Trdat as punishment, and he was cured by Gregory.

(3) Gregory was sent to Caesarea for consecration as bishop. On his return the pagan shrines were overthrown and churches established on their sites.

(4) The site of the main church was at Ejmiacin where the nuns had been martyred, near the royal court.

(5) Gregory established a regular system of bishoprics and handed over the patriarchate to his son.

Some of these points are confirmed by evidence from other sources, other aspects are not so confirmed. In what follows I shall base my point of departure on Armenian texts and endeavour to show how different writers give different clues to a complicated process.

(1) The basic role of Gregory and his descendants as leaders of the fledgling Armenian church is corroborated elsewhere. In fact, the social position of Gregory's noble family, the Pahlavids, gave him standing; and conversely, his descendants used their position in the church to gain further prominence and social power.[11]

(2) The connection with Caesarea continued for several generations of patriarchs, who had to return to that city for consecration by the metropolitan.[12]

(3) That the conversion of Trdat was preceded by martyrdoms is not implausible in light of Maximin's persecution, as just noted. If the number of years ascribed to Gregory's imprisonment by Agat'angelos is correct, and the return of Trdat to Armenia occurred in 298 after Shah Narses ceded much of Armenia to Galerius, then the date of Trdat's conversion and Gregory's consecration could plausibly be 314.[13] The conversion to Christianity of an Armenian king before the edict of Milan in 311 and Maximin's

[11] For the holdings in land of the patriarchal family, see H. Gelzer, "Die Anfänge der armenischen Kirche," *Berichte der königlichen sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* 47 (1895): 107–174, esp. pp. 148–50.

[12] P'awstos, III, 12, 16, 17; IV, 4.

[13] See Thomson, *Agathangelos*, p. lxvi, and P. Ananian, "La data e le circostanze della consecrazione di S. Gregorio Illuminatore," *Le Muséon* 84 (1961): 43–73, 319–60.

defeat by Galerius in 313 seems most unlikely, especially in view of the difficulties it would entail with the Sasanian shahs.

(4) The main difficulty in the story related by "Agat'angelos" is the ascription of the principal church to the site of Ejmiacin. Other sources indicate that the first church in Armenia was on the site of the former temple at Aštišat, west of Lake Van. It was only after the division of Armenia into Roman and Iranian spheres in 387 that the prelates of eastern Armenia established their seat near the capital of Vałaršapat within sight of Mount Ararat.

(5) The succession of patriarchs from the family of Gregory into the fifth century—with appointments from outside only when the relative due to succeed was quite unworthy[14] —is unanimously confirmed by all sources. So well established was the practice that the return of the patriarchate to that family was as cherished a theme in later Armenian apocalypses as the return of the monarchy to the Arsacid family.[15]

Other than later claims of an apostolic origin for the Armenian church, there are no written accounts of the origin of Christianity in Armenia that offer a divergent view from that of Agat'angelos—or more exactly, the variations within the general tradition expounded by the many versions of "Agat'angelos." However, there do exist some indications that missionary activity in that country had not been restricted to envoys from Cappadocia, the numerous assistants whom Gregory the Illuminator is said to have brought back with him after his consecration as bishop in Caesarea.[16]

In the Epic Histories known as the *Buzandaran* of P'awstos there is a story describing the search by the famous bishop of Nisibis, Jacob, for Noah's ark in southern Armenia and Jacob's involvement in local affairs there.[17] Whatever the historicity of this search, and the authenticity of the fragment of wood given him by an angel, the fact remains that such interference in local affairs by the notable fourth-century bishop from Syria was easily believable in the fifth century when the text was put into writing. Furthermore, in the *Life* of Maštoc', inventor of the Armenian script, which was written in the mid-fifth century, there is an elaborate description of the

14 As noted by P'awstos, III, 13.

15 See, for example, the Vision of Sahak in Łazar Parp'ec'i, *Patmut'iwn Hayoc'* (hereafter Łazar) (Tiflis, 1904), reprinted with an introduction by D. Kouymjian (Delmar, N.Y., 1985), ch. 17 (which refers to events due to occur 350 years after the vision, i.e., in the mid-eighth century); or Arak'el of Bitlis in the fifteenth century predicting the future liberation of Constantinople, Jerusalem, and Armenia. For this see A. K. Sanjian, "Two Contemporary Armenian Elegies on the Fall of Constantinople, 1453," *Viator* 1 (1970): 223–61.

16 Agathangelos, § 806.

17 P'awstos, III, 10.

attempt of another Syrian bishop, Daniel, to adapt a Semitic alphabet for the Armenian language.[18] This was superseded by Maštoc' 's own invention. The actual impact of Syrian missionary activity in southern Armenia during the fourth century is hard to assess in the absence of any written record. However, the use of Syriac loanwords in the fifth-century texts for fundamental Christian expressions strongly hints at the influence of Syrian Christianity.[19]

Indeed, it would be rather surprising if the numerous colonies of Jews attested in Armenia from the first century B.C. had never been visited by a Christian missionary. The great number of Aramaic loanwords in Armenian for commercial expressions points to the importance of connections with Syria.[20] But it is significant that contacts between the foreign colonies (*gałut'* —an Aramaic word) and the mainstream of Armenian political and social life were not close. The cities in Armenia played a commercial but not a political role.[21] The Christian church in Armenia developed within the social fabric of that country—with interesting variations from the way it developed in the Greco-Roman world. Therefore, any Christians among the foreign communities (if any did in fact ever exist) left no trace in the later Armenian record. For that record was set down in writing by persons unsympathetic to city culture, who ignored aspects of life that did not directly affect their own social milieu.

For the same reason it is difficult to trace the expansion of Christianity within the country and the establishment of a regular hierarchy. According to the received version of Agat'angelos, Saint Gregory baptized more than four million Armenians in a week, following which churches were built in every village, preaching was undertaken in every area so that "in the twinkling of an eye" the "oafish" peasants became acquainted with the prophets and the gospel, and more than four hundred bishops were ordained by Gregory himself for every region.[22]

18 Koriwn, *Vark' Maštoc'i* (Erevan, 1941), reprinted with an introduction by K. H. Maksoudian (Delmar, N.Y., 1985), § 6.

19 See Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, pp. 281–321: "Die syrischen Lehnwörter im Armenischen." There are also certain calques, such as the use of *pahem* (I keep) in the sense "I fast"; cf. Syriac *nṭr*.

20 See H. A. Manandian, *The Trade and Cities of Armenia in Relation to Ancient World Trade*, trans. Nina G. Garsoian (Lisbon, 1965), ch. 3, esp. p. 65.

21 See N. G. Garsoian, "The Early-Mediaeval Armenian City: An Alien Element?," Ancient Studies in Memory of Elias Bickerman, *The Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society* 16–17 (1984–85): 67–83.

22 Agat'angelos, § 835, 840, 856.

This optimistic assessment of Gregory's activity is not very helpful. The Epic Histories of P'awstos make it clear that the first bishopric was established in western Armenia at the site of a former pagan temple, not at the royal capital.[23] It is also clear from the nomenclature of the bishops given by the early texts that their sees were not the transitory commercial centers known as cities and built in various places by succeeding monarchs, but rather the estates of the great noble families. When bishops are identified by see, it is not a town but a province that is named, and many provinces are identified by the name of the family that controlled them.[24] In the Greco-Roman world Christianity spread from city to city; and the more important the city the more important the wider role played by its bishop. In Armenia Christianity spread through the social and political structure indigenous to that country.

Thus at the beginning of the fourth century it was the noble family of the Pahlavunik' and the direct descendants of Gregory who played the leading role. Despite the conversion of the king and the emphasis placed by "Agat'angelos" on the cooperation of Gregory and Trdat in the rapid conversion of the whole country, the ecclesiastical authority and the royal authority might (and did) clash, just as the political interests of the great noble families and of the monarchy were frequently at variance before the abolition of the Arsacid line in 428.

The patriarchs in the line of Gregory were descended from an ancient noble family of Parthian Iranian origin. Just as in the secular arena the great offices of state were hereditary in certain families, so the Pahlavids regarded their ecclesiastical role as one due them by right. The lands belonging to the patriarch were his in the same way as family estates belonged to the magnates of the realm, and they were passed on by inheritance. The patriarchs thus had a secure base—and not just the moral support of the clergy—from which to oppose the royal will, should that be necessary. For their part the Armenian kings had to resort to exile, or even murder, in order to overcome ecclesiastical opposition to what they might consider political concerns. The actions of the patriarchs thus receive much attention by Armenian historians who describe this formative period. For in

[23] P'awstos, III, 14; cf. Agat'angelos, § 814–815, and below, fn. 26.

[24] See the Armenian conciliar lists conveniently gathered in the appendices to N. Adontz, *Armenia in the Period of Justinian*, trans. with partial revisions by Nina G. Garsoian (Lisbon, 1970), pp. 94*–101*.

many regards there was little distinction between the patriarchs and other magnates.[25]

But our sources leave us quite in the dark concerning the actual spread of Christianity in a geographical sense. P'awstos describes how in the mid-fourth century the Patriarch Nersēs was able to summon a council of "all the bishops of Armenia,"[26] and even earlier "all the bishops" had been summoned by the king on those occasions when it was necessary to elect a successor to Gregory's sons as patriarch. But how rapidly and in what order the noble families created bishops on their lands is not explained.

The account of Gregory's idol-smashing journeys given by Agat'angelos describes the destruction of local pagan cults, the building of churches on those sites once the demons had fled, and the fate of the pagan clergy—conversion or death.[27] Although the information about the cult sites and the deities there worshipped is precious for our knowledge of pre-Christian religion in Armenia,[28] the later writers give no hint that these sites formed bases for missionary activity directed at local communities, or that they became the sees of bishops. (There is one exception—the last temple destroyed by Gregory, at Aštišat, where on his way back from consecration in Caesarea he established the first church. This did become the patriarchal see until that was moved to northeastern Armenia after the division of 387.) Since the later Armenian sources concentrate on the leading personalities and the conflicts between them, only by indirect hints can we assess the spread of Christianity beyond the uppermost social circles. P'awstos and Agat'angelos wax rhetorical in their descriptions of teaching and missionary activity throughout the countryside. But the eradication of former pagan beliefs and the acceptance of Christian attitudes took many generations, and was by no means a uniform process.

Nor was opposition limited to recalcitrant peasants. The conversion of the king was an act of state and the establishment of an official and organized clergy was also an act of state. So those great princes who opposed the pro-Roman policies of the kings and espoused closer relations with Iran, to whose social ethos Armenians were far closer, quite naturally rejected Christianity and promoted the Zoroastrian cult of fire. It was not until the

25 For Armenia in this formative period see the studies of N. G. Garsoian, gathered in her *Armenia between Byzantium and the Sasanians*, Variorum Reprints (London, 1985).

26 P'awstos, IV, 4. The council was held at Aštišat, "the mother of all the churches" and the traditional place where synods had been convened by the predecessors (*naxneac'*) of Nersēs.

27 Agathangelos, § 777–815.

28 Movsēs (II, 12) used the information in Agat'angelos as a basis for his (unhistorical) explanations of the origin of pagan cults in Armenia; see also A. Carrière, *Les huit sanctuaires de l'Arménie payenne* (Paris, 1899).

end of the fourth century that the major revolts were finally crushed.[29] After the abolition of the monarchy, the Sasanian shahs tried on various occasions to impose their own orthodoxy on that sector of Armenia within their orbit.[30] But their success was never permanent.

The church, then, was from the beginning a vital social and political force in the upper echelons of society. The role of the patriarchs and bishops in affairs of state is attested in the historians of the early period. But our sources are not much interested in the details of the spread of Christian practice among those less newsworthy. They say little or nothing about how or in what places Christianity was spread among the populace in an organized fashion. Although P'awstos gives elaborate details of various kinds of hospices set up by the patriarch Nersēs I and indicates that they continued to be run from the patriarchal palace, he does not show that there was any general plan of Christian expansion behind these philanthropic institutions.[31] We have to look elsewhere for the main source of local preaching—to the activities of holy men and ascetics in deserted places.

In the Epic Histories we read about the miracles worked by some of these ascetics and the miraculous visions they enjoyed.[32] The more famous of them attracted disciples. Although later historians describe the organization of such groups in anachronistic terms (based on their experience of organized monastic communities), the impact both of anchorites and of their wandering counterparts was considerable. Their most famous representative was Maštoc'.

Maštoc', who was born in western Armenia in the mid-fourth century and had received a good Greek education, abandoned a promising secular career at court for the religious life of a hermit. In due course he attracted disciples, and like others before him led these pupils in missionary activity in remoter parts of the country. It is significant that his biographer Koriwn[33] gives Maštoc' no official standing, save only as a respected friend of the patriarch, and later of the king. Maštoc' was a free agent, without a base in an organized monastery or attachment to a bishopric. It is also significant that Łazar, writing at the end of the fifth century, speaks of the

29 These conflicts form the substance of the Epic Histories (the *Buzandaran*) of P'awstos.

30 The *Histories* of Ełišē and Łazar describe the resistance of the Armenians in the fifth century. For Łazar, see above, fn. 15. The critical text of Ełišē, *Vasn Vardanay ew Hayoc' Paterazmin*, was published in Erevan in 1957; translation and commentary by R. W. Thomson, *Elishe: History of Vardan and the Armenian War*, Harvard Armenian Texts and Studies, 5 (Cambridge, Mass., 1982).

31 P'awstos, IV, 4; VI, 5.

32 P'awstos, V, 25–28; VI, 2–16.

33 For Koriwn, see above, fn. 18.

use of Syriac in eastern Armenia; and that the role of Maštoc' as interpreter is brought out by the later Movsēs Xorenac'i.[34]

In other words, up to the end of the fourth century oral preaching was naturally conducted in the vernacular. But any scriptural readings or liturgical ceremonies—anything based on a written text—had to be conducted in Greek or Syriac. Since the use of Syriac was associated with the Iranian sector of divided Armenia, and Greek with the area under Roman domination, there were political problems involved with the official encouragement of these foreign languages. And on a more basic level, the vast majority of Armenians would find the Christian message rather meaningless if presented in a tongue not their own.

It is difficult to assess what role political considerations played in the development of a native script, though the interest of the king is stressed in all accounts of that invention. Quite naturally, the Armenian historians, themselves Christians if not clerics in the Armenian church, emphasize the desire of Maštoc' to bring the gospel to the people in their own language. An adaptation of a script used for an (unnamed) Semitic language was first tried but found to be unsatisfactory.[35] Around 400 A.D. a totally new script was successfully invented, based on the principles of the Greek alphabet.[36]

As soon as the script had been invented, the bilingual background of Christian activity in Armenia became even more obvious. For Maštoc', with the encouragement of patriarch and king, set groups of his disciples to learning either Greek or Syriac (or both). He sent them to the centers of Syriac and Greek theological learning—Edessa, Melitene, and eventually Constantinople. Very rapidly a corpus of texts became available in Armenian. First biblical, liturgical, and theological works were translated from Greek and Syriac. Then the first translators began to compose original works in their own language—Koriwn being a prime example of a translator who turned to authorship himself. The process of translation was not halted once a native literature had developed, but continued (at varying levels of intensity) through the Middle Ages. An ever-widening circle of scholarly endeavour was made available in Armenian and adapted to the Armenian situation. These texts then formed the basis for original

[34] Łazar, ch. 10; Movsēs, III, 47.

[35] See above, fn. 18.

[36] There is a large body of secondary literature on this invention. See in particular P. Peeters, "Pour l'histoire des origines de l'alphabet arménien," *Revue des études arméniennes* 9 (1929): 203–237. Volume 7 of *Banber Matenadarani* (Erevan, 1964) was devoted to studies of Mesrop Maštoc' on the occasion of the 1600th anniversary of his birth. Further Armenian bibliography is given by Maksoudian in his introduction (pp. xxix–xxxi) to the 1985 reprint of Koriwn; see above, fn. 18.

Armenian work and the elaboration of Armenian traditions.[37]

The invention of the script and its promulgation by Maštoc' and his disciples had a further implication. The written use of a common language provided for the first time a direct tie between Armenians on both sides of the Roman-Iranian border. Koriwn describes a journey undertaken by Maštoc' as far as Constantinople in order to obtain imperial permission for him (a subject of Iranian Armenia) to work amongst Armenians in Roman territory. Movsēs Xorenac'i hints at the political difficulties this straddling of the border entailed.[38] It was one thing for bishops in Roman territory to give appropriate obedience to Roman ecclesiastical authorities, and for bishops in Iranian territory to give their allegiance to their patriarch and sovereign, but quite another for such political loyalties to be confused. The use of a common written language no doubt encouraged the growth of a sense of common Armenian identity, but it complicated the unstable balance of Armenians poised between two jealous imperial powers. And the fact that different traditions, liturgical and theological, had developed in the Greek-speaking and Syriac-speaking worlds meant that a common Armenian tradition would take time to develop.[39]

Our understanding of this period in Armenian history is complicated by the fact that the Armenian sources were written in Iranian Armenia and more or less ignore the different circumstances over the border to the west. The patriarchs resided in Vałaršapat (modern Ējmiacin) and their patronage of scholarship extended only over the territory subject to the shah. The forging of Armenian identity in that, larger, part of the ancestral homeland owed much to the struggle of the church against attempts to impose Zoroastrian orthodoxy. Involvement in the theological quarrels of the Roman Empire was a secondary consideration. The final stage in the Christianization of Armenia was essential for the future self-consciousness of Armenians, but in that process a substantial minority in Roman territory was left out.

[37] For a brief survey of the early stages in the development of Armenian literature, see R. W. Thomson, "The Formation of the Armenian Literary Tradition," *East of Byzantium: Syria and Armenia in the Formative Period*, ed. Nina G. Garsoian, Thomas F. Mathews, and Robert W. Thomson (Washington, D.C., 1982), pp. 135–50; and A. Terian, "The Hellenizing School," ibid., pp. 175–86.

[38] Koriwn, ch. 21; Movsēs, III, 57.

[39] For the development of Armenian liturgical traditions see the introduction to G. Winkler, *Das armenische Initiationsrituale*, Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 217 (Rome, 1982), and the extensive bibliography on pp. 15–44.

The emergence of a distinctly Armenian Christian tradition was conditioned by a variety of pressures. The struggle with Sasanian Iran was significant for the development of later ideology—as we shall see in a moment. Pressure from the Roman empire to the west prompted reaction of a different kind. Although it would be simplistic to think of the tension as theological to the west and social/political to the east, the problems facing the Armenians were not identical in both cases. So it may be convenient first to trace the deepening involvement of the Armenian church in the theological quarrels that rent Christendom after Constantine had summoned the first ecumenical council, and then to turn to the emergence of a distinctly "national" outlook.

Aristakēs, second son of Gregory the Illuminator (who succeeded his father as bishop of Greater Armenia), attended the council held at Nicaea in 325.[40] He and his successors gave their firm support to the anti-Arian stand there upheld. This staunch defense of Nicene orthodoxy brought the patriarch Nersēs I into conflict with the court when royal policy favored the Arianizing outlook of later Roman emperors, notably Valens.[41] But there was never any important pro-Arian faction in Armenia at large. It was only after the division of Armenia in 387 that Armenian sources refer to serious theological controversy within the country. By that time the Armenian patriarchs were resident in Iranian Armenia and had also broken formal ties with Caesarea. The last bishop to be consecrated there was Nersēs. His son Sahak was patriarch at the time of Maštoc' and played a major role in the development of a written Armenian tradition. But he was not consecrated in Greek territory, and after him the Armenians continued to anoint their own ecclesiastical leaders quite independently.[42] In the matter of *appointment*, however, they were not entirely independent, since the Sasanian court played a major role in the governance of its sector of Armenia.

The invention of the Armenian script paved the way for the circulation of books, both those officially recognized and those of more dubious origin. Koriwn, describing the work of the first translators, notes that the "false" books of Theodore of Mopsuestia were brought to Armenia.[43] He does not say by whom, though in the early fifth century Theodore had many supporters in Syria and Cilicia on the southern border of Armenia. However,

40 Agat'angelos, § 884; P'awstos, III, 10; Movsēs, II, 89–91.

41 For the Arian question, see N. G. Garsoian, "Politique ou Orthodoxie?," *Revue des études arméniennes* 4 (1967): 297–320 (reprinted in her *Armenia between Byzantium and the Sasanians*).

42 See G. Garitte, *La Narratio de Rebus Armeniae*, CSCO Subsidia, 4 (Louvain, 1952), § 31, and his commentary on pp. 99–100.

43 Koriwn, ch. 23.

Theodore's teaching on the Incarnation was condemned at the Council of Ephesus in 431. Immediately thereafter Acacius, bishop of Melitene, where Maštoc' had sent disciples to study, warned the Armenians of the danger of Theodore's heretical views. The correspondence culminated in a letter from Proclus, patriarch of Constantinople, which was accepted as an authoritative statement of the faith.[44] In the lifetime of Maštoc', then, his efforts to bring together Armenians on both sides of the border catapulted him into the conflict of opposing theologies; in that debate the Armenians sided with Constantinople. But equally as important as the position reached is the fact that this first foray into doctrinal debate gave the Armenian church a base from which its officials were reluctant to budge in future controversies. Positions incompatible with Proclus's interpretation of the teaching of Ephesus came to be regarded as innovations. This is of some relevance in the debate over Chalcedon that eventually divided Armenia from the imperial church.

Although representatives from Iranian Armenia were not present at Chalcedon in 451, and there are no direct contemporary Armenian references to its decisions, there do exist hints of the reverberations caused in Armenia by the controversy that that council had addressed.[45] However, no formal theological declarations were made concerning the natures and person of Christ until early in the following century, during the period when the *Henotikon* of Zeno was in effect. The accord of the Armenian church with the imperial orthodoxy of that time emerges very clearly from the correspondence concerning the first council of Dvin, held in that administrative capital of Iranian Armenia in 505. A delegation of Syrians opposed to the church in Persia (which favored Nestorianism) appeared, requesting confirmation of their orthodoxy. It is not known why a council of Armenian, Georgian, and Caucasian Albanian bishops and nobles was sitting; however, they approved the creed of the Syrians, among whom figured the Monophysite enthusiast Simeon of Beit-Arsham. The council agreed in condemning the false teaching of Nestorius and that of others like him at Chalcedon, and noted that the Syrian declaration of faith was in agreement with that of Greeks, Armenians, Georgians, and Albanians.[46]

44 For this correspondence (preserved in the *Book of Letters* [*Girk' T'łt'oc'*], Tiflis, 1901), see M. Tallon, "Livre des Lettres. 1er Groupe," *Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph* 32, fasc. 1 (1955).

45 See K. Sarkissian, *The Council of Chalcedon and the Armenian Church*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1975), pp. 151ff.

46 For the correspondence, see the *Book of Letters*, pp. 41–51.

However, the abrogation of the *Henotikon* in 518 (which seems to have had no immediate echo in Armenia) meant that the Greek church reaffirmed the formulation of Chalcedon. That council—as opposed to persons attending—was explicitly denounced for the first time in Armenia at Dvin in 555. Again a delegation of Syrians opposed to the Nestorians in Iran had come to Armenia, this time requesting episcopal consecration for one of their number. It was this formal condemnation of Chalcedon as teaching erroneous doctrine opposed to that of Nicaea that led to the irrevocable split.[47] The break with the Georgians at the beginning of the seventh century,[48] and the efforts of the imperial government to effect a reunion over the next hundred years, merely confirmed the isolationist tendencies of the Armenians. Their separation was reinforced by differences of ritual as well as of doctrine. Resistance was expressed in aphoristic terms by the patriarch Movsēs, who refused to meet the emperor Maurice, saying: "I shall not cross the Azat [into Roman territory]; I shall not eat *phournitarion* [leavened communion bread]; nor shall I drink hot water [mixed with the communion wine]."[49]

The closing of Armenian ranks against the Greek church was never total and unanimous. Many individuals adhered to the Chalcedonian creed, all scholars continued to admire Greek culture and learning, and visits to Constantinople were frequently made for political and scholarly reasons. Nonetheless, there gradually developed a clearer sense of individuality and separateness. The new ideology received its classic expression in the work of Ełišē, to whose interpretation of the Armenian position we must now turn.

Agat'angelos had made it clear that Gregory the Illuminator was the first to establish an organized church and hierarchy in Armenia, though other Armenian writers did not hesitate to push back the origins of their church to the apostle Thaddaeus. The antiquity of Christianity in Armenia is a theme particularly stressed in the work of Ełišē, *The History of Vardan and the Armenian War*—although he does not mention Thaddaeus. His *History* is an account of the Armenian rebellion of 450–451 against Sasanian Iran, led by Vardan Mamikonean.[50] The rebellion was unsuccessful as a military venture, and Vardan was killed in the dramatic confrontation on the field of

[47] *Book of Letters*, pp. 52–77. See also R. W. Thomson, "An Armenian List of Heresies," *Journal of Theological Studies*, n.s. 16 (1965): 358–67, esp. pp. 359–60.

[48] See the correspondence in the *Book of Letters* and in the second book of the historian Uxtanēs; translation in Z. Arzoumanian, *Ukhtanes of Sebastia: History of Armenia* (Fort Lauderdale, 1985).

[49] See the *Narratio*, § 102, and the commentary of Garitte, pp. 242–44.

[50] For the Armenian text and recent translation, see above, fn. 30.

Avarayr. Ełišē goes on to describe the fortitude of the prisoners in Iranian jails, the martyrdom of some, and the promise of eventual release for the survivors. Armenian resistance did prevent the shah from succeeding in imposing Zoroastrianism on this province of his empire; in fact, a generation later a good measure of political independence was granted when Vahan Mamikonean, a nephew of Vardan's, was appointed governor.

The importance of Ełišē's work is not so much his record of events. For it is an elaborately constructed book with much rhetorical speech-making, and the account of the same war in Łazar, who was a contemporary and friend of Vahan's, was composed closer to the time. Rather the great significance of Ełišē lies in his interpretation of the struggle, which is seen in absolute terms of truth versus falsehood, loyalty versus perfidy. Two basic themes emerge: the Armenians as a people fighting for their ancestral traditions, alone against all odds, in which struggle death is a greater victory than submission; and the concept of a covenant, accepted by the church, the army, and the common people, a covenant which is synonymous with the identity of the Armenians as a people and which involves both religious and political loyalty. Those who reject or abandon the covenant are both traitors to their people and apostates with regard to the faith. These two loyalties are inseparable, so the role of the Armenian church as the keeper of the faith and the guardian of the nation's integrity is crucial.

Ełišē's formulation of covenant and ancestral tradition was a keystone for later Armenian self-identification. Fifteen hundred years later his themes still have relevance, even if interpretations have shifted in emphasis over the centuries. The literary origins of the dual theme are clear: it is to the Maccabees that Ełišē looks for a model.[51] He sees in their struggle the model of the Christian Armenians fighting against the Sasanians (as the Jews fought the Seleucids) for their ancestral way of life. Certainly the Armenians were not the only people to find inspiration in the story of the Maccabees and to see close parallels between events of that time and the present tribulations of their people. The question here is: How accurately does this image portray the actual state of Armenia in the fifth century? Ełišē offers us the vision of Armenia as a Christian nation. Was it more than an ideal to which succeeding generations should aspire?

Ełišē refers to the Roman Empire as a Christian nation, whose emperor refused to help the Armenians—fellow-Christians—in their hour of need. The actual policy of the emperor Marcian with regard to Armenia and

[51] See the introduction to Thomson, *Elishe*; and in general R. W. Thomson, "The Maccabees in Early Armenian Historiography," *Journal of Theological Studies*, n.s. 26 (1975): 329–41.

Sasanian Iran is not our concern here. The significant point is that Ełišē ignores the Armenians living in Roman territory. He views his compatriots as a homogeneous entity poised between two great powers. This was a distortion of the political reality, for there were several Armenian princely houses on the western side of the frontier. They had the status of *civitates foederatae* under the *comes Armeniae*, with duties towards their sovereign, yet with internal autonomy and freedom from taxation. Not until the time of Justinian were these princedoms suppressed.[52] A much more accurate picture of the situation at the time of the revolt in 451 is given by Łazar, who names the Armenian princes in Roman territory to whom the rebels turned for help. But it was Ełišē's version of events, not Łazar's, that became accepted and authoritative. In later centuries, Armenians forgot their compatriots whose destiny had been linked to the Roman Empire, they simplified the complex tug-of-war of loyalties, and magnified the fate of a large part of the country into a paradigm for the whole.

To regard Christianity in Armenia as an ancestral way of life was also anachronistic for the time of Vardan. A central theme in the histories of both Ełišē and Łazar is the split between the supporters of Vardan and the supporters of the officially appointed governor, Vasak, prince of Siunik', who remained loyal to the shah. He and the leaders of many princely houses accepted Zoroastrianism, which was not a new or strange religion. Indeed it was Iranian traditions—admittedly more those of the Parthian than of the Sasanian era, but Iranian nonetheless—that were ancestral in Armenia.[53] The innovators were the Christians, who saw in this newly planted religion a focus for Armenian aspirations. In the long run their expectations were fulfilled. Christian Armenia survived the destruction of Zoroastrian Iran; and the Armenian church provided national leadership for many centuries. Never were all Armenians loyal members of that church. But Christianity did become an ancestral way of life, even if it had not been so as early as the fifth century.

There is another aspect of "ancestral" which should also be noted. When Ełišē has Vardan and the church leaders urge their followers to heroism, he quite naturally speaks in biblical terms, contrasting salvation through faith in Christ with eternal destruction through rejection of that faith. When death in battle looms before one, it is the Cross which gives

52 See C. Toumanoff, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History* (Washington, D.C., 1963), pp. 133, 152; and Adontz, *Armenia*, trans. N. G. Garsoian, chs. 5–6.

53 See Nina G. Garsoian, "Prolegomena to a Study of the Iranian Elements in Arsacid Armenia," *Handes Amsorya* 90 (1976): cols. 177–234 (reprinted in her *Armenia between Byzantium and the Sasanians*).

hope and the moral courage to face the enemy. However, Ełišē does not equate ancestral customs with the Christian church in the wider sense. That is, the Armenians are not fighting to preserve Christendom as a whole, but to free their fellows from the imposition of a foreign faith. In passing, it is worth noting that Armenian authors all speak of the secular loyalty owed the shah. Taxes and military service are due their sovereign, just as other Armenians serve the Roman Caesar. But Armenians do not bow their heads to fire and false deities.

If the faith extolled by Ełišē is an Armenian faith, then Armenian ancestral tradition is an exclusive rather than an inclusive one. To be sure, individual Persians may so admire the heroism of Armenian martyrs that they confess Christ themselves.[54] But Armenians do not *seek* converts for Christ. In this regard, there was a shift from earlier attitudes. In the Epic Histories the activity of Gregory the Illuminator's grandson Grigoris among the neighboring Georgians and Ałuank' (the Caucasian "Albanians") is given much attention. Grigoris is said to have met his death among the Massagetae near the Caspian Sea.[55] Towards the end of the century Maštoc' and his disciples were much occupied with preaching among the same peoples; in facts, Koriwn and later Armenian writers attribute the invention of native scripts for Georgian and Albanian to Maštoc'—a claim not supported by outside sources.

After the solid rooting of Christianity in Armenia this interest in proselytizing waned. Only in Caucasian Albania did Armenian influence have any lasting effect. Although in later years the relationships between the two peoples was often strained, the continuing use of Armenian for written texts marks the abiding impact of Armenian influence.[56] Elsewhere in the Caucasus the Armenians were resisted. And by the time that Armenian colonies were established outside the homeland (notably in the reign of Maurice and later), the concept of a "national" church had taken firm hold. The effort of Smbat Bagratuni in the early seventh century to revive a sense of Armenian identity in a colony established in Vrkan is marked by his sending a priest to teach both religion and language.[57] Religion, language, and sense of cultural identity were already interlocking.

There is no neat conclusion to be drawn from a long and complex process of Christianization. So by way of ending we may simply note the interlock-

[54] E.g., the *mogpet* who was in charge of the Armenian captives; see Ełišē, p. 152.
[55] P'awstos, III, 6.
[56] E.g., the *History of the Caucasian Albanians* by Movsēs Dasxuranc'i.
[57] Sebēos, *Patmut'iwn*, ed. G. V. Abgaryan (Erevan, 1979), pp. 96–97.

ing of several trends, which were not coordinated at the time, but which in retrospect were seen as a coherent whole by the formulators of the Armenian past.

By the beginning of the fourth century unknown and unorganized missionaries had reached the borders of Armenia from the Greek-speaking west and the Syriac-speaking south. The conversion of the Arsacid king Trdat (Tiridates, probably in 314) was an act of state; Trdat's personal motivation remains obscure. This act of state brought into being an official hierarchy which was run on traditional Armenian lines—the right of a prominent family to a certain office, and the succession of holders of that office from father to son (or closest relative). Opposition to Christian policy was strong among other noble families, and had political as well as social motivation.

It was not so much the officially established hierarchy as the unorganized activity of wandering holy men that effected the extension of Christianity among the populace at large. The most significant stage in this process was the development of a script for the native tongue by one of those independent missionaries, Maštoc'. In his endeavors he received support from the patriarch and king; this support meant that his disciples were able to travel to the centers of Christian learning in both Syriac- and Greek-speaking lands. With the development of a written Armenian literature came the formulation of Armenian liturgical traditions, heavily influenced by the first involvement of Armenians in the theological disputes of the time. They looked back to the first three ecumenical councils as providing correct interpretation of the faith, and came to regard Chalcedon with suspicion as leaning to the Nestorian viewpoint.

More important than doctrine was the gradual development of an individualistic attitude to their church as a common link between Armenians under different political administrations. The Armenian polity was always fragmented, the great noble families surviving by playing off one major power against another. But cultural unity, expressed through language and common traditions, was guarded by the sole group that cut across the political and social spectrum. In their later explanations of how the church authorities had attained such importance, it is not surprising that Armenian historians often evince an anachronistic attitude or compress a long, complicated process into a generation or two. Nonetheless, the Armenians, an ancient people with a long-established culture, gained with Christianization a more definite common bond and a sense of individuality.

Dumbarton Oaks

Scandinavian Conversion Histories

BIRGIT SAWYER

Christianity reached Scandinavia comparatively late. Even so, we know very little about the conversion process itself. What we do know is that in Scandinavia the conversion went hand in hand with the political unifications of Denmark, of Norway, and of Sweden. These processes spanned a long period, and it is impossible to say exactly when the Scandinavian provinces turned into three separate and politically unified Christian kingdoms. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries political unification under a strong central power was still vigorously disputed, and propaganda was needed to provide it with historical legitimacy. The kings of this period traced their descent as far back as possible, i.e., to the earliest known Christian chieftains and rulers, whose—temporary and limited—power was exaggerated to embrace the whole of what was later to become Denmark, Norway, and Sweden.[1]

It is to a large extent on historical texts from this period that we have hitherto built our knowledge about the preceding centuries. It is clear that too little attention has been paid to the propagandistic nature of these sources; they all give an oversimplified and distorted picture of the past. The focus of this paper will, therefore, be, not the history of the Scandinavian conversion, but rather the histories that were later produced about it. Successive writers changed the emphasis, elaborated and expanded the story in order to serve their own special purposes, commonly to enhance the prestige of a bishop, a dynasty, or a kingdom. Thus Rimbert wrote to glorify Ansgar and his achievements in Denmark and Sweden, Adam of Bremen to demonstrate and defend the claim of his archbishopric to ecclesiastical authority throughout the North. Saxo Grammaticus wrote to glorify the Danes, and Ari to give the main credit for the conversion of the Icelanders to his own family and friends.

[1] The section on written sources is a revised and abbreviated version of my contribution to *The Christianization of Scandinavia*, ed. B. Sawyer, P. Sawyer, and I. Wood (Alingsås, 1987). The final section on runic inscriptions draws on my current work, on which a preliminary report has been published: Birgit Sawyer, *Property and Inheritance in Viking Scandinavia* (Alingsås, 1988).

To follow all the variations in any detail for all parts of Scandinavia from the ninth century to the fifteenth would be too large a task, but a study of some of them offers revealing insights into the methods and purposes of the men whose writings have provided the principal sources of Scandinavian Christianization. Here examples are given from the whole of Scandinavia, but the main focus is on the conversion of Sweden.

I begin this survey with Adam of Bremen's *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen*, though it is not the oldest account of Christian mission in Scandinavia. Adam's history was very influential and provided the basis, directly or indirectly, for most later accounts of the early stages of Scandinavian Christianization; his version was either accepted or polemicized against. According to Adam, the archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen, who had (in the 840s) been charged with ecclesiastical authority thoroughout the North by the papacy, were responsible for the conversion of Scandinavia. He admits that there were missionaries from elsewhere and that not all Scandinavians acknowledged the archbishop's rights, but he seeks to show that such defiance was doomed to failure.

According to Adam, Denmark was converted during King Harald Bluetooth's reign (the second half of the tenth century), when it received its first bishops from Hamburg-Bremen. In Sweden King Olof Eriksson (hereafter "Skötkonung"), who lived somewhat later than Harald, is said to have established the first bishopric (in Skara) and to have asked Archbishop Unwan to send a bishop there. Adam is less knowledgeable about Norway, and it is obvious that Hamburg-Bremen never gained any control there. Olav Haraldsson, however, is praised for his cooperation with Hamburg-Bremen. Iceland, finally, is said to have been converted in 1056, when Bishop Isleifr was consecrated by Archbishop Adalbert.

Adam's account, and especially his claim that Iceland was converted not ca. 1000 A.D. but half a century later, reveals what he meant by the term for conversion: he does not mean the conversion to Christianity and baptism of leaders; if Hamburg-Bremen had been responsible for baptizing a king, Adam would certainly have said so. Instead, by "conversio" Adam simply means subordination to the archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen. Consequently, he gives the credit to those Scandinavian rulers who cooperated with—or were at least not hostile to—his archbishopric, and vice versa; the Norwegian king Olav Tryggvason (Olav Haraldsson's predecessor) and the Danish king Svein Forkbeard (Harald Bluetooth's son and successor) both encouraged English missionaries and consequently are treated with contempt by Adam, who questions their faith and calls them "pagan." By the term for pagan Adam obviously does not mean "heathen," but rather

"anti-Hamburg-Bremen," something worth remembering when he describes the situation in eastern Sweden.

Adam claims that when the first truly Christian Swedish king, Olof Skötkonung, wanted to convert his people and to destroy the temple at Uppsala, his plans were frustrated by pagan opposition. According to Adam, Olof then agreed to withdraw to "the part of Sweden that he liked best," namely, Västergötland, where he established the bishopric of Skara.[2] Numismatic evidence confirms that Olof did lose power in Mälardalen, but there are good reasons for doubting Adam's explanation. In the first place, it is unlikely that Olof could ever have ruled over a unified kindom that consisted of one pagan and one Christian part. In the second place, runic evidence shows that Christianity was by this time fairly well established in eastern Sweden. A more plausible scenario is that Olof was driven out of Svealand for political reasons, but by insisting that he withdrew voluntarily to Västergötland, Adam underlined his status as rightful king of both Götar and Svear. This implied that, although Olof was only able to introduce church organization into Västergötland, and Hamburg-Bremen's effective control therefore only extended that far, Olof's purported status as king of Sweden gave the archbishop *de jure* authority over all Swedes.

Of the five bishops that Archbishop Adalbert consecrated for Sweden only two actually went there, and one of these was forced to abandon his see, a retreat that Adam—again—blamed on "pagan" resistance.[3] Resistance to the claims of Hamburg-Bremen was not, however, necessarily pagan, and some bishops may have been unwilling to take up their duties because, as suffragans of that see, they were simply not welcome. Adam would naturally have been reluctant to admit that, for he would thereby weaken the claim to superiority that he was pressing. "Pagan resistance" was a more creditable excuse than the rejection of Hamburg-Bremen's agents by Christians!

Adam's work became a weapon in the hands of later archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen, but his justification of their claims to primacy over the whole of Scandinavia had no immediate success. Already in the 1080s Pope Gregory VII had direct contact with two Swedish kings,[4] and some time before that Rome had considered the possibility of establishing a Scan-

[2] Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae Pontificum* (hereafter Adam), ed. B. Schmeidler (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum; Hannover and Leipzig, 1917), II. 58.

[3] See Adam II. 58, 64; III.76; IV.23, 30.

[4] *Diplomatarium Suecanum*, vol. 1, ed. J. G. Lijegren (Stockholm, 1829), no. 25.

dinavian archbishopric. This was finally done in 1104.[5] The German archbishopric then lost its authority over the Scandinavian church, which became a separate church province under the archbishopric of Lund (now in Sweden, then in Denmark). This was a heavy blow to Hamburg-Bremen, but its archbishops did not give up. They continued to claim superiority over Scandinavia and were briefly successful in the 1130s. Denmark then experienced a period of extreme political weakness and was exposed to different forms of German influence. At times Danish kings had to acknowledge the overlordship of the German emperor. Hamburg-Bremen was associated with this German imperialism, which was resented in Denmark. The archbishops of Lund, first Asger, then Eskil (1104–37; 1137–77), resisted both passively and actively and did not yield, even if some of the Danish kings did.[6] Denmark was, of course, more exposed to the German threat than either Norway or Sweden, and this probably encouraged the papacy to free these two kingdoms from their dependence on Lund. In 1152 an Englishman, Nicholas Breakspear, was sent by the pope as his legate to investigate the possibility of creating separate archbishoprics in both Norway and Sweden.[7] In Norway he had immediate success and the see at Trondheim (Nidaros) was soon raised to archepiscopal status. The situation in Sweden proved to be more complicated, and Nicholas left having accomplished little. It was not until 1164 that a Swedish archbishopric was created, in Uppsala.[8] In contrast to Trondheim, the archdiocese of Uppsala was not granted independence, but was subjected to the primacy of Lund, an arrangement that naturally provoked vigorous opposition among the Swedes. The superiority of Lund over Uppsala continued, at least in theory, until the Reformation and was a source of conflict. So, for example, towards the end of the twelfth century, Absalon, archbishop of Lund, complained to the pope about the disobedience of Swedish bishops. Saxo Grammaticus's work *Gesta Danorum* was commissioned by Absalon and contains much propaganda for Danish hegemony in Scandinavia as well as hostility to the Germans.

[5] Lauritz Weibull, "Den Skånska kyrkans äldsta historia," pp. 1–130 in his *Nordisk Historia: Forskningar och undersökningar*, vol. 2 (Stockholm, 1948), reprinted from *Historisk tidskrift för Skåneland* 5, pp. 109–245; Aksel E. Christensen, "Tiden 1042–1241," pp. 211–399 in *Danmarks historie*, ed. Aksel E. Christensen et. al., vol. 1: *Tiden indtil 1340* (Copenhagen, 1977).

[6] Christensen 1977, pp. 278–98, 328–50.

[7] *Dipl. Suec.*, no. 820, which is wrongly dated 1153; Weibull, "Den Skånska kyrkans äldsta historia," pp. 114–23.

[8] *Dipl. Suec.*, nos. 49–50; Knut B. Westman, *Den svenska kyrkans utveckling från S:t Bernhards tidevarv till Innocentius III's* (Stockholm, 1915), pp. 131–37.

In his work Saxo tries to undermine the claims of the church of Hamburg-Bremen and to justify the superiority of the Danish over the Swedish church.[9] According to him Denmark was converted not in Harald Bluetooth's but in Svein Forkbeard's time, when the first bishoprics in the kingdom are said to have been created. Saxo is polemicizing against Adam's version of events, using additional information, derived from several other sources, and the whole is presented in a very "nationalistic" spirit. For Adam, Harald, portrayed as a friend of Hamburg-Bremen, was the hero, but for Saxo he represents the German threat and is therefore depicted in unfavorable terms and described as a very weak and unimportant king. His son Svein, on the other hand, was no friend of Hamburg-Bremen, and consequently Adam gives an unfavorable portrait of him. For Saxo, however, Svein's encouragement of the English, i.e., non-German, mission was a virtue, and in *Gesta Danorum* Svein therefore appears as the hero, championing Danish independence.[10] By reversing roles in this way Saxo created difficulties; he had, for example to repaint Adam's dark portrait of Svein in white, turning Adam the ferocious pagan into a champion of Christianity. Saxo's solution was to follow the lead given by the Roskilde Chronicle, compiled in about 1140, by letting Svein be taken prisoner by the "Jomsvikings" three times instead of twice, as in Adam. Having been cleansed by this heavier punishment, Svein is finally ready to repent and turn to God. By placing the episode about Bishop Poppo and his ordeal in Svein's reign,[11] not Harald's (again following the Roskilde Chronicle), Saxo could demonstrate that God heard Svein's prayers and that the conversion of Denmark was the work of an anti-German king, helped by God himself.

In his evaluation of the Norwegian king Olav Tryggvason, Saxo followed Adam, but for different reasons; in *Gesta Danorum* Olav was black-painted as the enemy of the Danish king (Svein Forkbeard). At the same time Saxo cast doubt on the picture of the great missionary king, drawn by Icelandic and Norwegian writers in their polemics against Adam. Saxo,

[9] On Saxo's attitude to Swedes and Germans, see Birgit Strand (now Sawyer), *Kvinnor och män i Gesta Danorum* (Gothenburg, 1980), pp. 235–37, 239–41. Other tendencies in Saxo's work are discussed in Birgit Sawyer, "Historiography and Politics in Medieval Denmark," *Revue Belge de philologie et d'histoire* 63 (1985): 685–705.

[10] For Harald, see Saxo Grammaticus, *Gesta Danorum* (hereafter Saxo), vol. 1, ed. J. Olrik and H. Ræder, 2 vols. (Copenhagen, 1931), pp. 269–77 (X.1–8); and for Svein, ibid., pp. 277–85 (X.9–13).

[11] Adam II.35 also places the Poppo episode in Svein's time, but identifies the convert as the Swedish king Erik, Olof Skötkonung's father.

like Adam, accuses Olav of believing in pagan magic,[12] and Olav's role as missionary is taken by Bishop Bernhard, who had—according to Saxo—come from England to Norway, where his preaching is said to have done a lot of good, since its king was not a true Christian.

Later it is as a bishop of Lund, and thus as a representative of the Danish church, that Saxo has Bishop Bernhard converting the Swedish king Olof (Skötkonung). This claim, apparently intended to confirm the superiority of the Danish church over the Swedish, so flagrantly contradicts Adam that Saxo hastens to admit that he has not been able to find out with certainty whether King Olof first learned about Christianity from Bernhard or from the archbishop of Bremen. Saxo also had other ways of reinforcing the legitimacy of Lund's superiority. In the first place, he almost always described or referred to Sweden as pagan, barbaric, and backward, the home of giants and pagan gods. Even more remarkable: Uppsala is never mentioned as an archbishop's see, although it had been that for about fifty years when Saxo wrote. He only mentions Uppsala in his prehistory and then in connection with pagan gods and disgusting rituals. In the second place, Sweden is generally depicted as a politically immature land; time and again Saxo decribes the conquest of Swedish provinces by Danish kings, avoiding throughout his history any reference to a unifed Swedish kingdom. It is significant that in explaining Nicholas Breakspear's failure to establish an archepiscopal see in Sweden, Saxo refers to the inability of the Svear and the Götar to agree.

It is probably true that there were serious conflicts in Sweden during Nicholas Breakspear's visit, but Saxo gives no further information about the causes. It can be deduced, however, that there was a state of civil war.[13] We hear about some of King Sverker's troubles, but his real enemy is not named in *Gesta Danorum*. It is highly likely that this enemy was Erik, and, as we shall see, Saxo had good reasons not to mention him, nor indeed his successors. Between the middle of the twelfth and the middle of the thirteenth century Sweden experienced curious shifts of power; the kingship was held alternately by two rival families, or rather political factions. At least during the first half of this period one of these factions, supporting the Sverker-family, was pro-Danish, while the other, supporting the Erik-family, successfully worked against Denmark and Danish interests.[14] Most important of all, the Erik-party seemed to have achieved the first effective

12 Adam II.40; Saxo, p. 282 (X.11).

13 Saxo, p. 390 (XIV.11); Westman, *Den svenska kyrkans utveckling*, pp. 64–65.

14 Knut B. Westman, "Erik den helige och hans tid," pp. 1–108 in *Erik den Helige, Historia, Kult, Reliker*, ed. Bengt Thordeman (Stockhom, 1954).

unification of the country. Erik was made the national saint during the reign of his son Knut,[15] probably in response to the canonization of Knud Lavard in Denmark in 1171. A royal saint was a significant asset in the efforts of the Swedish rulers to maintain their religious and political independence. The Erik-faction thus pursued a policy that Saxo strongly opposed, and the names of its leaders, indeed their very existence, are thus virtually ignored in his history.

By debasing and ridiculing Sweden, and by omitting any reference to its unification and increasing stability, Saxo gives the reader the impression that what this backward and underdeveloped country badly needed was the wise guidance of Denmark, a strong argument for continued primacy of the Danish church over the Swedish. To obscure the fact that Lund had inherited this primacy from Hamburg-Bremen, Saxo has the English legate, Nicholas Breakspear, who later became pope, explicitly give this primacy to the Danish archbishop. Above all, by having the Danish church introduce Christianity to Sweden through the conversion of its first Christian king by a bishop of Lund, Saxo legitimized the primacy historically and made it a natural thing.

Not surprisingly, traditions and facts were combined in quite another way in Sweden. According to Swedish sources from the thirteenth century King Olof Skötkonung was baptized by an English bishop called Sigfrid.[16]

In the legend about Sigfrid, the pagan king Olof, who wanted to be taught the Christian faith, turned to an English king called Mildred and asked for a teacher.[17] In response King Mildred sent Sigfrid, the archbishop of York, who together with his nephews traveled via Denmark to Värend, explicitly said to be Sweden's southernmost province. When they were resting at a place called Växjö, an angel appeared, ordering Sigfrid to build a church there. On hearing about Sigfrid's arrival and activity, the Swedish king summoned the bishop and was baptized together with his family.

[15] Knut Eriksson died in 1196 and the feast of St. Erik on 18 May is included in the *Kalendarium Vallentuniense* of 1198, facsimile ed. (Stockholm, 1907).

[16] See, above all, Toni Schmid, *Den helige Sigfrid* (Lund, 1931); idem, *Sveriges kristnande: från verklighet till dikt* (Stockholm, 1934). Toni Schmid was an expert on medieval liturgy and her work has been of importance for the interpretation of the Swedish sources presented here.

[17] There are several versions of this legend preserved in manuscripts, the earlierst of which is of the late thirteenth century. The summary given here is based on the version that is thought to be closest to the original, which was produced at the beginning of the thirteenth century. See Schmid, *Den helige Sigfrid*, and Lars Olof Larsson, *Det medeltida Värend: Studier i det småländska gränslandets historia fram till 1500-talets mitt* (Lund, 1964), pp. 29–49, especially pp. 42–44. Several of these texts are in *Scriptores rerum Suecicarum* 2:1, ed. E. G. Geijer and J. H. Schröder (Uppsala, 1828), pp. 345–88, and others, including one of the thirteenth century, are edited in Toni Schmid, "Trois légendes de Saint Sigfrid," *Analecta Bollandiana* 60 (1942): 82–90.

Meanwhile Sigfrid's nephews were the victims of a pagan reaction in Värend. King Olof came with a large army to punish the heathens, and, for the sake of reconciliation, the people of Värend offered both money and land. Sigfrid refused the money but accepted two villages on behalf of the church. After a long period of missionary activity in different parts of Sweden, Sigfrid finally returned to Värend, where he died and was buried in Växjö.

Sigfrid also figures in the lists of bishops and kings that were apparently compiled in the mid-thirteenth century and included among the additions to the earliest version of the Law of Västergötland.[18] According to the episcopal list, Sigfrid came from England and was the first bishop in Sweden. He is said to have chosen sites for three churches and consecrated three churchyards in Västergötland. After that he converted Värend, where he also died. The parallel king list begins with the first Christian king of Sweden, Olof Skötkonung. He is said to have been baptized by Bishop Sigfrid in Husaby and to have endowed the see with the whole of that village.

It is clear that we can trust neither legend nor kings' and bishops' lists; the latter are based on the former, which is nothing but a stereotyped story about a missionary who has the rewarding opportunity to baptize a pagan king, to found churches, and to ensure their future maintenance. The Sigfrid-figure itself totally lacks personal features; he simply represents the ideal of a missionary bishop, and Olof Skötkonung, in his turn, is described as a typical "rex iustus." There has never been an archbishop of York called Sigfrid, nor was there at that time an English king called Mildred. What, then, lies behind these accounts?

The details about Olof and Sigfrid come from Adam of Bremen, who mentions both, but separately and in different contexts. According to Adam, a certain *Sigafrid* came to Scandinavia with Olav Haraldsson as one of his missionary bishops. Adam says that he also preached in different parts of Sweden, where he died in Adam's own time. Adam also mentions a contemporary bishop, whose name is given as *Seward* and alternatively *Siguard*, who is connected with Norway but is certainly not to be identified with Sigafrid.[19] Adam's information about the two bishops with such similar names is used in Norse literature, but they have been confused with each other. In the extensive saga-literature that begins in the second half of the

[18] These lists were apparently compiled in the mid-thirteenth century and were added to the manuscript of Äldre Västgötalagen after 1325. The text is edited in Ivar Lindqvist, *Västgötalagens litterära bilagor* (Skrifter utgivna av Vetenskaps-Societeten i Lund, 26, 1941), pp. 40–48, with comments pp. 38–39, 48–62; see also Schmid, *Den helige Sigfrid*, pp. 53–61.

[19] Schmid, *Den helige Sigfrid*, pp. 17–53.

twelfth century some stories that were originally told about Olav Haraldsson were transferred to Olav Tryggvason, who (contrary to Adam) is praised as the great missionary king, preparing the way for Olav Haraldsson. In this reworking of the story, Sigafrid was also transferred and made Olav Tryggavason's bishop, and his name was changed to Sigvard, or Jón-Sigurd.[20] In the legendary saga of Olav Haraldsson, Sigvard has become two different bishops, one working for Olav Tryggvason, the other for Olav Haraldsson. Snorri Sturlason lets us meet no less than three Sigurds, the third working for the Danish king Knut the Great!

When the Swedish legend about Sigfrid/Sigurd was produced, the development in Norse literature had thus cleared away all chronological obstacles for the combination Sigfrid–Olof Skötkonung. How York came to play a part in the legend is unknown: perhaps its prolonged struggle against the primacy of Canterbury made the choice very appropriate for Swedish opponents of Lund's claims.

In all the different versions of the Sigfrid legend that later grew out of the original story, Sigfrid is connected with Värend. This indicated that the legend originated in this part of Sweden, i.e., the diocese of Växjö in Småland.[21] This diocese was established late, in the 1160s, and it soon found itself in conflict with the neighboring diocese of Linköping.[22] Linköping questioned Växjö's right to exist as a see, and it is against this background that the Sigfrid legend as well as the contemporary bishop list of Växjö should be seen. According to this list (from the beginning of the thirteenth century) Växjö's status as the oldest diocese in Sweden had been lost, first to Skara, and then to Linköping, but the diocese had been revived shortly before 1170.[23] It appears that both the bishop list and the legend were created early in the thirteenth century in justification of the newly established diocese. The legend emphasizes the antiquity of Växjö's church, its legitimate claims to status as an episcopal see, and its sound economic basis. By having Sigfrid first reach Swedish territory in Värend, the legend proved Växjö to be Sweden's oldest bishopric, with precedence over both Skara and Sigtuna.[24] Although the Sigfrid legend was thus originally created to serve the special purposes of the diocese of Växjö, it was

[20] Schmid, *Den helige Sigfrid*, pp. 23–52; Lars Lönnroth, "Studier i Olaf Tryggvasons saga," *Samlaren* 84 (1963): 57–67.

[21] Larsson, *Det medeltida Värend*, pp. 38–44. The legend's claim that the missionaries traveled to Sweden via Denmark argues against Toni Schmid's proposal that the original legend was produced in Svealand for "nationalistic" reasons.

[22] Larsson, *Det medeltida Värend*, pp. 43–44, 77.

[23] Larsson, *Det medeltida Värend*, pp. 56–60.

[24] Larsson, *Det medeltida Värend*, p. 43.

adapted elsewhere for totally different purposes.

According to the Icelandic author Gunnlaug, who sought to glorify Olav Tryggvason and to counter Adam's hostile attitude toward him, Sigfrid/Sigurd is Olav Tryggvason's bishop, who, after the battle of Svolder (in the year 1000), traveled to Sweden at the request of its king, Olof Skötkonung.[25] Sigfrid/Sigurd's baptism of the Swedish king symbolizes Olav Tryggvason's triumph; although defeated, the Norwegian king had—through his bishop—made Olof Skötkonung bend to his servant.[26]

The legend itself has survived in several manuscripts, and on the basis of their contents three main versions can be distinguished. While the legend in the Skara-breviary (1498) tends to suppress everything that has to do with Värend and emphasizes Olof Skötkonung and his connection with Husaby and Västergötland, the version associated with Uppsala has Sigfrid visit Svealand as well as Götaland. Unlike the Växjö-version, which puts Sigfrid in the foreground, the Uppsala-version pays most attention to King Olof's actions, and the conspiracy of the Värend pagans against Sigfrid's nephews is changed into a revolt of the Götar against the Swedish king.[27]

Despite the many differences between the various versions of the Sigfrid legend, they all agree on one important point; they all trace the creation of a unified Swedish kingdom back to Olof Skötkonung's days. This propaganda served not only the political aims of the church, but also the even more important centralizing interests of those in power. For rulers like Birger Jarl (d. 1260) and his successors, struggling to enforce political unification on their unwilling subjects, it was extremely important to "prove" that a united country under a strong king had deep roots in Swedish history.[28]

The picture that the Swedish sources give of the conversion should of course be seen against the background of Lund's primacy. There was much opposition to the subordination of the Swedish church to an archbishop in another kingdom—a kingdom, moreover, with which the Swedes had delicate, and often hostile, relations. So strong was the resentment that the Swedish clergy did not shrink from falsifying documents: in a letter from

[25] Gunnlaug Leifsson's saga, in Latin, does not survive, but it was used in the compilation of *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar en mesta*; see *Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder* 12, cols. 551–53, and Schmid, *Den helige Sigfrid*, pp. 31–47.

[26] Schmid, *Den helige Sigfrid*, pp. 99–115.

[27] Larsson, *Det medeltida Värend*, pp. 31–36; Schmid, *Den helige Sigfrid*, pp. 99–115.

[28] Similarly, the supposed eleventh-century boundary treaty between Swedes and Danes was produced to prove the antiquity of the boundary, most likely by the Danes. About this treaty, see Peter Sawyer, "Boundary Treaties and State Formation," pp. 115–23 in *Fra stamme til Stat: Symposium på Sostrup kloster 24.25 maj 1984* (Moesgård, 1984).

Pope Alexander III there is an erasure in the passage defining the obedience owed by the Swedish archbishop.[29] But tampering with documents was not enough; to obtain independence it was necessary to reject the claims of both Hamburg-Bremen and its de facto heir, Lund. A historical background was created to justify the aspirations to freedom, according to which Christianity and church organization were brought to Sweden not from Germany or Denmark but from England, and not by any missionary, but by an archbishop of York, subject only to the pope, and he came thanks to the initiative of a Swedish king.

The interesting thing is that, however constructed, the Swedish tradition seems to reflect more reality than at first appears. There are other signs of "Anglia" actually having been the "docens": both Adam and the Norse sources say that English missionaries were active in Sweden, and we can certainly assume that there were many contacts with England. After the Viking conquests the diocese of York came under Scandinavian control from 867 to the middle of the tenth century, and after the English recovery two archbishops of Scandinavian descent were elected to York in succession.[30] It is possible that some of the Christian Scandinavians in the Danelaw felt the same responsibility to convert their fellow countrymen in their homeland as the Anglo-Saxons once felt for the Old-Saxons in Germany.[31] The contacts across the North Sea were certainly very lively; Harald Findhair was in close touch with the English—and Christian—king Athelstan who fostered Harald's son Håkon.[32] It would have been remarkable if, after such a Christian upbringing, Håkon had not taken a priest with him when he returned to Norway. Another indication of English influence in the Swedish conversion is the adoption of English loanwords in the liturgical language of Sweden, and it has also been claimed that the oldest

[29] *Dipl. Suec.*, no. 62; the erasure is a little more than 8 cm. long. See also Schmid, *Sveriges kristnande*, p. 130.

[30] Dorothy Whitelock, "The Dealings of the Kings of England with Northumbria in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries," pp. 70–88 in *The Anglo-Saxons: Studies. . .presented to Bruce Dickins*, ed. Peter Clemoes (London, 1959).

[31] Boniface, *Epistolae*, ed. M. Tangl, *Die Briefe des heiligen Bonifatius und Lullus* (MGH, Epistolae Selectae, Berlin, 1916), nos. 46, 47 (pp. 74–76); Wilhelm Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford, 1946), p. 77.

[32] William of Malmsbury, *Gesta Regum*, ed. William Stubbs (Rolls ser.; London, 1887), p. 149. Harald's son Håkon was traditionally known as Athelstan's foster-son; *Haralds saga Hárfagra*, cap. 38–39, *Heimskingla* I, ed. B. Aðalbjarnarson, pp. 143–45. It is, perhaps, more likely that Håkon was a hostage, see Peter Sawyer, "The Process of Scandinavian Christianization in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries" in *The Christianization of Scandinavia*, ed. Sawyer and Wood, p. 70.

Swedish church buildings followed English models.[33] The oldest Swedish liturgy certainly shows a connection with England; the earliest saints of Sweden, Eskil and David, were English, and the first native saint, Botvid, was baptized in England.[34] It may be significant that when Pope Eugenius III wanted to tie Norway and Sweden more closely to Rome, he sent an Englishman (Nicholas Breakspear) as his legate. What is more, the first Swedish archbishop, Stephen, was also English.[35]

However different these histories about the conversion are, they all agree on the king having played the main role. This emphasis on the role of kings in the introduction of Christianity and the establishment of the church of course served to strengthen royal claims to influence over, even control of, the church. This could be a useful argument in the conflict between kings and the universal church, the first Christian kings serving as symbols of the "national" church.

Stories about these "converting kings" could also be made to serve some other, very different purposes. Thus, Snorri Sturlason stressed the brutality and violence of the royal evangelists, Olav Tryggvason and Olav Haraldsson.[36] The fact that Snorri often represents the pagans as speaking with the voice of reason, while the missionary kings were portrayed as ruthless, bloodthirsty, and cruel, suggests that he was projecting back into the missionary period conflicts of his own time between local chieftains and the centralizing power of king and church. Law and order play an important role in Snorri's treatment of the earlier confrontation, and his representation can be interpreted as indirect criticism of the attempts of contemporary rulers to usurp power in disregard of traditional customs. The account in the *Heimskringla* of the enforced conversion of Norway can thus be read as

33 Staffan Hellberg, "Tysk eller engelsk mission? Om de tidiga kristna lånorden," *Maal og Minne*, 1986, pp. 42–49; Ernst Fischer, *Västergötlands kyrkliga konst under medeltiden* (Uppsala, 1920), pp. 16–48. For English influence elsewhere in Scandinavia, see Ellen Jørgensen, *Fremmed indflydelse under den danske kirkes tidligeste udvikling* (Det kgl. danske Videnskabernes Selskabs Skrifter, series 7, hist. og filosof. afd., 1:2, Copenhagen, 1908), and Absalon Taranger, *Den angelsaksiskte kirkes indflydelse paa den norske* (Kristiania, 1890).

34 Toni Schmid, "Eskil, Botvid och David: Tre svenska helgon," *Scandia* 4 (1931): 102–14; see also John Toy, "The Commemorations of the British Saints in the Medieval Liturgical Manuscripts of Scandinavia," *Kyrkohistorisk Årsskrift*, 1983, pp. 91–103.

35 *Handlingar rörande Skandinaviens historia* 6 (Stockholm, 1818), p. 4; Schmid, *Sveriges kristnande*, p. 102.

36 For example, Snorri's *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar*, caps. 53, 62–63, 76; and *Óláfs saga Helga*, caps. 60, 73, 108, 111, in *Heimskringla*, ed. Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson (Íslenzk Fornrit 26–27, Reykjavik, 1941–45), 1:302–303, 311–12, 322–23, and 2:77–79, 100–101, 178–79, 182–83. See also J. M. Pizarro, "Conversion Narratives: Form and Utility," pp. 813–32 in *The Sixth International Saga Conference, Workshop Papers*, vol. 2 (Copenhagen, 1985).

a criticism of the Norwegian kings of Snorri's own time, and of their ecclesiastical supporters.

With this survey I have tried to illustrate how none of the medieval conversion histories gives a reliable account of the conversion itself. They were all produced to serve specific purposes, to convince the contemporaries of the justice of a particular claim or political ideal. That is why Adam exaggerates the role of Hamburg-Bremen, while Saxo belittles and denigrates Norway and Sweden. The Swedes defied both by producing evidence for "Anglia docens." The texts can therefore reveal much about their own time and the circumstances in which they were produced. Used in this way, the Scandinavian conversion histories can contribute much to an improved understanding of medieval Scandinavia.

How, then, is it possible to learn more about the conversion period itself? A first step must be to recognize and then reject the burden of false knowledge; a fresh start can then be made to create a new picture, and that requires the close cooperation of specialists in many different disciplines. As an example, let us examine what runology can yield in the studies of Scandinavian conversion.

There are about 2,000 runic inscriptions from the tenth and eleventh centuries—mostly on raised stones, but sometimes on rocks—in Scandinavia. They are very unevenly distributed: only about 50 in Norway and 200 in Denmark; the rest in Sweden. Of the Swedish rune stones, more than a thousand are in Uppland, the overwhelming majority of which are Christian, i.e., they are decorated with crosses and/or contain Christian prayers or other signs of the Christian faith.[37] These Viking-age rune stones are prestigious memorials, most of them for deceased members of the erector's family. One of the interesting things about these inscriptions is that they give evidence about the conversion on quite another level than the later "histories." While the latter tell us about political conversions, the rune stones talk about individual conversions and the spread of Christianity on a local level. It is true that there are runic inscriptions expressing political claims rather than testifying personal beliefs, above all Harald Bluetooth's monumental stone at Jelling, on which he claims to have made the Danes Christian, but also the Frösö-stone in Sweden, commemorating Östman, "who had Jämtland Christianized." Even if contemporary, they should be treated with the same caution as the later conversion "histories." Most of the

[37] Claiborne W. Thompson, *Studies in Upplandic Runography* (Austin and London, 1975), pp. 165–66; see also Anne-Sofie Gräslund, "Pagan and Christian in the Age of Conversion," in *Proceedings of the Tenth Viking Congress: Festschrift for Charlotte Blindheim on her 70th birthday* (Oslo, 1987), pp. 81–94.

Christian rune stones, however, only tell us about the beliefs of the deceased and his or her family. Decorations and inscriptions tell us about God, Christ, the Holy Spirit, Mary, the resurrection, pilgrimages, sins and forgiveness, salvation, love, baptism, prayers, charity—and bridge-building! Many Christians built bridges for the sake of their souls; to improve the roads was considered dear to God and the missionary church.

With so many Christian rune stones it is hard to believe in Adam's picture of a pagan Uppland in the eleventh century. Several generations of Christians could not have existed there without some kind of supportive church organization, a network of missionaries and priests. It might very well have been in the church's interest to encourage the erection of Christian rune stones; they documented the spread of the faith and commemorated not only the deceased, but also his or her closest relatives, i.e., heirs.[38] What speaks in favor of an active church interest is the fact that the borders of the three deaneries of Södermanland exactly coincide with three areas with different types of runic inscriptions.[39] If some runic monuments were commissioned with the active encouragement of priests, these local variations could reflect the activity of different missionaries.

On the local level the conversion to Christianity was a long drawn-out process that had little to do with the political events that we read about in the conversion histories. These medieval texts all emphasize the king's role and the suddenness of the conversion. Of course, the missionaries first had to make contact with those in power before attempting to preach in a district; in order to evangelize they needed protection, shelter, and support. The first priority was to proclaim the gospel, and a later stage in the process was to build churches and provide for their maintenance. The fact that numerous churches were built in many parts of Scandinavia during the eleventh century shows, however, that there must have been many local leaders who were willing to encourage the spread of Christianity. Christianity spread in Scandinavia thanks to the initiative and work not just of individual kings or bishops, but of many people, men and women. They are not mentioned in the later conversion histories, but some of them we know about, thanks to the rune stones. It is, for example, interesting to see how often women took part in bridge-building. In Sweden women are represented in 35 percent of the runic material as a whole, but in more than 55 percent of the bridge-building cases.[40] This reflects one of the changes that the conversion to Christianity brought about; the church welcomed

[38] Sawyer, *Property and Inheritance* (cf. fn. 1 above).

[39] Carl Ivar Ståhle, "Sockenbildningen i Törens prosteri," *Namn och Bygd* 38 (1950): 100.

[40] Sawyer, *Property and Inheritance*, p. 36.

contributions from all individuals, men and women, and, as in the rest of Europe, women in Scandinavia were obviously quick to respond and to exercise Christian charity. This leads naturally to Rimbert's *Vita Anskarii*, the oldest conversion history for Scandinavia, written about 875. In this work we hear about a very pious matron among the Swedes, called Frideborg, famous for the constancy of her faith. She had always been generous with almsgiving, and when, at an old age, she became ill, she enjoined her daughter Katla to distribute among the poor all that she possessed after her death.[41]

It is not accidental that Rimbert tells us about these women. Like many other episodes in his work, this one serves as an exemplum, illustrating ideal Christian behavior. In this respect Frideborg and Katla are female counterparts to another individual we meet in *Vita Anskarii*, namely, Herigar, the prefect of Birka, who incarnates an ideal Christian layman.[42] As counselor to the king, Herigar represents the top layer of secular society; in promoting Christianity, building a church on his own ancestral property, and remaining faithful and steadfast despite pagan hostility, he sets an example for everybody in his situation.

Whatever the "facts" behind Rimbert's story, it probably gives us a truer picture of the conversion process than any of the later histories. The missionary church depended on the support not only of kings, but also of several other key persons—like Herigar. It also needed land and money for its work, and for this it depended on the generosity of all who had something to spare—like Frideborg and her daughter. From the very beginning women had shown themselves to be prominent among these pious givers, and the runic evidence shows that there were lots of women in Viking Age Scandinavia who had the necessary means. The people who promoted Christianity on the local level and sacrificed their own properties for the benefit of the church and its organization are not the heroes and heroines in the later conversion histories, but, fortunately, we meet some of them in the contemporary runic inscriptions.

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41 Rimbert, *Vita Anskarii*, ed. W. Trillmich and R. Buchner (Berlin, 1961), chapter 20.
42 *Vita Anskarii*, chapters 11, 9.

La christianisation de la Hongrie

GY. GYÖRFFY

Il y a mille ans les chefs des peuples européens installés à la frontière des deux Empires «romains», ceux qui disposaient d'une forte escorte militaire, embrassèrent à peu près en même temps la foi chrétienne et fondèrent des États stables. Ce tournant qui allait modifier l'image de l'Europe était, chaque fois, la conséquence d'une évolution intérieure en même temps que d'influences extérieures. Seuls les pays ayant atteint un certain degré de développement social et dont la classe dominante avait pu consolider sa situation à l'aide de ressources intérieures, furent à même de créer un État durable. Les conditions économiques en elles-mêmes ne suffisaient toutefois pas à aboutir à cette consolidation, il fallait en même temps asseoir le régime sur des bases idéologiques. Or, rien ne s'y prêtait mieux que la religion chrétienne stabilisée depuis des centaines d'années en Europe.

Dans le nord, et dans l'Europe centre-orientale, ce fut l'Empire romain des trois Otton qui servit de catalysateur à ce processus. En face de l'Empire en cours d'expansion les peuples païens vivant à ses confins n'eurent qu'un seul moyen de se défendre: ils devaient adopter la foi chrétienne et tenter de mettre en place une organisation du genre de celle qui s'était stabilisée dans les États successeurs de l'Empire romain. Les peuples vivant aux confins des Empires reçurent le christianisme de rite latin—transmis par les Francs—de l'Empire ottonien, celui de rite grec—de l'Empire byzantin gouverné par la dynastie macédonienne.

Tout comme les dynasties autoritaires des Germains de Scandinavie et des Slaves établis en Europe centrale, dans l'est et le sud de l'Europe ne se montrèrent pas réfractaires au christianisme, les chefs des Hongrois, parlant une langue finno-ougrienne, reconnurent également la nécessité impérieuse de se faire chrétiens.

Chez aucun peuple d'Europe centrale l'adoption du christianisme ne survint bien entendu du jour au lendemain. Chacun d'entre eux entretenait depuis des centaines d'années des rapports tantôt pacifiques tantôt hostiles avec des peuples déjà christianisés, et la mission chrétienne avait, elle aussi, des traditions séculaires parmi eux. La mission tant grecque que latine avait fait des tentatives réitérées en vue d'étendre l'influence de son Église.

En ce qui concerne les Hongrois, les chefs de leurs ancêtres avaient fait connaissance avec le christianisme vers le milieu du premier millénaire dans la région de la Méotide (mer d'Azov). C'est sur ce territoire que vivait le peuple *Onogur* qui donna son nom aux *Hongrois*, appelés par la suite aussi *Huns*. L'identification des divers peuples nomades de cette région nommés *Huns* reste incertaine, mais il est incontestable que les tribus établies entre la mer Noire et l'Oural—les divers peuples ogurs, dont les Hongrois—étaient en contact direct les uns avec les autres et qu'ils se joignirent à plusieurs reprises à la même confédération tribale ou au même empire nomade. En 527, Gordas, frère de Mouageris, roi du peuple dit «hun» de la région de la Méotide se fit baptiser à Constantinople et fut chargé par l'empereur de la surveillance du Bosphore de la Crimée. Une révolte intérieure chez le peuple dit «hun» mit fin à cette mission,[1] mais les initiatives de Byzance ne furent pas abandonnées pour autant. Après la fondation de l'Empire turco-khazar, à la fin du VI^{e} siècle, les Onogurs turcs et les Hongrois qui y étaient restés—Menandros les mentionne sous le nom *ougour*[2]—en faisaient également partie. Ainsi quand, au VII^{e} siècle la christianisation commença dans l'Empire khazar, l'archevêché de Doros en Crimée envoya des évêques auprès de plusieurs peuples vivant dans l'Empire, dont les *Onogurs* et ceux nommés *Huns*.[3] Au cours du IX^{e} siècle les Hongrois se firent peu à peu indépendants de l'Empire khazar, où la classe dirigeante avait choisi le judaïsme. A cette époque-là ils habitaient les steppes entre le Don et le Danube.[4]

Au cours de leur séjour sur le littoral septentrional de la mer Noire, les Hongrois avaient adopté l'écriture runique khazaro-turque, qui s'est maintenue chez les Sicules de Transylvanie jusqu'au XVII^{e} siècle.[5] Cette écriture runique, un prêtre grec devait l'adapter à la langue hongroise; les lettres *f*, *h*, *l* et *a*, qui manquent à l'alphabet vieux-turc mais figureront par la suite

[1] G. Moravcsik, «Byzantine Christianization and the Magyars in the Period of their Migration», in: *Studia byzantina* (Budapest, 1967), pp. 253–54.

[2] Menandros, *Excerpta de legationibus*, éd. C. de Boor (Berolini, 1903), p. 453.

[3] J. Darrouzès, *Notitiae episcopatuum ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* (Paris, 1981), pp. 241–42.

[4] Cf. G. Györffy, «Etelköz», in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters* (München-Zürich, 1977–), vol. IV, p. 52 avec littérature; idem: «Sur la question de l'établissement des Petchénègues en Europe», in: *Acta orientalia Hung.* 25 (1972): 287–88; L. Benkő, «Le sedi degli Ungari nel secolo nono», in: *Popoli delle steppe: Unni, Avari, Ungari* (Spoleto, 1988), vol. II, pp. 283–305.

[5] J. Németh, *Die Inschriften des Schatzes von Nagy-Szent-Miklós*, Anhang II. *Die ungarische Kerbschrift* (Budapest-Leipzig, 1932), pp. 60–84; idem, «The Runiform Inscriptions from Nagy-Szent-Miklós and the Runiform Scripts of Eastern Europe», *Acta Linguistica Acad. Scient. Hung.* 21 (1971): 37ff.

dans l'écriture hongroise, venaient de l'alphabet grec, la lettre *e*, de l'alphabet hébraïque-samaritain.[6]

La rencontre de Cyrille avec les Hongrois eut à la fois un côté négatif et un côté positif. D'une part l'apôtre et sa suite, après avoir séjourné chez les Khazars, en Crimée, furent attaqués par une troupe de guerriers hongrois, mais les guerriers vociférants, voyant l'apôtre prier, furent impressionnés par ses paroles et le laissèrent passer avec ses compagnons.[7] D'autre part, la *Vie de Constantin-Cyrille*, écrite par un de ses disciples, mentionne l'existence de l'écriture chez les divers peuples caucasiens et turcs; Cyrille, arrivé à Venise, poursuivit des disputes avec des prêtres latins à propos de la liturgie slave. Au cours de ces discussions il déclara, qu'il existait d'autres peuples connus qui possédaient les livres (**книгы**) et qui dans leur propre langue honoraient le Seigneur; parmi les peuples en question il mentionne les Avars (**ωβри**), les Turcs (**тѹрси**) et les Khazars (**козари**).[8] La mission d'un évêque chez les Avars, quelques années avant la chute de leur Empire[9] tout comme les tentatives d'évangéliser les Khazars, sont bien connues.[10]

Dans cette situation l'ethnonyme «turc» peut se rapporter aux Hongrois; d'une part le nom Τοῦρκοι était l'appellation la plus répandue à Byzance pour désigner les Hongrois,[11] d'autre part ce sont précisément eux qui habitaient l'endroit précité, c'est-à-dire entre les Avars et les Khazars. Le fait que le biographe, en parlant des Hongrois qui avaient attaqué Cyrille en Crimée les appelle Ugri (**Оугри**), n'exclut pas cette identification; Georgius Continuatus désigne, en effet, les Hongrois apparaissant dans la région du Bas-Danube en 837 sous trois noms différents: Οὔγγροι, Οὖννοι et Τοῦρκοι;[12] quant à Liutprand, dans ses oeuvres rédigées en latin il utilise

6 J. Melich, «Néhány megjegyzés a székely írásról», *Magyar Nyelv* 21 (1925): 153–59; J. Németh, *Die Inschriften*, pp. 81–82; cf. P. Király, in: *Konstantin-Kiril filozof* (Sofia, 1971), pp. 205–213. L'hypothèse d'un emprunt glagolitique ou hébraïco-samaritain pour les lettres runiques *o* et *š* est peu convaincant, car ces lettres correspondent aussi aux vieux-turc *o* et *š*.

7 F. Grivec–F. Tomšič, *Constantinus et Methodius Thessalonicenses, Fontes* (Zagreb, 1960), pp. 134, 205; cf. P. Király, «A magyarok említése a Konstantin-legendában», *Magyar Nyelv* 70 (1974): 3ff.

8 Grivec–Tomšič, *Constantinus et Methodius*, pp. 134, 205; cf. F. Dvornik, *Les légendes de Constantin et Méthode vues de Byzance* (Prague, 1933), pp. 207–208.

9 I. Bóna, «Anfänge der Bekehrung der Awaren», *Acta archaeologica Acad. Scient. Hung.* 18 (1966): 310ff.

10 Moravcsik, «Byzantine Christianization»; D. M. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars* (New York, 1967²), pp. 194ff.

11 Cf. G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, vol. II² (Berlin, 1958), pp. 320ff.

12 Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, I², p. 271; ed. G. Moravcsik in: *Antik Tanulmányok* 4 (1957): 283–85.

pour désigner ce même peuple les noms d'*Ungari* et de *Turci*.[13] D'après la *Vie de Cyrille*, on peut estimer que certains textes liturgiques en écriture runique et en hongrois furent rédigés encore sur le littoral de la mer Noire. L'adaptation en hongrois de l'écriture runique khazaro-turque est vraisemblablement l'oeuvre d'un évêque grec anonyme, un missionnaire itinérant. Le récit annexe de la *Vie de Méthode* devient ainsi plus facile à comprendre; il relate la rencontre du second apôtre des Slaves aux environs de 882 dans la région du Bas-Danube, avec le «roi» des Hongrois.[14] Selon les sources arabes et perses, en ce temps-là les Hongrois vivaient sous une double royauté de type khazar.[15] Méthode fut respectueusement reçu par le roi, vraisemblablement par le kende, nommé Levedi; il fut comblé de multiples présents, et le roi le pria de toujours se souvenir de lui dans ses prières.[16]

Un demi-siècle avant cette rencontre, les Hongrois avaient été invités par les Bulgares à les aider à combattre contre les Grecs.[17] En tant que voisins des Bulgares, ils étaient informés que ces derniers, après avoir beaucoup hésité entre Rome et Byzance, avaient fini par choisir, dans les années 860, le christianisme grec. Mais ils étaient aussi informés des événements de Pannonie et de Moravie, car une année après que Pribina, duc féodal de Pannonie fut tué par les Moraves, et que son fils Kocel se fut enfui chez le roi Louis le Germanique, une troupe de cavaliers hongrois attaqua l'Empire franc oriental.[18] Les Hongrois apparurent, selon toute probabilité, sur l'invitation des Moraves,[19] tout comme au moment de leurs attaques contre l'Empire en 881 et 894, qui devaient être le résultat d'un pacte moravo-

[13] I. Becker, *Die Werke Liudprands von Cremona* (Hannover-Leipzig, 1915), p. 231 (*MGH*. SS. rerum Germanicarum in usum Scholarum).

[14] Grivec–Tomšič, *Constantinus et Methodius*, p. 165. Quelques philologues allemands et slaves qui ne connaissaient pas les données concernant les Hongrois du IX^{e} siècle ont douté que l'expression король puisse se rapporter au prince des Hongrois. Voir la littérature chez P. Király, «A magyarok emlitése a Metód legendában», pp. 269–85, 406–430. Il est à noter qu'une des résidences du prince régnant Hongrois, Fajsz, autour de 950, est nommée par ses habitants slaves *Kraljevec* (1273: *Fayz*, 1342: *Faiz–Craleuch*); voir G. Györffy, in: *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 1 (1976): 75.

[15] Voir G. Györffy, «Arpad, Persönlichkeit und historische Rolle», in *Acta antiqua Acad. Scient. Hung*. 26 (1978): 115–36.

[16] P. A. Lavrov, *Materialy po istorii vozniknovenija drevnejšei slavjanskoi pis'mennosti* (The Hague, 1966); *Vita Methodii*, cap. 16, pp. 77–78.

[17] Voir note 12.

[18] *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* cap 13; *Annales Alamannici a. 863* (*MGH*, SS. I, p. 50).

[19] E. Dümmler, *Geschichte des ostfränkischen Reiches* (Berlin, 1853), vol. II, p. 440; Sz. de Vajay, *Der Eintritt des ungarischen Stämmebundes in die europäische Geschichte (862–933)* (Mainz, 1968), p. 14.

hongrois.[20] Pendant la mission de Cyrille et de Méthode en Moravie et en Pannonie (863–885), les Hongrois n'attaquèrent ni la Pannonie, ni la Moravie, et, de même, leurs contacts avec la Bulgarie étaient restés paisibles. Avec l'arrivée dans leur pays des disciples de Méthode chassés de Grande Moravie (885), les Bulgares adoptèrent le rite slave, et aux environs de 900 l'écriture glagolitique y fut remplacée par l'alphabet cyrillique. A cette époque, en 894, les rapports hongaro-bulgares se gâtèrent: Léon le Sage fit attaquer la Bulgarie par les Hongrois et, l'année suivante, les Pétchénègues, à l'invitation du tsar bulgare, envahirent la patrie primitive des Hongrois et, pendant qu'Arpád avec son armée était absent, ils chassèrent les tribus hongroises jusque dans la partie orientale du bassin Carpathique, aux confins des terres bulgares, nommés par Regino *Vulgarum fines*.[21] Les Hongrois s'établirent dans un pays où on peut supposer l'existence tout au plus de quelques églises dans les *castra* des confins bulgares desservis par des prêtres connaissant l'écriture glagolitique.

En 900, les Hongrois occupèrent la Pannonie et la région de Nitra, appelées par Regino *Carantanorum, [et] Marahensium fines*.[22] D'après une lettre de Theotmar, archevêque de Salzburg, destinée au pape (900), la Pannonie était dévastée par les incursions hongroises et moraves des années précédentes, à un point tel que *in tota Pannonia, nostra maxima provincia, tantum una non apparet ecclesia*.[23] Une continuité vigoureuse de l'ancien christianisme en Pannonie, où alternaient plus d'une fois la liturgie slave et la liturgie latine parait discutable. Toujours est-il que la population slave de la région de Balaton a gardé le culte de saint Hadrien à Zalavár, chef lieu de Pribina et Cozel,[24] et, de l'autre côté du lac, une ancienne basilique, dédiée à saint Clément est mentionnée à partir du XI^{e} siècle.[25] En même temps les fouilles archéologiques n'excluent pas la possibilité d'une continuité des églises à Pécs—Quinque basilicae, une cité appartenant au IX^{e} siècle à

[20] *MGH*, SS. XXX/2, p. 742; *Annales Fuldenses*, rec.: F. Kurze (Hannoverae, 1891), *MGH*, SRGerm., 125; cf. Vajay, *Der Eintritt*, p. 16; G. Györffy, «Landnahme, Ansiedlung und Streifzüge der Ungarn», in *Acta historica Acad. Scient. Hung.* 31 (1985): 236–37.

[21] Györffy, «Landnahme», pp. 235–41; cf. *Reginonis abbatis Prumiensis Chronicon*, ed. Fr. Kurze (Hannoverae, 1890), p. 132.

[22] Ibid.

[23] A. F. Gombos, *Catalogus fontium historiae Hungaricae* (Budapestini, 1938), vol. III, p. 2200.

[24] Cf. Á. Cs. Sós, *Die slawische Bevölkerung Westungarns im 9. Jahrhundert* (München, 1973); B. M. Szőke–L. Vándor, *Neue Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen im Kisbalaton-Gebiet. Die Bayern und ihre Nachbarn*, vol. II (Wien, 1985), pp. 207–212.

[25] L. Erdélyi, *A Pannonhalmi Szent-Benedek rend története*, vol. X (Budapest, 1908), pp. 490, 514.

l'archevêque de Salzburg.[26] Même si, à leur arrivée dans la nouvelle patrie, les Hongrois n'ont pas trouvé une organisation ecclésiastique uniforme et stable, le christianisme n'était inconnu ni des princes et de leur suite, ni du peuple.

A l'époque des incursions, la conversion au christianisme n'était pas une nécessité urgente pour les Hongrois. A la cour des princes les représentants de plusieurs religions pouvaient exercer leurs fonctions. Étant donné qu'avant la conquête de la nouvelle patrie, Levedi, le kende sacral des Hongrois, était lié par son mariage avec le khagan khazar, et qu'auparavant trois tribus révoltées contre le régime khazar, dont les Khwarezmiens et les Alains musulmans et quelques Turcs convertis au judaïsme, s'étaient jointes aux Hongrois,[27] on peut supposer à la cour des premiers Arpades l'existance d'une multiplicité de religions, un fait d'ailleurs caractéristique des résidences des chefs nomades.

Tant que les incursions, de la Saxe à la Lombardie et des Pyrénées jusqu'à Byzance, avaient été fructueuses, dans la mesure où elles contraignaient les pays chrétiens au payement de tribut, «l'idéologie» païenne, avec le culte des ancêtres, s'opposait à l'implantation du christianisme. En revanche, des entreprises militaires, qui pour certaines se soldèrent par des échecs avaient ébranlé la croyance des princes. L'«expérience» que le Dieu des Hongrois, *Isten*, ne les aidait plus, contrairement au Dieu des Chrétiens qui les protégeait et les aidait, provoqua un changement dans la croyance de la classe dirigeante; ce changement ouvrit les portes à la foi chrétienne.

Dès les années 940 la résistance allemande face aux Hongrois grandit.[28] Dans ces conditions, puisqu'ils ne pouvaient pas s'adresser à l'Empire germanique qui leur était hostile, les Hongrois se tournèrent vers Byzance. L'empereur Constantin VII Porphyrogénète ne se contenta pas de les convertir pour des raisons religieuses; le savant empereur chercha en eux des alliés sûrs qui, de l'autre rive du Danube, pourraient surveiller les Bulgares. C'est dans de telles circonstances politiques que Constantin VII avait accueilli en 948 les envoyés de Fajsz, grand *arkhon* des Hongrois, le *karchas* Boultzou (Bulcsú) troisième dignitaire, et Termatzu (Tormás), l'arrière petit-fils d'Arpád. L'empereur les baptisa, Boultzou même fut

[26] F. Fülep, *Sopianae* (Budapest, 1984), pp. 285–301.
[27] Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, ed. Gy. Moravcsik–R. J. H. Jenkins (Washington, D.C., 1967) (=*DAI*), pp. 170–75; cf. Gy. Györffy, in: *Századok* 92 (1958): 61–70, 551 et note 15.
[28] Cf. R. Lüttich, *Ungarnzüge in Europa im 10. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1910); G. Fasoli, *Le incursioni Ungare in Europa nel secolo X* (Firenze, 1945), pp. 174ff.; Györffy, «Landnahme», pp. 263ff.

élevé à la dignité de patricien. Cinq ans plus tard, en 953, le *gyula*, un dignitaire hiérarchiquement plus élevé que Boultzou se rendit à la cour de Byzance, où il reçut le baptême et, de retour dans son pays, amena avec lui un évêque grec, nommé Hiérotheos;[29] l'étape suivante fut que l'évêque baptisa le grand *arkhon* Fajsz. Mais la défaite militaire du Lechfeld, où Boultzou fut fait prisonnier et tué, mit fin aux relations paisibles aussi avec Byzance.

En 956 Constantin VII Porphyrogénète envoya une ambassade à la cour d'Otton I^er^; de retour à Byzance, les messagers de Constantin lui fournirent des informations concernant la fin désastreuse de Boultzou et de son armée;[30] à la suite de ces informations l'empereur byzantin cessa de payer tribut, c'est-à-dire, d'envoyer des présents aux *arkhons* des Hongrois. En 958 Apor, le grand capitaine des Hongrois, arriva avec son armée sous les murs de Constantinople, mais l'empereur refusa de lui verser le tribut. En regagnant son pays avec son armée, Apor ravagea le territoire byzantin, ce qui déclencha entre Byzance et les Hongrois des hostilités appelées à durer un demi-siècle.[31]

L'interruption de l'envoi des «présents» aux princes hongrois coïncide dans le temps avec le voyage d'Ol'ga, princesse de Kiev, qui se rendit à Constantinople en 957; en se faisant baptiser, elle désirait obtenir de nombreux présents.[32] Ces événements ont décidé de la direction de l'évangélisation en Europe Orientale. L'empereur, d'une part, fiança la Rus' de Kiev avec l'Église grecque, d'autre part détourna la Hongrie du christianisme de rite byzantin.

En ce qui concerne la mission byzantine en Hongrie, le *gyula* soutint pendant quelque temps l'évangélisation grecque, mais sa mort condamna cette mission à disparaître. Une traduction slave d'un texte polémique grec de l'époque des Comnènes dit, en parlant de cette mission: «Les Latins, voyant la passivité. . . des Grecs, sont venus de Rome et ont converti grâce à

[29] *DAI*, pp. 178–79; Cedrenus, ed. Bonn, p. 328; pour l'édition critique du texte de Scylitzes voir G. Moravcsik, in *Fontes Byzantini historiae Hungaricae* (Budapest, 1984) (=*Fontes*), p. 85; Moravcsik, «Byzantine Christianization», p. 328; G. Györffy, «Rôle de Byzance dans la conversion des Hongrois», in *Cultus et cognitio* (Warszawa, 1976), pp. 174–79.

[30] Moravcsik, *Fontes*, p. 86; F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches*, vol. I (München-Berlin, 1924), p. 83, n. 664.

[31] Theophanes cont.: Migne, *PG*, vol. 109, p. 482; Moravcsik, *Fontes*, pp. 85–86. *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*, ed. E. Szentpétery (Budapest, 1937–38) (=*SRH*), vol. I, pp. 310–11.

[32] G. Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte des Byzantinischen Staates* (München, 1952), p. 228.

leurs livres et à leurs écrits les Péons qu'on appelle aussi les *Ugry* à leur croyance impie.[33]

Après le refus de l'empereur Constantin, le nouveau prince hongrois Taksony, qui déjà auparavant en 949 avait mené une expédition en Italie pour obtenir un tribut de Béranger II,[34] s'orienta, pour ce qui était de l'évangélisation, vers Rome: en 963 il envoya une ambassade directement à Rome pour demander un évêque, mais l'empereur Otton I^{er} réussit à empêcher que l'évêque Zacheus, sacré pour les Hongrois, se rendît dans le pays.[35]

L'objectif d'Otton était de voir les évêques destinés aux peuples de l'Europe de l'Est envoyés non par le pape, mais par l'empereur, et il s'efforça d'attacher à sa cour les princes convertis, en faisant sacrer à leur intention, par son propre archichapelain l'archevêque de Mayence, un moine d'une abbaye impériale (Reichsabtei). Ainsi, avec l'intention de l'envoyer en Rus', il fit sacrer en 961 Adalbert, religieux de Saint-Maximin de Trèves, celui qui devint, après l'échec de sa mission à Kiev, archevêque de Magdebourg.[36] En cette qualité, Adalbert envoya lui-même en 968 l'évêque Jourdain auprès du prince polonais Mesco.[37] Le grand prince de Hongrie Géza ne s'adressa à l'empereur germanique pour lui demander un évêque qu'après avoir appris le mariage d'Otton II avec la princesse byzantine Théophano (conclu à Rome à Pâques 972): il se rendait, en effet, compte que, par suite de cette alliance, son pays serait encerclé par les deux Empires, celui de l'Ouest et celui de l'Est. Par l'intermédiaire de Piligrime, évêque de Passau, Otton I^{er} envoya en Hongrie le religieux de Saint-Gall, Prunward, autrement dit Bruno, qui fut certainement sacré évêque, en tant que moine d'une abbaye impériale, par l'archevêque de Saint-Martin de Mayence. Le souvenir de cette initiative a survécu dans le culte exceptionnel de saint Gall et de saint Ottmar d'une part, de saint Martin et de saint Brice d'autre part, cultes que nous révèlent la plus ancienne liturgie hongroise et les vocables des églises fondées auprès des cours du prince Géza et de sa famille.[38] Le premier évêque de Bohème, Dietmar, religieux

[33] A. Popov, *Istoriko-literaturnyj obzor drevne-russkix polemičeskix sočinenij protiv latinjan (XI–XV vv.)* (Moskva, 1875), pp. 176–89.

[34] *Liudprandi opera*, éd. J. Becker (Hannover-Leipzig, 1915), p. 151.

[35] *Liudprandi opera*, p. 163.

[36] *Annales Hildesheimenses* (*MGH.* SR Germ.) (Hannoverae, 1878); cf. D. Claude, *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. I, pp. 98–99.

[37] *Monumenta Poloniae Historica* (=*MPH*), ed. A. Bielowski (Lwów, 1864–), vol. I, p. 248; vol. II, p. 482; J. Kłoczowski, *Histoire religieuse de la Pologne* (Paris, 1987), p. 32.

[38] G. Györffy, «Structures ecclésiastiques de la Hongrie médiévale», in: *Miscellanea historiae ecclesiasticae*, vol. V (Louvain, 1974), pp. 160–61; G. Györffy, *István király és műve.*

du monastère impérial Saint-Guy (Vit) de Corvey, fut sacré, en 976, également par l'archevêque de Mayence; par suite, Prague demeura suffragant de cette métropole.[39]

Saint Adalbert joua, dans l'évangélisation de la Hongrie, un rôle moins important qu'on ne l'a supposé plus tard. La *Vie de saint Adalbert*, rédigée par Bruno de Querfurt, mentionne que l'évêque de Prague envoya ses nonces en Hongrie, se rendit personnellement chez eux, mais il ne modifia pas beaucoup le christianisme dans ce pays.[40] Les légendes et les chroniques hongroises, un siècle plus tard, prétendent que saint Étienne fut baptisé par saint Adalbert,[41] mais une lettre d'Otton Ier et les Nécrologies contemporaines de saint Gall affirment que c'était Prunward-Bruno qui baptisa le roi des Hongrois, c'est-à-dire Géza et sa famille, et c'est le même qui, avec les prêtres de l'évêché de Passau commença la mission dans le pays, avec le soutien du grand-prince Géza et non sans la mise en oeuvre de moyens cruels.[42]

Les discordes politiques dans l'Empire et les relations hostiles entre Bavarois et Hongrois aboutirent à ce que l'organisation de l'Église en Hongrie fût l'oeuvre des disciples de saint Adalbert. Parmi eux se trouvait Achérie-Anastase, abbé de Mezerici: après avoir quitté la Pologne, il se rendit à Dijon, puis à Rome et de là, en sa qualité de légat, il apporta en Hongrie la lance et la couronne du pape Sylvestre II, insignes avec lesquels Étienne, fils du grand-prince Géza, fut sacré roi le premier jour du nouveau millénaire.[43] La confirmation de l'organisation de l'archevêché hongrois devait avoir lieu à Ravenne en avril 1001, quand le pape Sylvestre II et l'empereur Otton III tinrent dans la basilique Saint-Apollinaire in Classe un synode qui réunit, entre autres, Odilon, abbé de Cluny, Anastase, abbé de Sclavanie, et les frères de l'ermitage de Pereum, Boniface-Bruno de Quer-

(Budapest, 1977), pp. 72–77, 542 (littérature); G. Györffy, *König Stephan der Heilige* (Budapest, 1988), pp. 67–69.

39 G. Graus, «Böhmen zwischen Bayern und Sachsen (Zur böhmischen Kirchengeschichte des 10. Jahrhunderts)», in: *Historica* 17 (1969): 5–42; Z. Krumphanzlova: «Die regensburger Mission (etc.)», in: *Millennium dioeceseos Pragensis 973–1973* (Böhlau, 1974), pp. 25ff.

40 *MPH*, Series nova, vol. IV, fasc. 2 (Warszawa, 1969), ed. J. Karwasińska, p. 19.

41 *SRH*, vol. II, pp. 281–382.

42 *MGH*, Necrol., vol. I, p. 466; *MGH*. Ep. select., vol. III. *Codex epistolarum Tegernseesium*, ed. K. Strecker (Berlin, 1925), pp. 100–101; avec identifications erronnées: *MGH*, SS, vol. IV, p. 130; cf. *SRH*, vol. II, p. 379.

43 G. Györffy, «Zu den Anfängen der ungarischen Kirchenorganisation. . . .», in: *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 7 (1969): 79–109; G. Györffy, «Die 'corona sancti Stephani regis' zur Zeit der Arpaden», in: *Insignia regni Hungariae*, vol. I (Budapest, 1973), pp. 55–56.

furt et Romuald[44] qui plus tard jouèrent, eux aussi, un rôle dans la christianisation de la Hongrie.

Pannonhalma, le premier monastère en Hongrie, a été fondé encore par Géza, en 996, et il est vraisemblable que le premier abbé en ait été Radla, ancien «papas» d'Adalbert; on admet que Radla devint sous le nom de Sébastien, le deuxième archevêque de Hongrie.[45] L'influence des prêtres de Saint-Adalbert se manifesta dans le choix des saints patrons des églises d'Esztergom: la cathédrale fut dédiée à saint Adalbert, tandis que la basilique de l'archevêque le fut à saint Guy, le patron de Prague.[46]

Anastase-Achérie, comme évêque de Kalocsa et successeur de Sébastien sur le siège archiépiscopal, devint le chef de la mission et de l'organisation ecclésiastique. Il laissa peu de champ libre aux missionnaires arrivés de leur propre initiative. Les frères conduits par Romuald venus d'Italie furent faits prisonniers à la frontière hongroise et, après avoir été torturés, durent rentrer.[47] Bruno de Querfurt, ami de Henri II, frère de la reine de Hongrie, reçut la permission de prêcher l'évangile à deux reprises parmi les Hongrois Noirs—vraisemblablement Khazaro-Cavars—qui se montrèrent réfractaires à la christianisation. Comme la lettre de Bruno, écrite au début de l'année 1009, nous informe, même la christianisation forcée des Hongrois Noirs fut terminée.[48] Le pape Jean XX envoya en 1009 Azo, évêque d'Ostie, pour confirmer la nouvelle organisation ecclésiastique. Deux chartes délivrées la même année par Étienne à l'intention des évêques de Pécs et de Veszprém[49] nous apprennent qu'à cette même occasion on créa les diocèses, ce qui entraîna la délimitation des diocèses d'Esztergom, de Győr, de Kalocsa, d'Eger et d'Albe en Transylvanie.

On ne connaît que quelques noms parmi les personnages qui collaborèrent à la mise en place de cette organisation. Les *Vies de saint Étienne*, rédigées à la fin du XI^e^ siècle, racontent que le roi, revêtu de l'autorité apostolique, fonda les évêchés et monastères, et que son principal collaborateur fut l'archevêque Anastase déjà nommé. Celui-ci représenta

44 *MGH, Ottonis III diplomata* (Hannoverae, 1893), n. 396.

45 Erdélyi, *A Pannonhalmi Szent-Benedek rend története*, vol. I (1902), p. 589–90; Györffy, «Zu den Anfängen», pp. 96–97ff.

46 G. Györffy, *Geographia historica Hungariae tempore stirpis Arpadianae* (Budapest, 1987), vol. II, pp. 237ff.

47 *MGH*, SS. IV, pp. 853–54.

48 *MPH*, Series nova, vol. IV, fasc. 3, op. 52, p. 100.

49 G. Fejér, *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae* (Budae, 1829–), vol. I, pp. 289–92; J. Karácsonyi, *Szent István oklevelei* (Budapest, 1891), pp. 40–41, 57–59; *Diplomata Hungariae Antiquissima*, ed. G. Györffy, vol. I, n. 8–9 (sous presse).

l'Église de Hongrie deux fois à l'occasion de la fondation de l'évêché de Bamberg.[50]

Le siège épiscopal de Pécs fut attribué en 1009 à Bonipert.[51] Cet anthroponyme ne se rencontre en grand nombre qu'en Lombardie,[52] ce qui nous autorise à l'identifier avec un secrétaire italien du roi Étienne. Harry Bresslau a remarqué que la charte de l'évêché de Veszprém de 1009 contenait des particularités stylistiques, propres à la chancellerie italienne d'Otton III et d'Arduin, roi d'Italie.[53] Cette charte unique contient, de plus, un anathème spécifique d'origine byzantine, mais que l'on retrouve dans les chartes latines de Venise autour de l'an mil: l'anathème des *trecentorum, decem et octo patrum* (du Concile de Nicée).[54] Nous avons le droit de supposer que Bonipert de Lombardie a commencé sa carrière dans la chancellerie italienne d'Otton III; après la mort de l'empereur il suivit son chancelier, Pierre, l'évêque de Como, à la cour d'Ardouin. La chancellerie d'Ardouin cessa d'exister en 1005, après l'arrivée de Henri II en Lombardie. La caractéristique vénitienne de l'anathème nous permet de supposer que notre scribe est passé à Venise pour travailler dans la chancellerie du doge, Pierre Orseolo. Le fils du doge Pierre, Otton, épousa en 1009 la soeur du roi saint Étienne.[55] Ces contacts directs peuvent expliquer le passage d'un secrétaire de Venise à la cour d'Étienne et sa nomination en 1009 au siège épiscopal de Pécs. Bresslau a réussi à retrouver dans les cinq cents diplômes de Henri II une seule fois le style caractéristique du dit scribe: en 1018 celui-ci rédigea un diplôme pour l'abbaye Saint-Michel, fondée à Bamberg.[56] C'était l'année où la paix de Bautzen, conclue entre Henri II et Bolesław Chrobry, ainsi que l'achèvement de la guerre engagée entre

50 *SRH*, vol. II, p 383, 386; *MGH*, Diplomata Heinrici II (Hannoverae, 1900–1903), n. 143; *MGH*, SS, vol. XVII, p. 481.

51 Voir note 49.

52 E. Förstemann, *Altdeutsches Namenbuch* (Bonn, 1900), vol. I², pp. 326–27; pour des chartes des VIII^e^–XI^e^ siècles voir p.e. L. Schiaparelli, *I diplomi di Berengario I* (Roma, 1903), pp. 52, 53, 101, 109, 304, 409; L. Schiaparelli, *I diplomi di Ugo e di Lotario, di Berengario II. e di Adalberto* (Roma, 1924), pp. 100, 148; L. Schiaparelli–Cr. Brühl, *Codice diplomatico Longobardo* (Roma, 1980), pp. 118–19, 324–35; C. Manaresi, *I placiti del «Regnum Italie»*, vol. I (Roma, 1955), pp. 115, 390, 407–410, 415–17, 425, 480; vol. II/1 (Roma, 1957), pp. 118–19; vol. II/2, p. 575; *Codice diplomatico Padovano* (Venezia, 1877), pp. 103, 125.

53 *MGH*, Heinrici II et Arduini diplomata, p. 500.

54 Voir les chartes de 1007 et 1008: Archivio di Stato di Venezia. Codice diplomatico Veneziano (manuscripte), p. 17, n. 9, et p. 24, n. 12. Ces anathèmes se trouvent aussi dans les chartes dalmates des années 986 et 999: *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, vol. I, ed. M. Kostrenčić et al. (Zagreb, 1967), pp. 44, 50.

55 Andreas Dandolo, *Chronicon Venetum*, ed. L. A. Muratori, Rerum Italicarum scriptores, vol. XII (1728), p. 235.

56 Voir note 53.

Étienne et Bolesław exigeaient une mission diplomatique en Allemagne. Nous considérons comme indice d'un traité de paix entre la Pologne et la Hongrie le fait que le prince Bezprim, fils de Bolesław et d'une princesse hongroise, put retourner en Pologne.[57] Il est à supposer que Bonipert de Pécs rédigea, à l'occasion de cette mission diplomatique, ladite charte pour l'abbaye Saint-Michel de Bamberg. Plus tard il fut en correspondance avec Fulbert, évêque de Chartres, lui demandant des livres. D'après les *Annales de Poson*, Bonipert est mort en 1042.[58]

Si ce curriculum vitae est basé sur des suppositions «diplomatiques», la personne de l'autre collaborateur italien du roi Étienne, Gérard ou Gellért de Venise, est moins énigmatique, bien que ses légendes contiennent de nombreuses contradictions.[59]

Étienne, après avoir fini la guerre comme allié de Basile II contre les Bulgares en 1018, a ouvert la route du pèlerinage de Jérusalem à travers la Hongrie.[60] D'après la *Passio Sancti Gerhardi*, écrite à la fin du XI^e^ siècle, Gérard, au début des années 20 emprunta cette route pour se rendre en Terre Sainte, mais Étienne le retint pour propager la foi chrétienne.[61] Gérard a déployé une activité littéraire, à la cour d'abord, puis comme évêque de Csanád où il rédigea un traité théologique intitulé *Deliberatio*, conservé jusqu'à nos jours.[62] Après la mort d'Étienne, il fut martyrisé au cours d'une révolte païenne (1046).[63]

La plupart des collaborateurs ecclésiastiques du roi venaient d'Allemagne: nous possédons des témoignages directs et indirects du fait que plusieurs notaires de la chancellerie de l'Empire, secrétaires des archevêques Heribert, Bruno et Egilbert, vinrent en Hongrie et y déployèrent une activité comme notaires, puis comme évêques.[64]

57 *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. II (Kraków, 1936), p. 2; *Słownik staropolskich nazw osobowych*, éd. W. Taszycki, vol. II/1 (PAN, 1965), p. 129; cf. J. Melich, *A honfoglalás-kori Magyarország* (Budapest, 1925–1929), pp. 398–99; L. Kiss, *A földrajzi nevek etimológiai szótára* (Budapest, 1978), pp. 691–92; Györffy, *König Stephan*, pp. 86, 165, 169, 180.

58 Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, vol. 141, col. 189; *SRH*, vol. I, p. 125.

59 I. comes De Batthyan, *Sancti Gerardi episcopi Chanadiensis scripta et acta* (Albo-Carolinae, 1790); E. Madzsar, «Legenda S. Gerhardi episcopi», in: *SRH*, vol. II, pp. 461–506; C. A. Macartney, *The Medieval Hungarian Historians* (Cambridge, 1953), pp. 152–61.

60 G. Schreiber, *Stephan I. der Heilige* (Paderborn, 1938); G. Györffy, «Dem Gedächtnis Stephans, des ersten Königs von Ungarn», in: *Acta historica Acad. Scient. Hung.* 17 (1971): 7–8; Györffy, *König Stephan*, pp. 174–78.

61 *SRH*, vol. II, pp. 471–72.

62 Batthyan, *Sancti Gerardi*, pp. 1–297; G. Silagi, *Gerhardi Moresenae ecclesiae... episcopi Deliberatio...* (Thurnholti, 1978).

63 *SRH*, vol. II, pp. 478, 502–563.

64 J. v. Plugk-Harttung, *Iter Italicum* (Stuttgart, 1883), pp. 407–408; sur le notaire de Heribert voir H. Bresslau, in: *Archiv für Urkundenforschung* 6 (1918): 71ff., 74ff.; pour les autres aussi G. Györffy: «Die Anfänge der ungarischen Kanzlei im 11. Jahrhundert», in: *Archiv für*

Pendant les quarante et un ans de son règne saint Étienne avait créé dix évêchés, dont deux archevêchés. Comme siège de la plupart des évêchés, on choisissait un château-fort où un membre de la famille royale résidait en qualité de *dux* et gouvernait un territoire. Esztergom était siège royal, Kalocsa—l'ancienne place des Arpades, Veszprém—la résidence de la reine, mais son ancien nom *Bezprim* vient certainement du fils de Bolesław Chrobry, mentionné plus haut, qui dans le château de la reine remplissait les fonctions de *dux*. Parmi les autres neveux de saint Étienne, Csanád avait sa résidence à Marosvár, Zoltán à Albe en Transylvanie (Gyulafehervár, Alba Julia), Aba Sámuel à Eger, et le fils du roi, le prince Éméric, à Bihar. Avec leur suite armée, ces ducs garantissaient la sécurité de l'activité missionnaire de l'évêque du lieu. C'est de la même manière que se développa l'organisation de l'Église au niveau moyen:[65] le pays fut divisé en environ 50 *comitats*, chacun des châteaux-forts royaux servait de siège au *comes*, et dans son voisinage, sous la protection du *comes*, furent créées les premières paroisses, qui devinrent au cours du XI^{e} siècle, les résidences des archidiacres. Cela explique pourquoi en Hongrie le territoire des *archidiaconats* correspond, dans la plupart des cas, au territoire des comitats.[66] Dans son premier décret (c. 9), émis au début du règne, saint Étienne impose à chacun l'obligation d'aller le dimanche à l'église, à l'exception de ceux qui surveillent le feu. (*A sacerdotibus vero et comitibus commendetur omnibus villicis, ita ut illorum iussu omnes concurrant die dominica ad ecclesiam, maiores ac minores, viri ac mulieres, exceptis qui ignes custodiant.*)[67] Il rendit cette obligation plus facile à remplir par la construction des premières églises sur les lieux de marchés, et les gens étaient dirigés du marché à l'église. Le souvenir en existe encore dans la langue hongroise où le nom de dimanche: *vasárnap* vient de *vásárnap*, c'est-à-dire «jour de marche».[68] Le deuxième décret (c. 1) de saint Étienne stipulait déjà que tous les groupes de dix hameaux devaient construire une église (*Decem ville ecclesiam edificent*...), ce qui permettait au peuple de se rendre régulièrement à l'église.[69] En 1046 pourtant, une révolte païenne secoua la chrétienté hongroise: trois évêques, dont saint Gérard, et de nombreux prêtres y moururent et beaucoup d'églises furent détruites.

Diplomatik 30 (1984): 90–92; et *DHA*, vol. I, (sous presse).

65 G. Györffy, in: *Miscellanea Historiae ecclesiasticae* (Louvain), vol. V (1974): 161–63.

66 G. Györffy, «Die Entstehung der ungarischen Burgorganisation», in: *Acta archaeologica Acad. Scient. Hung.* 28 (1976): 335–36, 353–55.

67 G. Györffy, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft der Ungarn um die Jahrtausendwende* (avec l'édition des décrets) (Böhlau, 1983), p. 266.

68 *A magyar nyelv történeti etimológiai szótára*, ed. L. Benkő, vol. III (1976): 1096.

69 Györffy, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, p. 275.

Le roi André I[er] de la maison Arpád, rappelé de son exil à Kiev, restaura l'église en s'appuyant sur les prêtres et les moines hongrois ou «latins», ceux-ci venus en 1047 de Verdun.[70]

Saint Étienne a fondé dix abbayes, dont huit bénédictines et deux basiliennes de rite grec;[71] parmi les nombreux moines nous connaissons deux ermites, venus de Pologne, saint Zoerard et saint Benoît, qui trouvèrent asile dans la Hongrie du nord et y menèrent une vie faite de mortifications, étant toujours prêts à la mort.[72] Le roi André augmenta le nombre des monastères; il fonda à Visegrád un monastère ruthène, pour le salut de l'âme de sa femme, Anastasie, fille de Jaroslav le Sage, et près de l'abbaye de Tihany un ermitage ruthène.[73] De cette manière la chrétienté occidentale et orientale de l'Europe comme les deux moitiés d'une chrétienté unique participèrent à la fondation de l'Église hongroise.

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[70] G. Györffy, «Die Anfänge», pp. 93–94.

[71] D. Fuxhoffer–M. Czinár, *Monasterologiae regni Hungariae libri duo* (Pestini, 1857), vol. I, pp. 7ff.; Moravcsik, «Byzantine Christianization», pp. 333–35.

[72] *SRH*, vol. II, p. 503.

[73] H. Komjáthy, «Quelques problèmes concernant la charte de fondation de l'abbaye de Tihany», in: *Études historiques publiées par la Commission nationale des Historiens hongrois* (Budapest, 1960), vol. I, pp. 230–51.

Christianisation de la Pologne

JERZY KŁOCZOWSKI

Après le baptême de 988, la Rus' de la Kiev trouva sa place dans la «nouvelle chrétienté» en formation à cette époque-là dans l'Éurope du centre-est et du nord. Vers l'an 1000, plusieurs nouveaux États chrétiens apparaissent sur la carte, notamment—en dehors de notre Rus'—la Hongrie, la Bohême, la Pologne, le Danemark, la Norvège, et quelques décennies plus tard—la Suède. Le vote de la diète d'Islande en 999 en faveur de l'acceptation du christianisme est bien symbolique.[1] Le christianisme dans nos pays fut partout le résultat non pas tant des efforts missionnaires venus de l'extérieur que des décisions prises sur place par les princes, les Grands et les gens proches des élites politiques. L'examen du contexte global des transformations subies par la société, du processus difficile de la formation des États, est indispensable dans nos Études sur le débuts du christianisme et de l'organisation ecclésiastique dans ces pays. Le baptême du prince avec son entourage, sa capitale et son armée, fut suivi d'un long processus—pendant plusieurs générations—qui amena l'établissement des structures ecclésiastiques dans le pays et la formation des bases de la culture chrétienne du peuple. Les études comparatives s'imposent là, précisément dans la perspective de toute la «nouvelle chrétienté».

I

Dans cette perspective qu'il me soit permis d'évoquer l'exemple de la Pologne, un pays bien proche de la Rus' de Kiev, le seul voisin chrétien et

[1] Pour l'ensemble des Slaves: F. Dvornik, *Les Slaves* (Paris, 1970); A. P. Vlasto, *The Entry of the Slavs into Christendom: An Introduction to the Medieval History of the Slavs* (Cambridge, 1970); Henryk Łowmiański, *Religia Słowian i jej upadek (w. VI–XII)* (Warszawa, 1986); *Słownik Starożytności Słowiańskich* (cité *infra SSS*), I–VII (Wrocław, 1967–1982) jusqu'à la fin du XII^e^ siècle.

Pour la Scandinavie: *Kirkehistorisk Bibliografi*, T. Christensen, J. H. Gronboek, E. Norr, J. Stenboek, eds. (København, 1979); *Kulturhistorisk Leksikon for nordisk middelalder: Fra vikingetid til reformationstid*, I–XXII, J. Danstrup et A. Karker, eds. (København, 1956–1978); M. Gravier, *Les Scandinaves* (Paris, 1984).

slave à la fois de l'Empire de Kiev (à côté de la Hongrie qui toutefois n'était pas slave pour la majeure partie de sa population).[2]

Les étapes de la formation de l'État des Polanes (du nom de *pole*, champ) autour du *castrum* de Gniezno aux IX^{e}–X^{e} siècles sont difficiles à saisir compte tenu du manque de sources.[3] Vers 960, c'était déjà un État relativement fort, installé dans la grande plaine polonaise, entre deux cours d'eau, la Vistule et l'Oder moyens. Pour les années 960–970, nous retrouvons dans les sources quelques notices et quelques traditions postérieures bien minces, mais qui concernent des événements d'une portée capitale pour toute l'histoire du pays. Voici la chronologie de ces événements:

964 (?): le margrave Gero († 964), très proche de l'empereur Otton 1er, bat le prince des Polanes (Pologne) Mesco; des accords sont conclus entre Otton 1er et Mesco;[4]

965: la fille du prince de Prague, Boleslas I^{er} (929–971/2?), Dobrava, vient en Pologne pour devenir la femme de Mesco;[5]

966: baptême de duc Mesco;[6]

967: Mesco, avec l'aide des Tchèques, vaincu un grand aventurier allemand, Wichman, cousin de l'empereur, à la tête des Wolinies

[2] *Histoire religieuse de la Pologne*, Jerzy Kłoczowski, ed. (Paris, 1987); (Paris, 1987); idem, *Dzieje chrześcijaństwa polskiego* (Paris, 1987); *Historia Kościoła w Polsce*, B. Kumor et Z. Obertyński, eds., t. I^{re}, (Poznań, 1974); *Kościół w Polsce* (Kraków, 1966), J. Kłoczowski, éd.

[3] Henryk Łowmiański, *Początki Polski* I–VI (Warszawa, 1963–1985); Aleksander Gieysztor, *La Pologne médiévale*, Histoire de la Pologne (Warszawa, 1971), il existe aussi une version anglaise; Gerard Labuda, *Studia nad początkami państwa polskiego*, I–II (Poznań, 1987/88).

[4] Les textes de la *Chronique de Widukind et de Thietmar* dans H. Łowmiański, *Początki*, V, p. 518. Chez Thietmar, mort en 1018, dans son livre II, chapitre 14: «Gero Orientalium marchio Lusizi et Selpuli, Miseconem quoque cum sibi subiectis imperiali subdidit dicioni». Łowmiański présente une longue discussion sur ce texte.

[5] «Dubrouka ad Meskonem venit», cf. «Rocznik kapituły krakowskiej», dans: *Monumenta Poloniae Historica* (= *MPH*), series nova, t. V, Zofia Kozłowska-Budkowa, ed. (Warszawa, 1978), p. 43, et aussi les autres annales sur le nom tchèque Dobrawa, M. Karpluk, *Słowiańskie imiona kobiece* (Wrocław, 1961), pp. 129ff.; Łowmiański, *Początki*, V, p. 531.

[6] Ibidem, *MPH*, V, p. 43: «Mesco dux Poloniae baptizatur» (et aussi dans les autres annales); sur les annales: Gerard Labuda, «Główne linie rozwoju rocznikarstwa polskiego w wiekach średnich», *Kwartalnik historyczny* 78 (1971): 804–837; P. David, *Les sources de l'histoire de Pologne à l'époque des Piastes* (Paris 1934); Piotr Bogdanowicz, «Chrzest Polski», *Nasza przeszłość* 23 (1966): 9–64, rassembla les sources et la litterature historique concernant cet l'événement.

(les Slaves au bord de la Baltique); Mesco est appelé *amicus imperatoris* par une chronique contemporaine de Widukind;[7]

968: Jordan est ordonné évêque pour la Pologne.[8]

C'est dans ce cadre qu'il faut replacer la décision du duc-prince de la Pologne, Mesco, de devenir chrétien avec son peuple. L'interprétation des sources concernées pose, depuis des générations, des questions difficiles et provoque les discussions.[9] La pression de l'Allemagne, des Saxons surtout, augmenta visiblement dans ces années contre les Slaves, surtout les Slaves établis entre l'Elbe et l'Oder. La création de l'archevêché de Magdebourg en 962–968 pour coordonner les missions et coiffer l'organisation ecclésiastique dans les territoires slaves à l'intérieur du cadre de l'Empire était une expression éclatante de la politique d'Otton I^{er} († 973).[10] Sans entrer dans la discussion sur le caractère des relations et des accords entre l'empereur et Mesco, il faut souligner que ce rapprochement changea la carte politique de cette partie du continent. Elle eut pour conséquence l'alliance de la Pologne et du royaume d'Allemagne contre les Slaves polabes et ceux des rives de la Baltique qui refusaient le christianisme. La décision de se faire baptiser était dans la logique de la politique de Mesco: dans sa lutte acharnée contre notamment les Slaves de la Baltique (les Volyniens, les Vélètes et les autres), la coopération avec l'Empire était probablement avantageuse pour le jeune État en plein développement, et sans doute l'adoption du christianisme avait été une condition pour obtenir cette alliance.

L'alliance avec la Bohême de Boleslas I^{er}, tributaire d'Otton I^{er} depuis 950, s'inscrit dans la même logique en renforçant en même temps la position de Mesco vis-à-vis de l'empereur. La Bohême était un pays christianisé dès le IX^{e} siècle, quoique la fondation de l'évêché de Prague—signe

[7] Łowmiański, *Początki*, V, p. 505–528; J. Strzelczyk, «Wichman», in *SSS*, VI, pp. 419–20.

[8] «...Jordanus primus episcopus in Polonia ordinatus est...». V. «Rocznik kapituły poznańskiej», *MPH*, series nova, t. VI, B. Kürbis, ed. (Warszawa, 1962), p. 23. Cf. note 14 ci-dessous.

[9] Quelques travaux plus récents: Jerzy Dowiat, *Metryka chrztu Mieszka I i jej geneza* (Warszawa, 1961); Aleksander Gieysztor, «Les paliers de la pénétration du christianisme en Pologne au X^{e} et XI^{e} siècles», in *Studi in onore di Amintore Fanfani*, I (Milan, 1962), pp. 329–367; Zygmunt Sułowski, «Le baptême de la Pologne», in *Millénaire du catholicisme en Pologne* (Lublin, 1969), pp. 33–85; Henryk Łowmiański, «Baptism and the Early Church Organisation», in *The Christian Community of Medieval Poland*, J. Kłoczowski, ed. (Wrocław, 1981), p. 27–56; Z. Sułowski, «L'Église polonaise à ses origines», in *Histoire religieuse de la Pologne* (Paris, 1987), pp. 17–51.

[10] Łowmiański, *Początki*, V (Warszawa, 1973), pp. 505ff.; D. Claude, *Geschichte des Erzbistums Magdeburg bis in das 12. Jahrhundert*, I (Köln-Wien, 1972); Herbert Ludat, «An Elbe und Oder um das Jahr 1000», in *Skizzen zur Politik des Ottonenreiches und der slavischen Mächte in Mitteleuropa* (Köln, 1971).

important de l'implantation de la nouvelle religion—ne date que de 973. Le rôle personnel de la princesse Dobrava dans la conversion de Mesco fut bien souligné dans une vieille tradition ecclésiastique allemande, mais le caractère politique de la décision polonaise n'en reste pas moins évident.[11] L'importance de l'aide des missionnaires tchèques, en fonction des possibilités sans doute bien restreintes de la jeune Église de Bohême, reste une question ouverte. On retrouve en tout cas les traces de la langue tchèque dans le plus ancien vocabulaire ecclésiastique polonais.[12] Les historiens ont cherché aussi à déterminer le rôle de l'évêché de Regensburg—dont le territoire engloba la Bohême jusqu'en 973—en supposant même que cette ville fut le lieu de baptême de Mesco, mais sa célébration en Pologne à Gniezno ou peut-être à Poznań, semble plus probable.[13]

Deux ans après le baptême du duc Mesco, l'évêque Jordan fut ordonné pour la Pologne. Le caractère de cet évêché ainsi que la personnalité énigmatique de l'évêque, probablement le chef de la première équipe missionnaire dans le pays, provoquent des débats sans fin chez les historiens. Tous admettent aujourd'hui, et c'est la chose la plus importante, que cet évêché dépendait directement du Saint-Siège; la jeune Église polonaise se trouva ainsi dehors de la province de Magdebourg, même si les archevêques de cette ville essayèrent longtemps, encore au XII^{e} siècle, de lui imposer leur juridiction.[14] Cette situation canonique fut sans doute le résultat de la politique très consciente du duc Mesco. Les opinions des historiens sont partagées, pour savoir dans quelle mesure Mesco profita de l'appui du Saint-Siège—par l'intermédiaire de la Bohême?—ou quelle indépendance ecclésiastique fut déjà garantie dans les accords entre Otton I^{er} et le duc polonais. On a même lancé l'hypothèse qu'un tribut fut payé

[11] Thietmar souligna le rôle de Dobrava dans la conversion de Mesco (IV, cap. 56 de sa *Chronique*): «. . . cuius infinita bonitate persecutor suimet studiosus resipuit, dum crebro dilectae uxoris ortatu innatae infidelitatis toxicum evomuit et in sacro baptismate nevam originalem detersit. Et protinus caput suum et seniorem dilectum membra populi hactenus debilia subsequuntur et nupciali veste recepta inter caeteros Christi adoptivos numerantur. . .» (édition de B. Holtzmann, *MGH*, SS, NS t. 9 (Berlin, 1935); sur Thietmar cf. Jerzy Strzelczyk, in *SSS*, VI (Wrocław, 1977), pp. 74–75, avec une bibliographie abondante.

[12] E. Klich, *Polska terminologija chrześcijańska* (Poznań, 1927).

[13] Sur Regensburg, cf. surtout Dowiat, *Metryka*, pp. 56ff.; Łowmiański, «Baptism», pp. 41ff.; Sułowski, «L'Église polonaise», pp. 28ff.

[14] Paul Kehr, *Das Erzbistum Magdeburg und die erste Organisation der christlichen Kirche in Polen* (Berlin, 1921); Władysław Abraham, *Gniezno i Magdeburg* (Kraków, 1921); Stefan Hain, «Powstanie biskupstwa poznańskiego», *Nasza przeszłość* 30 (1969): 19–42; Marian Banaszak, «Charakter prawny biskupów Jordana i Ungera», *Nasza przeszłość* 30 (1969): 43–123; Gerard Labuda, «O najstarszej organizacji Kościoła w Polsce», *Przegląd powszechny* 6 (1984): 754.

par Mesco à l'empereur pour prix de cette indépendance.[15] Dans la personne de l'évêque Jordan, certains ont vu un évêque missionnaire de tout le pays de Mesco, d'autres, plutôt l'ordinaire du diocèse de Poznań.[16] L'identificaton de son pays d'origine, c'est-à-dire de la source des premières influences exercées sur le christianisme polonais, soulève une question intéressante mais difficile: on évoque parfois la Lorraine historique, tout reécemment même l'Aquitaine.[17]

Le dernier acte du duc Mesco juste avant sa mort, le 25 mai 992, témoigne aussi d'une nette volonté d'indépendance. Il s'agit d'un acte dit *Dagome index* (Dagome—Dagobert—selon une hypothèse généralement admise aujourd'hui est le nom chrétien reçu par Mesco lors de son baptême);[18] le prince Dagobert-Mesco a offert son État dans des frontières déjà plus larges qu'en 966, à la papauté. Ce fut probablement la première donation d'un État à saint Pierre. La question reste ouverte de savoir d'où vient l'idée de cette donation ou, qui l'a suggérée au prince polonais. Quelle était, d'autre part, l'intention du donateur? Obtenir l'approbation du pape pour les frontières nouvelles de l'État, sa protection contre l'empereur, peut-être la promesse d'une province ecclésiastique propre? Plusieurs spécialistes penchent vers la dernière supposition. En tout cas, c'est le fils et le successeur de Mesco, Boleslas le Vaillant (992–1025) qui eut la chance de réaliser cette idée d'une province ecclésiastique polonaise. La mort d'un grand personnage, saint Wojciech-Adalbert, en 997 au bord de la Baltique, précipita les choses;[19] le pape Sylvestre II—Gerbert d'Aurillac—et l'empereur Otton III, profondément touchés par le martyre de leur ami Adalbert, se sont vite mis d'accord. Dés 999 le pape canonisa Adalbert, tandis que son frère et compagnon de mission, Radrzim-Gaudenty, était nommé archevêque pour la Pologne. L'empereur Otton III en personne se mit en route au début de l'an 1000 vers le tombeau d'Adalbert à Gniezno, capitale de la Pologne, où le corps du martyr, racheté par Boleslas avait été déposé. L'archevêché de Gniezno, avec les évêches suffragants de Cracovie, de Wrocław et de Kołobrzeg, fut proclamé sur place, même si l'évêché

15 Łowmiański, *Początki*, V, p. 545.

16 Cf. la discussion dans les oeuvres cités ci-dessus, note 14.

17 Michel Rouche, «Aux origines d'une Église nouvelle: L'Aquitaine et la Pologne», in *Les contacts religieux franco-polonais du Moyen Age à nos jours* (Paris, 1985), pp. 40–52.

18 B. Kürbis, in *SSS*, I (1961), pp. 311–12; H. Łowmiański, «Imię chrzestne Mieszka I», *Slavia occidentalis* 19 (1948); idem, *Początki* V, pp. 595ff.

19 A. Gieysztor, «Sanctus et gloriosissimus martyr Christi Adalbertus», in *Settimane di studi sull'alto Medioevo*, t. 14 (Spoleto, 1969), pp. 611ff.; F. Dvornik, «The Role of Bohemia and Adalbert in the Spread of Christianity in Poland», *Polish Review* 5 (New York, 1960), pp. 19–28.

de Poznań resta encore quelques années indépendant de Gniezno.[20] Cette province ecclésiastique—la première dans la nouvelle chrétienté latine—fut un élément capital pour la stabilité intérieure du jeune État polonais et pour sa position internationale. L'Église de Pologne trouva là une base solide pour son développement ultérieur.

Notons encore que cette Église dès le début eut un caractère romain, «latin», bien prononcé, et les traces du rite et de la langue liturgique slaves dans la tradition des saints Cyrille et Méthode, sont dans ce pays bien minces. Et les hypothèses qui, de temps en temps, apparaissent sur l'existence d'une organisation ecclésiastique slave en Pologne aux X^{e}–XI^{e} siècles sont réfutées au cours des discussions entre spécialistes.[21]

II

La christianisation, c'est d'abord un long processus de plusieurs siècles qui, on peut le dire, n'est jamais fini, un processus touchant d'abord—en règle générale—les élites sociales et ensuite les larges couches de la société. Ce phénomène est partout difficile à saisir et, susceptible de provoquer des discussions sans fin, d'autant que les recherches dans une véritable perspective d'histoire socio-religieuse ne sont pas, dans les pays de la «nouvelle chrétienté» qui nous intéressent ici, dans l'ensemble satisfaisantes. Qu'il me soit permis dans le cadre de ma communication d'attirer votre attention sur quelques-uns de ces problèmes, à la lumière des récentes recherches effectuées en Pologne.[22]

C'est d'abord le problème de l'implantation des structures ecclésiastiques de base, des églises et des paroisses accessibles largement et facilement à l'ensemble de la société.[23] Les villes, c'est-à-dire les *castra-*

20 Piotr Bogdanowicz, «Zjazd gnieźnieński w roku 1000», *Nasza przeszłość* 16 (1962): 5–151.

21 Une hypothèse très poussée de K. Lanckorońska, *Studies on the Roman-Slavonic Rite in Poland* (Rome, 1961); H. Łowmiański, «The Slavic Rite in Poland and St. Adalbert», *Acta Poloniae Historica* 24 (1971): 5–21 et la critique de Gerard Labuda, «Kraków biskupi przed rokiem 1000: Przyczynek do dyskusji nad dziejami misji metodiańskiej w Polsce», in *Studia historyczne* 27 (1984): 388ff., ainsi que de W. Swoboda, «Quelques mots sur la liturgie slave en Pologne et l'évêché bulgare à Cracovie», in *Byzance et les Slaves, Mélanges Ivan Dujčev* (Paris, 1979), pp. 411–20; Jan Leśny, *Konstantyn i Metody apostołowie Słowian: Dzieło i jego losy* (Poznań, 1987).

22 Cf. les derniers essais, note 2 ci-dessus et Władysław Dziewulski, *Postępy chrystianizacji i proces likwidacji pogaństwa w Polsce wczesnofeudalnej* (Wrocław, 1964).

23 W. Abraham, *Organizacja Kościoła w Polsce do połowy XII w.*, 3e éd. (Poznań, 1962); L. Kulczycki, *L'organisation de l'Église en Pologne avant le XIII^{e} s.* (Grénoble, 1928); H. F. Schmid, «Die rechtlichen Grundlagen der Pfarrorganisation auf westslavischem Boden», *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte* 15–20 (1926–1931); Eugeniusz

grody avec leurs faubourgs-*suburbia*—sont, dès le début, privilégiées, et dans les plus importants de ces centres, nous trouvons, dés la XII^{e} siècle, un résau d'églises relativement dense. Des études récentes ont démontré aussi que l'effort de construction d'un réseau d'églises paroissiales dans les régions rurales les mieux peuplées fut, au cours des XI^{e}–XII^{e} siècles, plus grand qu'on ne l'a pensé jusque-là. Ainsi, dans la région de Wiślica, en Petite Pologne, les distances entre les églises paroissiales n'ont pas dépassé—en règle générale—vers la fin du XII^{e} siècle—les 10 km.[24] Comme presque partout dans la nouvelle chrétienté, il s'agissait d'églises privées; ce régime va changer lentement à partir du XIII^{e} siècle seulement—mais le prêtres parvenaient tout de même à réunir la population dans les églises tous les dimanches, en essayant en même temps d'exiger des fidèles l'observance au moins des pratiques et des rites chrétiens les plus élémentaires. Un signe extrêmement intéressant d'une certaine efficacité de cette pastorale a été constaté récemment par les archéologues: la disparition progressive, au cours des XI^{e}–XII^{e} siècles, d'un rite, très populaire chez les Slaves, d'incinération des morts au profit de leur inhumation.[25]

Le christianisme remplaça, comme religion officielle de l'État, l'ancien culte public tribal. Les exigences sévères introduites par ce dernier ont été reprises d'une manière presque automatique après la christianisation. Les informations sur l'ordre de Boleslas le Vaillant de casser les dents des gens qui ne pratiquaient pas le jeûne sont dans la logique d'un rigorisme bien établi dans la tradition et les coutumes.[26] Il s'agissait surtout d'attitudes et de pratiques visibles, publiques, susceptibles d'être observées par toute la

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Wiśniowski, «Rozwój organizacji parafialnej w Polsce do czasów Reformacji», in *Kościół w Polsce*, I, pp. 235ff.; J. Kłoczowski, «Les paroisses en Bohême, en Hongrie et en Pologne (X^{e}–XIII^{e} s.», in *Atti della sesta settimana internazionale di studio, Milano 1–7 settembre 1974* (Milano, 1977), pp. 186–198: A. Gieysztor, «Le fonctionnement des institutions ecclésiastiques rurales en Bohême, en Pologne et en Hongrie aux X^{e} et XI^{e} s.», in *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo*, XXVII (Spoleto, 1982), pp. 925–954; Łowmiański, *Religia Słowian*, pp. 313ff.

24 Eugeniusz Wiśniowski, *Rozwój sieci parafialnej w prepozyturze wiślickiej w średniowieczu* (Warszawa, 1965); Łowmiański, *Religia Słowian*, pp. 313ff.

25 Helena Zoll-Adamikowa, «Małopolskie cmentarzyska z X–XII w. a kwestia recepcji chrześcijaństwa w Małopolsce», *Kwartalnik historii kultury materialnej* 15 (1967): 41–54; idem, *Wczesnośredniowieczne cmentarzyska szkieletowe Małopolski*, I–II (Wrocław, 1966–1971); Łowmiański, *Religia Słowian*: pp. 317–18.

26 Sur les pratiques aux XI^{e}–XII^{e} siècles en Europe centrale-orientale, cf. Wiśniowski, «Rozwój organizacji», pp. 263ff.; T. E. Modelski, «Post dziewięciotygodniowy w Polsce», *Przegląd historyczny* 15 (1912): 1–12, 127–138; Stefan Kwiatkowski, *Powstanie i kształtowanie się chrześcijańskiej mentalności religijnej w Polsce do końca XIII w.* (Warszawa, 1980).

société d'une localité ou, d'une région. Ainsi, par exemple, la fête de dimanche s'imposa dès le début avec l'obligation de participer à la messe ce qui était, difficile surtout pour ceux qui habitaient loin des églises. Malgré la méconnaissance de la langue liturgique, le latin—même les prêtres en ont eu longtemps une connaissance sans doute bien élémentaire!—la participation de l'assistance fut probablement assez active, s'exprimant surtout par des gestes de toutes sortes, comme les inclinations, ou par les récitations de quelques prières en langue vulgaire. Après la lecture de l'Évangile, le prêtre était obligé de donner quelques explications en polonais. Puis chaque participant posait une offrande près de l'autel, l'entourant à cette occasion.[27]

Les croyances et les rites traditionnels, la magie, survécurent surtout à l'intérieur des maisons et des grandes familles, dans la zone du culte «privé», plus difficile à contrôler et à changer que le culte «public», princièr, voire royal (trois princes ont été couronnés en Pologne de XI^{e} siècle). Il est bien probable qu'un changement profond dans ce domaine n'a eu lieu qu'au XIII^{e} siècle, entraînant un bouleversement presque complet des structures de l'ancienne société et le renforcement visible de la structure et de l'activité de l'Église. Quand les idées grégoriennes gagnèrent la Pologne, au XIII^{e} siècle, la paroisse acquit une place plus forte dans l'ensemble de l'organisation ecclésiastique, les mendiants—dominicains et franciscains surtout—entreprirent leurs activités pastorales, très dynamiques, dans tout le pays, dans les villes, mais aussi à la campagne.[28]

III

On observe mieux dans les sources des XI^{e}–XII^{e} siècles, c'est évident, les élites de la société que les masses. L'apport de ces élites dans la Pologne de ce temps-là fut en tout cas très grand, tant dans la christianisation elle-même que dans le processus de formation d'une culture nationale au sein de la chrétienté. Ces élites ecclésiastiques, ce sont surtout les communautés de chanoines dits séculiers, les chanoines réguliers, les moines.[29] Les bases ont

[27] *Historia Kościoła w Polsce*, I, B. Kumor–Z. Obertyński, eds. (Poznań, 1974), pp. 93–101.

[28] J. Kłoczowski, *Dzieje*, pp. 50–72; A. Witkowska, «Les mutations du XIII siècle», in *Histoire religieuse de la Pologne*, J. Kłoczowski, pp. 84–105.

[29] *Kościół w Polsce*, avec les travaux de Zygmunt Sułowski, «Początki Kościoła polskiego», pp. 17–123, et de J. Kłoczowski, «Zakony na ziemiach polskich w wiekach średnich», pp. 375ff.; J. Szymański, «Problemes de la *vita canonica* dans la Pologne du XII^{e} et du XIII^{e} siècle», *Aevum* 38 (1964): 38–77; J. Kłoczowski, «La vie monastique en Pologne et en

été posées dès après 966, à l'époque de Mesco et de Boleslas le Vaillant († 1025), mais ensuite, après la catastrophe presque complète des années 30 et 40 du XI^e^ siècle, il fallut reconstruire presque toutes les structures. Les monastères des bénédictins apparaissent dans presque tous les diocèses après 1050, les chapitres retrouvent lentement leur position indépendante et influente autour des cathédrales et, en partie, autour des collégiales. Les chanoines réguliers appartenant à des congrégations différentes—les prémontrés en tête—ainsi que les cisterciens, sont arrivés au cours du XII^e^ siècle. Vers la fin de ce siècle, il y avait en Pologne peut-être une centaine de communautés de ce genre avec—c'est une estimation très vague—un mille, ou un peu plus de chanoines et de moines, appartenant à une véritable élite intellectuelle et religieuse tant de l'Église et de la société.[30] Au sommet de cette hiérarchie nous retrouvons les évêques, parmi lesquels apparaissent plusieurs personnalités marquantes, notamment au XII^e^ siècle, Matthieu, évêque de Cracovie, qui dans une belle lettre latine invita Bernard de Clairvaux à venir en Pologne,[31] les archevêques de Gniezno, Jacques (Jakub) de Żnin ou Janik, Gauthier (Walter) évêque de Wrocław ou Alexandre de Płock.[32]

Bohême aux XI–XII siècles», in *Atti della quarta settimana internationale di Studio Mendola 1968* (Milano, 1971), pp. 153–172.

30 Urszula Borkowska, «La reconstruction et le développement. Fin du XI^e^ et XII^e^ siècles», in *Histoire religieuse de la Pologne*, pp. 52–83; P. David, *Les bénédictins et l'ordre de Cluny dans la Pologne médiévale* (Paris, 1939); J. Kłoczowski, «Les cisterciens en Pologne du XII^e^ au XIII^e^ sicles», *Citeaux-Commentarii Cistercienses* 21 (1971): 111–134; *Historia i kultura cystersów w dawnej Polsce i ich europejskie związki*, J. Strzelczyk, ed. (Poznań, 1987) (actes du colloque de 1985).

31 Marian Plezia, «List biskupa Mateusza do św. Bernarda», in *Prace z dziejów Polski feudalnej ofiarowane Romanowi Grodeckiemu* (Warszawa, 1960), pp. 135ff.; Brygida Kürbis, «Cystersi w kulturze polskiego średniowiecza. Trzy świadectwa z XII wieku», in *Historia i kultura cystersów*, pp. 323–328.

L'authenticité de cette lettre est bien admise dans l'historiographie polonaise, Plezia et Kürbis ont ajouté des nouveaux arguments dans ce sens. Kürbis propose la version correcte (pp. 324–326), avec la traduction polonaise. Dans la lettre, l'évêque Matthieu et le comte polonais Pierre—Piotr Włostowic, un puissant seigneur de l'époque—ont invité saint Bernard à venir en Pologne, pour une mission dans la Rus' de Kiev; car il faut «. . . impios Ruthenorum ritus atque observantias exstirpare. . .Gens autem illa Ruthenica, multitudine innumerabili ceu sideribus adaequata, orthodoxae fidei regulam ac verae religionis instituta non servat. . .Neque enim vel Latinae vel Graecae vult esse conformis ecclesiae, sed seorsum ab utraque divisa neutri gens praefata sacramentorum participatione communicat. . .» Cette lettre intéressante et qui exige encore des études fut écrite probablement en 1147 en réponse à l'appel de Bernard aux princes chrétiens. L'image de la Rus' qui n'est ni latine ni grecque—aux yeux d'un évêque polonais—semble être spécialement intéressante.

32 Sur ces personnages et d'autres, cf. les biographies dans *Polski słownik biograficzny*; Czesław Deptuła, «Niektóre aspekty stosunków Polski z Cesarstwem w wieku XII», in *Polska w Europie*, Henryk Zins, ed. (Lublin, 1968), pp. 35–91.

Dans les communautés, les autochtons côtoyaient souvent des étrangers, et ces rencontres quotidiennes jouèrent sans doute un rôle extrêmement important dans la formation culturelle de nos communautés-milieux. Les évêques Gauthier et Alexandre, les deux frères mentionnés ci-dessus, venaient de Malonne en Walonnie, les cisterciens eu notamment ont longtemps connu un recrutement étranger. Les fils des chevaliers-nobles du pays préféraient, semble-t-il, le canonicat; les filles de cette même couche sociale transformèrent vers la fin du XII^e siècle, plusieurs maisons de chanoines-prémontrés en établissements féminins, ce qui prouve, entre autres, l'existence de liens, en Pologne, entre cette jeune congrégation et la noblesse.[33]

Ces liens entre les communautés ecclésiastiques, monastères et chapitres, et les cours des princes et des aristocrates ont eu, en fin de compte, une portée capitale. Ce fut le rapprochement entre deux cultures, l'une ecclésiastique, l'autre laïque et on note des influences profondes et réciproques. N'oublions pas non plus la présence de prêtres-chapelains dans les cours.[34] Là, ces gens capables de lire et d'écrire exerçaient des fonctions très différentes, sacerdotales bien sûr, mais aussi politiques, diplomatiques, économiques et autres. Le résultat de toutes ces rencontres fut sans doute une christianisation plus profonde des princes et des Grands avec leur entourage, avec leur cour, et en même temps l'engagement des chanoines et des moines dans les affaires publiques et celles de l'État. Les oeuvres qui ont été créées à la limite de deux cultures en question, avec la participation de clercs et de laïcs, témoignent aujourd'hui du processus de formation d'une culture chrétienne enracinée dans la culture indigène, d'une culture nationale imprégnée déjà de christianisme.

Qu'il me soit permis d'évoquer ici, à titre d'exemples, quelques monuments du XII^e siècle, parmi les plus grands et les plus intéressants. Deux oeuvres d'art plastique attirent notre attention également à cause des influences simultanées de l'art chrétien occidental et oriental qu'elles reflètent. La première est la décoration figurative sur le plancher de l'église

33 Kłoczowski, «Zakony na ziemiach polskich», notament p. 444.

34 Une vue d'ensemble sur le clergé et la culture intellectuelle de pays chez Jerzy Dowiat, «Krąg uczony i jego instytucje», in *Kultura Polski średniowiecznej X–XIII w.*, J. Dowiat, ed. (Warszawa, 1985), pp. 252ff.

Parmi les documents nés d'une rencontre des princes et du clergé on peut mentionner le célèbre manuscrit latin au Museo archeologico nazionale à Cividale del Friuli avec, entre autres, les prières de Gertrude (vers 1025–1108), femme du prince de Kiev Izjaslav, cf. «Manuscriptum Gertrudae filiae Mesconis II regis Poloniae», V. Meysztowicz, ed., *Antemurale* (Rome), 2 (1955): 105–157; M. H. Malewicz, «Rękopis Gertrudy Piastówny. Najwcześniejszy zabytek piśmiennictwa polskiego», *Materiały do historii filozofii średniowiecznej w Polsce* 5 (1972): 23–70.

collégiale de Wiślica, en Petite Pologne, découvert dans les années 1959–1960;[35] nous y retrouvons six personnages en oraison que des historiens essayent d'identifier avec le prince Henri de Sandomierz, mort en 1166 dans une croisade contre les Prussiens baltes, avec son frère et un prêtre, le prince donateur Casimir le Juste mort en 1194, avec sa femme et son fils. Si cette identification est juste, il s'agit d'un portrait collectif de la famille des Piastes en liaison très proche avec les chanoines de la collégiale princière. On peut dire que les princes-orants participent à un office divin dans l'église. Les spécialistes recherchent des influences byzantines dans le schéma de cette oeuvre, peut-être par l'intermédiaire de deux princesses de la Rus' de Kiev, éspouses successives de Casimir le Juste.

La fameuse porte en bronze de la cathédrale de Gniezno fut le résultat de la collaboration d'un prince ambitieux, Mesco le Vieux († 1202), et des chanoines de Gniezno.[36] Saint Adalbert (Wojciech en polonais), un grand saint martyr († 997) en Prusse y est présenté comme le saint polonais, patron de la Pologne. La conscience nationale polonaise avec son saint patron est, dans ce monument, bien visible. On peut le comparer, sur ce plan, avec deux monuments littéraires, deux chroniques. La première est l'histoire de la Pologne écrite au XII^e siècle par un anonyme, appelé dans la tradition postérieure, Gallus—probablement un moine venu de France; il présente pour la première fois l'histoire de la Pologne dans la perspective de la cour du prince Boleslas Bouche-torse.[37] A la fin du même siècle, c'est un Polonais, un universitaire de Paris probablement, maître Vincent, qui rédigea une autre histoire de son pays jusqu'au temps de son héros, le prince Casimir le Juste. Le chanoine Vincent, plus tard premier évêque élu à Cracovie par son chapitre (début du XIII^e siècle et enfin cistercien, démontre souvent—comme son prédécesseur—un amour profond de son pays et de sa tradition, païenne et chrétienne à la fois. Son oeuvre est imprégnée en même temps des valeurs de la haute culture chrétienne contemporaine, universitaire même dans un certain sens.[38]

[35] *Sztuka polska przedromańska i romańska do schyłku XIII wieku* (Warszawa, 1971), pp. 233–235; Z. Świechowski, *L'art roman en Pologne* (Varsovie, 1982); T. Mroczko, *Polska sztuka przedromańska i romańska* (Warszawa, 1978).

[36] A. Gieysztor, *La porte de bronze à Gniezno: Document de l'histoire de Pologne au XII siècle* (Rome, 1958); *Drzwi gnieźnieńskie*, Michał Walicki, ed., I–II (Wrocław, 1956–59).

[37] *Galli Anonymi Cronicae et Gesta Ducum sive Principum Polonorum*, C. Maleczyński, ed., *MPH*, nova series, II (Kraków, 1952); Marian Plezia, *Kronika Galla na tle historiografii XII wieku* (Kraków, 1947).

[38] Une édition dans *MPH*, II (Lviv, 1872), pp. 193–453; une nouvelle édition est nécessaire. La traduction polonaise avec une excellente introduction et des commentaires de B. Kürbis, *Kronika Polska* (Warszawa, 1974).

Le christianisme s'enracina alors lentement, mais en somme profondément, dans la société polonaise au cours des X^{e}, XI^{e}, et XII^{e} siècles en formant des élites et en touchant les masses. Les bases de la culture nationale, polonaise, au sein de la chrétienté ont été posées dans l'oeuvre des élites, extrêmement importante dans la perspective de la longue durée. Le XIII^{e} siècle va approfondir ces processus d'une manière décisive.

Les analogies des transformations dans la situation socio-religieuse de la Pologne et des autres pays de la nouvelle chrétienté slavo-scandinave s'imposent bien souvent, mais il faut encore continuer les études comparatives dans cette direction pour saisir mieux à la fois les ressemblances et les différences. C'est une exigence de plus en plus évidente concernant tous les pays de notre chrétienté, y compris, c'est clair, la Rus' de Kiev, le plus grand pays de cette chrétienté.

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CHRISTIANITY IN RUS' BEFORE 988

At the Dawn of Christianity in Rus': East Meets West

OMELJAN PRITSAK

I. INGER AND THE "MAGIANS"

1.

As Cyril Mango showed in 1973, at least one or two Old Norse (Scandinavian) families reached Constantinople by the end of the eighth century, converted to Christianity, and succeeded in marrying into the Byzantine gentry. Around 825 someone named Ἴγγερ was appointed the (iconoclast) metropolitan of Nicaea; another Inger was the father of Eudocia Ingerina (b. ca. 837, d. 883), the mistress of Michael III (842–867) and thereafter the wife of his murderer and successor Basil I (867–881).[1]

As stated by Mango, the name Inger cannot be explained from the Byzantine Greek, or, for that matter, from the Slavic; it is, rather, a variant of the Old Norse name **Ingvarr*.[2]

The last decade of the eighth century was precisely the time when the first Viking (*Denisc / Norðmen*) ships appeared in the West (according to the Anglo-Saxon chronicles, s.a. 787 [789]).[3]

One may well ask whether or not these events in the East and the West were synchronized, and if so, how. I will discuss the background of these East-West contacts, and in doing so make use of some Arabic sources, of a hitherto unappreciated reworked Slavonic translation of a Byzantine text, and of some data from the Old Norse sources.

[1] Cyril Mango, "Eudocia Ingerina, the Normans, and the Macedonian Dynasty," *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkogo Instituta*, vol. 14/15 (Belgrade, 1973), pp. 17–27 (= idem, *Byzantium and its Image* [London: Variorum reprints, 1984], no. XV).

[2] Mango, "Eudocia," pp. 18, 26–27.

[3] *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, ed. Charles Plummer and John Earle, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1892; rptd. 1952), p. 54 (the Parker MS: = *Denisc*); p. 55 (the Laud MS: = *Norðmen*). See Peter H. Sawyer, *The Age of the Vikings*, 2nd ed. (London, 1971), pp. 14–18.

2.

Scholars have still not properly evaluated the information of two reliable and well-informed Arabic geographers and polymaths of the ninth and tenth centuries: Abu'l-Qāsim ʿUbayd Allāh Ibn Khurdādhbeh (ca. 840–890), the caliph's chief of intelligence (*murīd al-barīd* "postmaster general"); and Abu'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Masʿūdī (d. 956), the most successful and prolific Arab polymath and traveler.

In his classical geographic work, *Kitāb al-masālik wa'l-mamālik*, Ibn Khurdādhbeh includes a chapter dealing with the international itinerant *negociatores*, or trading companies. The first ones were the Jewish merchants (*at-tuǧǧār al-yahūd*), called *ar-Rādhāniyya*, and the others were the *Rūs* merchants (*tuǧǧār ar-Rūs*), who were a kind of *Ṣaqāliba* (= *Veneti*).[4] They traded a great assortment of merchandise, but their most lucrative commodities were eunuchs (*al-khadam*), female slaves (*al-ǧawārī*), and young boys (*al-ghilmān*).[5] In his basic extant work, *Murūǧ adh-dhahab*, al-Masʿūdī names only one company of international *negociatores*, namely that of the *Rūs*. He writes: "The Rūs [is a nomen of] numerous *colluvies gentium* (*umam*) of diverse kinds (*dhāt 'anwāʿ šattà*). Among them there is a kind called **al-Lo[r]domāna* [cf. Spanish Latin *Lordoman-* < *Nordoman-*]. They are the most numerous. They frequent with their wares the country al-Andalus [Muslim Spain], Rome, Constantinople, and [the country of] the Khazars."[6]

Muslim Spain is mentioned first because al-Masʿūdī's information was of Spanish origin (note the Spanish form of the name for the Norsemen: *Lordomān-*). Apparently the *Rūs/Lordomāna* were thought to be centered somewhere not far from Muslim Spain.[7]

Extremely important is that Masʿūdī uses the term *Rūs* not as an *ethnicon*

[4] This is the meaning I apply in my "The Slavs and the Avars," *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull' alto medioevo*, vol. 30 (Spoleto, 1983), pp 380–83, 389–94.

[5] *Kitāb al-masālik wa' l-mamālik*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1889), pp. 153–55.

[6] *Wa'r-Rūs umam kathīrah dhāt 'anwāʿ šattà; fa-min-hum jins yuqālu la-hum al-Lwdhʿānh, wa-hum al-aktharūna yukhtalifūna bi-t-tijārah 'ilà bilād al-Andalus wa-Rūmiyyah wa-'l-Qusṭanṭīniyyah wa-'l-Khazar*: *Les prairies d'or*, ed. Charles Pellat, vol. 1 (Beirut, 1966), p. 218. The word *al-Lwdhʿānh* is a misspelling of **al-Lwdhm'nh*, as is *al-Kwdhk'nh* (cf. variant reading *al-Lwdhgh'nh* in Masʿūdī's *Kitāb at-tanbīh*, ed. M. J. de Goeje [Leiden, 1894], p. 141).

[7] According to al-Yaʿqūbī (d. 897) "the [maritime] *al-Maǧūs* [on this term see below], who are called *ar-Rūs*," attacked in 844 the then Arab city of Seville via the fluvial route (Guadalquivir); al-Yaʿqūbī, *Kitāb al-buldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1892), p. 354.

but as a *nomen*[8] of a professional *colluvies*[9] of *negociatores* (Arabic *umam* is a plural of *umma* 'people; nation; generation'), consisting of different kinds (*jins*, pl. *ajnās*).

3.

In a paper entitled "Did the Arabs call the Vikings 'Magians'?,"[10] I have demonstrated that there were two homonymous foreign words in Arabic—*al-mağūs*— of completely different origin. One was the Greek μάγος "Zoroastrian" (< Old Persian *maguš*), first introduced in the Muslim East (Baghdad); and the other was the Celtic *magos*~*magus*, corresponding to the Germanic *vīk*, Latin *forum*, Arabic *quran*, i.e., non-fortified *emporia* where the *negociatores* kept, displayed, and sold their wares. The Spanish Arabs, having entered in 793 the *pagus Rotinicis/Rutenorum* (the modern department of Aveyron in France's Midi) with its *magos*es (e.g., *Carantomagus* = Cranton; *Cobiomagus* = Bram; *Condatomagus* = Millau; *Vindomagus* = Le Vigan), simply called this territory "the country of the *magos*es (*bilād al-mağūs*)." In this way they acted no differently than the Old Norsemen, who, arriving among the East-European Rus of the ninth–eleventh centuries, came upon many *garð*s, and thus called that polity simply *Garða-ríki*, "the land of *garð*s." Here the term *garð-* (Slavic *grad*) plays the same role as the name *magos* (spelled *mağūs*) in the Arabic *bilād al-mağūs*. To go even further: *mağūs* can be regarded as a synecdoche for *bilād al-mağūs*, just as *Garðar* / *Garðr* can stand for *Garðaríki*.[11]

The term *magos* / *magus* (Arabic *al-mağūs*), from the *nomen loci* "emporium of the itinerant *negociatores*," shifted in Spanish Arabic to designate the inhabitants of such emporia with whom they had to deal: the guards and shipmen. There is a coeval analogy: the shifting of the name "inhabitant of a *vīk*" (*vīking*) into "piratae quos illi Wichingos appellant, *nostri Ascomannos* . . . ."[12]

[8] On the role of the *nomen*/ἐπωνυμία in ethnogenesis, see Harald von Petrikovits, "Fragen der Ethnogenese aus der Sicht der römischen Archäologie," *Studien zur Ethnogenese* [vol. 1] (Opladen, 1985), pp. 101–122.

[9] On the term *colluvies*, esp. *colluvies gentium*, see Wilhelm E. Mühlmann in *Studien zur Ethnogenese* 1 (1985): 23 and H. von Petrikovits in ibid., pp. 116–18.

[10] To appear in *The Seventh International Saga Conference/Centro Italiano di studi sull' alto Medioevo. XII Congresso Internationale di studi sull' alto medioevo*, ed. Teresa Pàroli (Spoleto).

[11] Full documentation is given in my paper quoted in fn. 10.

[12] *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, ed. Charles Plummer and John Earle, vol. 2, 3rd ed. (Oxford, 1965), p. 129.

Elsewhere I have argued that the form *russ- / rus-* was the Rhine German substitution for the High German *ruzz- / ruz-* etymon.[13] This, in turn, was the result of the German consonant shift *rut-i > ruzzi*. The *ruti* form, the basis of the Celtic tribal name *Rut-i/Rut-en-i*, developed in Old French into **rud-i* (cf. the modern *Rodez < Rutenis*). The latter nameform was adapted by the Ripuarian Franks and subjected to "gutturalization." The result was the form *Rug-i*, which Adalbert of Trier, active as a missionary bishop in Kiev in 961–962, used with regard to the realm of the Rus' Queen Ol'ga/Helga (baptized Helena) of Kiev.[14]

The leading French medievalist Georges Duby writes: "All that can be said is that eighth- and ninth-century sources, when referring to *negociatores*, frequently allude to two ethnic groups whose colonies were dispersed along the main routes and reached far beyond the frontiers of the Empire: Jews and (in the North Sea area) 'Frisians.'"[15] As we have seen above, the ninth-century author Ibn Khurdādhbeh made a very similar statement; however, he used the name "Rūs" instead of "Frisian."

I cannot dwell here on the activity of the ubiquitous Frisians, discoverers of the fluvial routes, in Celtic Rutenia.[16] I can mention, however, that their activity began in the first or second century A.D. in connection with the shift in the production of the Gaulish *terra sigillata* (which originated in Condatomagos, modern La Graufesenque) from Ruthenia to the Rhine region.

One can assume that, once established, fluvial trade routes, contacts, and cooperation between the Ruteni and Frisians persisted, and that only the type of merchandise changed, according to varying market demands. In the seventh to ninth century, slaves were the "energy" (=labor) in demand. Hence the involvement of the *colluvies* of *negociatores* who adopted as their *nomen* the designation *Rut- / Rūs-* in the slave trade witnessed by ninth- and tenth-century Arabic authors.

4.

Harald von Petrikovits uses the term *colluvies gentium* to characterize the Germanic Allemans among the pre-Clovis Franks.[17] I propose as *primum distinguens* for the *Magos / Rūs / Norðmen* the term *colluvies negociatorum*, since they cannot be regarded as the forerunners of a single future ethnos.

13 "The Origin of the Name *Rūs/Rus'*," *Passé Turco-Tatar Présent sovietique (Études offertes à Alexandre Bennigsen)*, (Paris, 1986).
14 Pritsak, "The Origin of the Name *Rūs/Rus'*," pp. 45–65.
15 Georges Duby, *The Early Growth of the European Economy* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1974), p. 101.
16 See fn. 10.
17 See fn. 9.

Their professions are the dominant factor.

The professionals in question, generally known as *Norðmen-*, wore many hats: they were traders, sailors, pirates, guards, and mercenaries. They are not easily identified, since they used, simultaneously, many different names, as did their adversaries. Without pretending to exhaust this matter, I suggest grouping the names into five categories: (1) names of "ethnic" origin: *Ruteni/Russi*, *Dani*, *Frisians*; (2) names based on geographical designations: *of Hereða lande* (*Hardesyssel* in Jutland), *Westfaldingi* (in Norwegian, *Viken*); (3) names from the word meaning "(non-fortified) emporium, market, forum": *vīking* (< *vīk*), *magos* (<*magos*); (4) names from the fortified emporia *varing* (< *vár*), *garðar* (<*garðr*);[18] (5) names from the types of ships: *ascomanni* (< *æsk*), *cokingi* (< *kogga*), Δρομῖται (< δρόμων).

It is significant that Pseudo-Symeon Logothete called the Rus of Igor' (ca. 941) Δρομῖται, on the one hand, and οἱ Φράγγοι 'the Franks' on the other.[19]

II. "THEODORA" AND THE VERACITY OF THE MIRACULA OF ST. STEPHEN OF SUGDAEA AND THE RUS (CA. 790)

1.

The eighth century witnessed a fierce struggle for the domination of the Black Sea and Caucasus between three rivals: Byzantium, the successor of Rome in these regions; the caliphate (first the Omaiyads and later—from 750—the Abbasids), the successors of Sassanian Iran; and the Khazars, who, ca. 650, had established the center of their semi-nomadic empire in the confines of the old Bosporus Kingdom.[20]

The peninsula of Crimea now comes into the forefront. At that time it had three parallel structures. The first were Greek towns, formerly independent colonies with antique roots, located mainly in the southeastern parts of

[18] The fortified emporia were called *burgh* (Germanic), *grad-* (Slavic) and *vár* (Iranian > Hungarian; see Lajos Ligeti, *A Magyar nyelv török kapcsolatai a honfoglalás előtt és az Árpád-korban* [Budapest, 1986], pp. 170–71).

The difference between the "Vikings" and the "Varings (> *Varjag-i*)" was that the first were named after unfortified marketplaces, while the others were the stronghold's mercenaries. The Northern mercenaries in Byzantium were called Βαραγγοι 'the Varangians'; see, e.g., Benedikt S. Benedikz, *The Varangians of Byzantium* (Cambridge, 1978).

[19] *PVL*, 1:33. But see A. Karpozilos, "Ros-Dromity i problema poxoda Olega protiv Konstantinopolja," *Vizantijskij vremennik* 49 (1988): 112–18.

[20] See Mixail I. Artamonov, *Istorija xazar* (Leningrad, 1962), pp. 233–61; J. M. Hussey, ed., *The Byzantine Empire* (=The Cambridge Medieval History, vol. 4), pt. 1 (Cambridge, 1966), pp. 61–104.

the peninsula. Among them were Sugdaea (Hunnic > Slavic: *Surož*),[21] Cherson (=Chersones) (Hunnic > Slavic: *Korsun'*), and Bosporus (Hunnic > Slavic: *Kerč'*), the former capital of the kingdom of the same name.[22] During this period, all three cities were sees of autocephalic archbishoprics; they were directly subordinated to the patriarch in Constantinople.[23] From the point of view of the capital, they were, like Byzantine Dalmatia, frontier towns, and as such they were allowed to keep their autonomy, especially after Justinian I (526–565) had reorganized the structure of the municipalities.[24] While Cherson was the military (naval) and political center of Byzantine Crimea, Sugdaea remained its commercial hub.

During the rule of Theophilus (829–842), the Crimean towns received the rank of a special theme called "The Climes" (τῶν κλιμάτων) and were governed by a *strategus* in Cherson.[25]

Relations between the Crimean cities and the Byzantine emperors were in the hands of the *catapan* of Paphlagonia.[26] Its political and religious center was originally the city of Gangrae, in the interior of the province, but as a result of the growing importance of Crimean affairs, the coastal town Amastris, located on the southern shores of the Black Sea, grew in importance. In the last decades of the eighth century, the see of Amastris advanced to the rank of autocephalic archbishopric.[27] The naval expedition against Cherson was sent from Amastris in 833. John, bishop of the Crimean Gotthia, fleeing from the Khazars, found refuge there.[28]

The second structure in the Crimea was represented by the Crimean Goths, remaining from the period of Great Migrations.[29] (One should keep in mind that until the days of the Flemish diplomat Augier Ghislain de Busbecq [1522–1592], who around 1560–1562 rediscovered the Christian commmunity of Goths in the Crimea, they retained their Gothic customs

21 One of the typical features of Hunno-Bulgarian (> Chuvash) was the development **-gd-* > *-r-*.

22 On the Bosporus kingdom, see Viktor F. Gajdukevič, *Bosporskoe Carstvo* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1949).

23 Hans-Georg Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich, 1959), p. 176.

24 Jadran Ferluga, *Byzantium on the Balkans* (Amsterdam, 1976), pp. 65–66.

25 See Alexander A. Vasiliev, *The Goths in the Crimea* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), pp. 108–109.

26 Ferluga, *Byzantium*, pp. 40–44.

27 Hans-Georg Beck, *Kirche*, pp. 168–69.

28 Artamonov, *Istorija xazar*, pp. 255–57.

29 "Die Krimgothen" in Ernst Schwarz, *Germanische Stammeskunde* (Heidelberg, 1956), pp. 98–99.

and language. Busbecq noted eighty-six Gothic words.)[30] The community of Goths lived in the mountainous region of the peninsula. Their religious center, Theodoro/Doros, the location of which is still disputed among archaeologists,[31] was the see of the Gothic bishopric. The seventh ecumenical council in Nicaea (Nicaenum II) planned to elevate Doros to the rank of a metropolitanate with seven bishoprics, encompassing the core territory of the Khazar empire.[32] The acceptance of Judaism by the Khazar ruling elite, which took place soon thereafter,[33] did not, apparently, help the realization of that project.

From its creation in about 650, the Khazar kaganate had an interest in taking control of the Crimean towns. On their side, the leaders of those communities, when they felt Byzantine pressure, preferred submission to the sovereignty of the mercantile-minded Khazars. Although relations between the Khazar rulers and the Byzantine emperors were generally friendly, a quiet competition nevertheless developed regarding the patronization of the Crimean towns. By the end of the eighth century, most of the towns were under the Khazar protectorate. Cherson and Phanagoria were governed by their elected priors, called in Khazarian *babajuq* ("the [city] fathers"), while in Kerč and Tamatarcha (Tmutorokan') there resided *baliγčis* ("city priors"), appointed by the Khazars. The cities of Sugdaea/Surož and the Gothic Doros were at that time governed directly by Khazar administrators: Sugdaea by a *tarxan* and Doros by a tax collector with the title of *tudun*.[34]

In 721, the Byzantine emperor Leo III the Isaurian took a public stand against the veneration of religious images (icons), and in 730 he officially prohibited their use. This iconoclast doctrine was officially defined in 754 at the Council of Hieria. Thus began the famous iconoclastic controversy, which soon embraced all aspects of Byzantine religious, cultural, and political life. The first iconoclastic period extended from 730 to 787, when the seventh ecumenical council in Nicaea, convoked by the empress Irene (780–802), the former Athenian beauty, condemned the iconoclastic teachings. But in 814, Leo V the Armenian (813–820) renewed the destruction

30 J. van der Gheyn, *Auger Busbecq et les Gots orientaux* (Bruges, 1888).

31 È. J. Solomonik and O. J. Dombrovs'kyj, "O lokalizacii strany Dori," *Arxeologičeskie issledovanija srednevekovogo Kryma* (Kiev, 1968), pp. 11–44; E. V. Vejmarn, J. T. Loboda, J. S. Pioro, and M. Ja. Čoref, "Arxeologičeskie issledovanija stolicy knjažestva Feodoro," *Feodal'naja Tavrida* (Kiev, 1974), pp. 123–39.

32 See Carl de Boor, "Nachträge zu den Notitiae Episcopatuum," *Zeitschrift für Kirchen-Geschichte* 12 (1890): 531–33.

33 Omeljan Pritsak, "The Khazar Kingdom's Conversion to Judaism," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 2, no. 3 (September 1978): 261–81.

34 Pritsak, "Khazar Conversion," pp. 264–65.

of icons, which ended only in 843, when the veneration of icons was restored by the empress Theodora.

During the entire iconoclastic controversy (730–843), all the Crimean bishops remained iconodules; therefore, the Crimea became a refuge for the persecuted venerators of icons. Because it was necessary to prevent the interruption in the apostolic succession of the established Orthodox hierarchy, new bishops had to be consecrated by such iconodule authorities as John of Gotthia.[35]

2.

Three *Lives* (*Bios* = *Vita*) from the period under investigation have survived. Naturally, all three of the saints so venerated were iconodules. Two came from the Crimea and one from Amastris. The three were contemporaries: Stephen, bishop of Sugdaea/Surož (d. after 787); John, bishop of Gotthia (d. ca. 792); and George, bishop of Amastris (d. ca. 807). One of these *Lives* was written in Constantinople by a prominent poet and hagiographer; the other two were written in the provinces by anonymous local literati.

The lucky prelate was George of Amastris, since his *Life* was written about 820 by Ignatius (b. ca. 770, d. after 845), who at that time was the deacon and *skeuophylax* of the Great Church in Constantinople. Later, Ignatius, a fellow-traveler of the iconoclasts, became an archbishop of Nicaea.[36]

The only known manuscript of the *Life* of George of Amastris (Parisianus 1452) dates from the tenth century and is a direct copy, apparently, of the ninth-century original. George became archbishop of Amastris ca. 790 (he was probably the first tenant of that newly elevated see), and died ca. 802–807, during the reign of the emperor Nicephorus I (802–811).

Sometime after his death, but before the *Life* (including its *miracula*) was written, i.e., between 807 and 820, Amastris was attacked by "the barbarians of the *Rhos* (τῶν 'Ρῶς), a people which is, as everyone knows, utterly wild and rough, devoid of any traces of humaneness." When they were about to plunder the grave of Saint George, expecting to find hidden

[35] Ihor Ševčenko, "Hagiography of the Iconoclast Period," *Iconoclasm: Papers given at the 9th Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies* (Birmingham, 1975), pp. 113–31 (=idem, *Ideology, Letters and Culture in the Byzantine World* [London: Variorum reprints, 1982], no. V. [pp. 1–42], see esp. p. 30, fn. 14).

[36] I am using the edition of Vasilij G. Vasil'evskij in his *Trudy*, vol. 3 (Petrograd, 1915; rptd. Vaduz, 1968), pp. iii–cxli, 1–71. See W. Treadgold, "Three Byzantine Provinces and the First Byzantine Contacts with the Rus'," in this volume of *HUS*, pp. 132–44.

treasures, a miracle took place: the robbers became paralyzed until their leader promised that he would not disturb the Christians any more.[37]

The attack was a naval one. Ignatius presents this fact to his audience in the following way: "They—this people terrible in both their deeds and their name (= biblical Ῥῶς)—began their devastations from the Propontis (ἀπὸ τῆς Προποντίδος) and after having visited other parts of the littoral [of Paphlagonia] finally reached the birthplace of the Saint [i.e., Amastris]."[38] I shall dwell for a moment on the geographic term "Propontis," since there is some confusion about it in the scholarly literature. It is true that "Propontis" is referred to several times with the specific meaning of "the Sea of Marmara" as well as of the "Bosporus" and/or the "Dardanelles."[39] But it seems to me that Ignatius, true to his highly rhetorical style, was using "Propontis" not as a concrete geographic term, but in its appellative meaning, that is, as προ-ποντίς 'of the fore-head of the sea'. The "fore-head" in question was apparently the internal sea of the Crimea, the Maeotis (the Azov Sea), used here as a metaphor. The "head" was, naturally, the Black Sea, on the shores of which Amastris was located. The text clearly alludes to the Crimea as the place from which the pirates came. It says: "Among them (the *Rhōs*) still flourishes that old Taurian [Crimean] slaughter of aliens."[40]

Since both the manuscript transmission and the veracity of this *Life* are beyond reproach,[41] we may note that in about 820 the *Rhōs* were already well known in Constantinople. Their first appearance within Byzantine confines must have occurred some decades earlier.

The *Life* of the iconodule John of Gotthia was written in the provinces, possibly in Amastris, sometime between 815 and 842.[42] It is short, with no rhetoric pretenses, but—in the words of Ihor Ševčenko—"it inspires confidence."[43] This *Life* contains some important data for the history of Khazar rule, but nothing of importance for the topic under discussion.

On the other hand, the second provincial *Life*, also short and unpretentious, is extremely valuable for our study. This is the "Life of St. Stephen of Sugdaea/Surož," the original of which, unfortunately, has not come down to us. We know of its existence from two sources. One is a late

37 Ed. Vasil'evskij, *Trudy*, 3:64; see also the rest of the miraculum, pp. 65–71.
38 Ed. Vasil'evskij, *Trudy*, 3:64.
39 See Vasil'evskij, *Trudy*, 3:cxxviii–cxli.
40 Ed. Vasil'evskij, *Trudy*, 3:64–65. Cf. Vasiliev, *The Goths*, p. 111, fn. 5.
41 Ševčenko, "Hagiography," pp. 12–17.
42 Vasil'evskij, "Žitie Joanna Gotskogo," in *Trudy*, vol. 2 (St. Petersburg, 1909), pp. 351–427. Cf. Vasiliev, *The Goths*, pp. 89–96; Ševčenko, "Hagiography," p. 4.
43 Ševčenko, "Hagiography," p. 4.

Greek excerpt made by an illiterate Greek from Sugdaea sometime in the fourteenth–fifteenth century, preserved in a single copy in the library of the Patriarchate of Constantinople (Chalcensis, no. 75). The other is a Slavic translation, embedded in a later hagiographic Slavic work, which, as will be shown, could not date earlier than from the middle of the fifteenth century. It exists in numerous (at least fifteen) copies dating from the end of the fifteenth century on.[44] Vasilij Grigor'evič Vasil'evskij, in his classic study of this *Life*, has proven beyond any doubt that the Slavic version, in the form it has come down to us, was not just a plain translation from the Greek, but an independent compilation by a Rus' writer (whom I shall call "Slavic" instead of "Rus'"; see below) of the mid-fifteenth century who knew Greek. Vasil'evskij identified the compilation's five sources, two of which belonged to the tradition of St. Stephen and three of which stood outside it.

In the first category was the short Greek *Life* (=*Bios*) of the saint. Vasil'evskij's findings were corroborated by Friedrich Westberg, who demonstrated that biographical details in the Greek and the Slavic reworkings agree and bear the stamp of truth.[45] Apparently both were based on the lost Greek original. The second source was the "Miracula of St. Stephen (of Sugdaea)," which, according to Vasil'evskij, was appended to the original *Life* and had the same author.[46] His arguments are convincing. The name of St. Stephen's church in Sugdaea is correctly named St. Sophia.[47] Philaretus was in fact St. Stephen's successor (d. 826).[48] In the second miracle, the local Khazar governor is called *Jurij tarxan*, by the expected Khazar title; he is referred to in another Slavic translational text as *Jurij naměstnik*.[49] According to Vasil'evskij (and Westberg), the third miracle in which the Rus' appear is also credible.[50] On the latter subject I will say more later.

The fifteenth-century compiler embellished the meager text of the original *Life* with rhetorical passages taken from classical hagiographic literature in both Greek and Slavic. Very large portions belong to the *Life* of St. John Chrysostom by George of Alexandria (d. 630), whereby the fifteenth-century compiler used both the Greek original and an earlier Slavic trans-

44 All available material was collected by Vasil'evskij in his *Trudy*, vol. 3, pp. cxlii–cclxxxviii, 72–98.

45 Friedrich Westberg, "O žitii Sv. Stefana Surožskogo," *Vizantijskij vremennik* 14 (1908): 226–36.

46 Ed. Vasil'evskij, *Trudy*, 3: cclxvi–cclxix.

47 Ed. Vasil'evskij, *Trudy*, 3: cxcv–cxcvi, ccxii.

48 Ed. Vasil'evskij, *Trudy*, 3: cclxvi–cclxvii, cclxx, cclxxii, ccxc, ccxciv; text, pp. 94, 96.

49 Ed. Vasil'evskij, *Trudy*, 3: 95; see also pp. ccxxix, cclxvii.

50 Ed. Vasil'evskij, *Trudy*, 3: cclxix–cclxxxvi; Westberg, "O žitii," pp. 226–36.

lation.[51] Another plundered victim was John Moschus (seventh century), the author of *Pratum spirituale*.[52] A third work from which the compiler of the fifteenth-century manuscript borrowed freely was the *Life* of St. Peter, Metropolitan of Kiev (residing in Moscow) (d. 1326), written by the Bulgarian cleric Cyprian (d. 1406), who was for decades metropolitan of Rus' and who was among the initiators of the so-called second South Slavic intellectual and literary revival in Rus'.[53]

If one deletes these borrowed elements from the extant text of the Slavic *Life* of St. Stephen (of Sugdaea), there still remains a solid kernel. Friedrich Westberg has shown that the data it contains (as well as those in the extant Greek abridgement) are sufficient to establish basic biographical information on the saint.[54] On the basis of Westberg's study and on the reanalysis of the source data, it is possible to reconstruct the following events in St. Stephen's life:

ca. 698 Stephen (= S.) was born in the locality of Morivas in Cappadocia; he attended the local school;
ca. 714 he visited Athens, soon to be the center of the iconodules;
ca. 720 S. arrived in Constantinople, his domicile for the next five years;
ca. 724 S. became a monk in Constantinople and spent four (Δ) years in a monastery;
ca. 728/729 the patriarch Germanus I (715–730) made S. (at that time at least thirty years of age) archbishop of Sugdaea;
ca. 730–741 S. was persecuted by the emperor Leo III (717–741);
ca. 741 the empress Irene of Khazaria (see below) helped S. to regain his freedom;
787 S. participated in the eighth ecumenical council of Nicaea;
between 787 and 790 S. died a nonagenarian.

The presence of the name of Irene of Khazaria in both the Slavic *Life* of Stephen (of Sugdaea) and in an Arabic historical text (see below) is a warning for both Byzantinists and Slavicists not to dismiss this monument completely: in its easily discernible, non-borrowed parts, it is in fact reliable.

Let us proceed with uncovering the identity of the literatus, skilled both in Greek and Slavic hagiography, who transformed a simple, short Greek *Life* into a large rhetorical opus. Also, why did he do so?

The thirty-year-long pontificate of Archbishop Evfimij II (1429–1459) in Great Novgorod has a special significance for the intellectual history of that republic. Confronted with the threat from Moscow, Evfimij sought to

51 Ed. Vasil'evskij, *Trudy*, 3: ccxli–cclviii.
52 Ed. Vasil'evskij, *Trudy*, 3: ccxxxiv. See Catherine Ignatiev, *Žitie Petra des Metropoliten Kiprian. Eine Untersuchung zu Form und Stil russischer Heiligenleben* (Wiesbaden, 1976) (= Abhandlungen zur Slavistik, 22).
53 Ed. Vasil'evskij, *Trudy*, 3: cclix, cclxxxvi.
54 Westberg, "O žitii," pp. 227–32.

create a basis for Novgorodian identity.[55] What he needed was a set of *Lives* of Novgorodian saints, and of those who could be connected with Novgorod during the early history of Rus'. He was also eager to obtain a new common Rus' chronicle in which Great Novgorod played the leading role. In the fifteenth century, the main supplier of learned literary craftsmen for the Orthodox Slavic world was holy Mount Athos with its learned South Slavic (Serbian and Bulgarian) monks, who mastered both Greek and Slavic. The major figures in the intellectual life of Rus' were, with rare exceptions, of South Slavic origin. Hence Evfimij II invited the Serbian Paxomij Logofet to work for him in Novgorod.[56] Paxomij, then about thirty years old, arrived in Novgorod in ca. 1438, and there started his career as a very prolific writer of *Lives*. Occasionally, however, he also worked for Moscow, but shrewdly, without antagonizing any of his patrons.[57]

Indeed, Paxomij was a *literatus* who could satisfy everyone's tastes and expectations. He was well read in both Greek and Slavic, and had a very mobile pen. As mentioned above, he was an extremely prolific and popular writer, if not one very serious or concerned with historical veracity. It was typical for him to borrow freely from the existing hagiographical literature, old and new, Greek and Slavic.

Paxomij wrote, re-edited, and copied a great number of *Lives* and other edifying texts. But foremost of all he supplied Evfimij II with a true Novgorodian saint, whom he also presented as an anti-Moscow activist. This was the first archbishop of Novgorod, John (1163–1186), for whom Evfimij constructed some miracles, and then wrote his *Life* on that basis.[58]

The Slavic version of the *Life* of Stephen (of Sugdaea) already existed in the middle of the fifteenth century, since its third miraculum is paraphrased, as Vasil'evskij recognized, in the *Life* of St. Dimitrij Priluckij (d. 1391), for which the year 1450 has been established as the date of composition.[59] Hence the extant Slavic *Life* of Stephen (of Sugdaea) must have been written in Novgorod by the 1440s. The only *vita*-writer active in Novgorod at that time was Paxomij the Serbian.

[55] V. L. Komarovič in *Istorija russkoj literatury*, vol. 2. pt. 1, ed. A. S. Orlov et al. (Moscow and Leningrad, 1946), pp. 257–64.

[56] On Paxomij Logofet see Dmytro Čyževs'kyj, *Pachomij Logofet: Werke in Auswahl* (Slavische Propyläen, vol. 1) (Munich, 1963); this work consists of the editor's introductory bibliographical essay (pp. 5–12) and reprinted excerpts from V. Jablonskij's edition: *Paxomij Serb i ego agiografičeskie pisanija* (St. Petersburg, 1908), and G. M. Proxorov, "Paxomij Serb," in *Slovar' knižnikov i knižnosti Drevnej Rusi*, II: 2, ed. D. S. Lixačev (Leningrad, 1989), pp. 167–77.

[57] Čyževs'kyj, *Paxomij*, pp. 6–9.

[58] Komarovič, in *Istorija*, pp. 262–64.

[59] Ed. Vasil'evskij, *Trudy*, 3: cclx–cclxi.

I submit that a professional *vita*-writer such as Paxomij would not miss the opportunity to produce an extra favor for his Novgorodian patron. Familiar with the unpretentious and short Greek *Life* of Stephen of Sugdaea, which he may have taken with him together with other texts when he left Mount Athos for Novgorod, he realized its potential in this context. The Greek original apparently mentions, as did the *Life* of George (of Amastris), the Rhōs (Ῥῶς) in a general way as barbaric raiders. Having found in the Old Rus' Chronicle (*Pověst' vremennyx lět*) the (legendary) information that the Rus' dynasty began its career in Novgorod, Paxomij decided that the attackers of Sugdaea came from Novgorod. This was very important for his purposes, because now the primacy of Novgorod could be corroborated by a *Life* of a Greek saint, just by changing the simple mention of *Rhōs* into "*rat' velika rousskaa iz'' Novagrada* (the great Rus' army from Novgorod)."[60]

Paxomij made a similarly intelligent editorial change when he borrowed a passage from Cyprian the Bulgarian's *Life* of St. Peter "of Moscow" to achieve the great final effect in his reworking of the *Life* of Stephen (of Sugdaea):

Cyprian	Paxomij
no ubo poneže tebe predstatelja	no oubo poneže tebě pred'statelja
Rusiiskaa zemlja stjaža,	Rous'kaja zemlja stjaža.
slavnyi že grad'' Moskva.	slavnyj že grad'' Surož'
čestnyja tvoja mošči jakože	čestnyja tvoja mošči jakože
někoe s''krovišče čestno	někoe sokrovišče čestno
s''bljudaet''...	sobljudaet''...[61]

But now we leave Paxomij and return to the miracula of the *Life* of Stephen (of Sugdaea), which were, according to Vasil'evskij, adopted by the compiler of the Slavic reworking from the original Greek text. I can provide additional proof for this thesis.

Ihor Ševčenko, in his seminal 1977 study on the hagiography of the iconoclast period, expressed doubts about the authenticity of the *Life* of Stephen (of Sugdaea): "Its Greek [excerpt] version," he wrote, "confuses Leo III with Leo V and its author does not know—or does not want to know—that the pious woman Eirene who helped the Saint was in fact a Khazar princess, the very wife of the dreaded Constantine the Kopro-

[60] Ed. Vasil'evskij, *Trudy*, 3:95.

[61] Ed. Vasil'evskij, *Trudy*, 3:cclx: "But since the land of Rus' got you as a leader and the glorious city of Moscow/Surož preserves your venerable relics as a venerable treasure..."

nymos. . ."[62] Ševčenko also finds it strange, as Vasil'evskij did before him, that the empress Irene (the Khazar) appears in the Slavic version as "Theodora, daughter of the king (*car'*) of Kerč."[63]

One should not blame the *Life* of Stephen for confusing Leo V with Leo III. As Westberg suggested, the original Greek text had here simply the name Leo, as the Slavic translation confirms: "*i prija v'se carstvo Lev'*."[64] The addition Ἀρμένιος (before Λέων) in the extant Greek text is just one of many errors on the part of the illiterate abbreviator of the fifteenth century.[65]

The case of the mistaken identity of the empress Irene of Khazaria, the wife of Constantine Kopronymos, also has an explanation. The textual (in the late Greek reworking) διὰ τινος γυναικὸς Εἰρήνης 'through the agency of the Lady Irene' is not to be interpreted as "a certain woman Eirene," since it is qualified by the succeeding parenthetical sentence, καὶ τῷ ὄντι αὐτῆς εἰρήνης 'and in fact she was a peace(maker),' which was sufficiently marked to mean the empress Irene (of Khazaria). The Slavic text omits the name Irene altogether,[66] but it has extremely valuable information about that lady: "*a carici ego* [Constantine Kopronymos] *Feōdora ker'českogo carja dšči*."[67] This sentence, misunderstood by many scholars,[68] was correctly explained by Westberg:[69] Empress "Feodora" is not meant here, but, as the syntax demands, "Feodor, king of Kerč" (in the genitive), i.e., one must translate the passage as: "and his queen [was] the daughter of Theodore, King of Kerč." As mentioned above, Kerč (Bosporus) was the capital of the former Bosporus Kingdom, and, therefore, "King of Bosporus" was a natural metaphor for the emperor of Khazaria. This metaphor had already been recognized by Westberg[70] and Ševčenko,[71] independently of each other. But there is irrefutable corroboration that the father of the empress Irene, the kagan of Khazaria, was named Theodore. In only a few cases do the extant sources note the name of the kagan of Khazaria. Fortunately, they do for the father of Irene. A very reliable old Arabic historian, Abū Muḥammad Aḥmad b. ʿAlī Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī (d. 926), writes

62 Ševčenko, "Hagiography," p. 2.
63 Ševčenko, "Hagiography," p. 29, fn. 8.
64 Ed. Vasil'evskij, *Trudy*, 3: 91.
65 Westberg, "O žitii," p. 230.
66 Ed. Vasil'evskij, *Trudy*, 3: 76 (Greek text) = p. 93 (Slavic text).
67 Ed. Vasil'evskij, *Trudy*, 3: 93.
68 E.g., Ševčenko, "Hagiography," p. 29, fn. 8.
69 Westberg, "O žitii," p. 231.
70 Westberg, "O žitii," p. 231, however, implies the existence of a Khazar sub-kagan residing in Kerč, a vassal of the Itil-based grand-kagan, which is incorrect.
71 Ševčenko, "Hagiography," p. 29, fn. 8.

in his *Kitāb al-Futūḥ* that the name of the kagan who ruled in 732/733 was *Tʿʾṭr: khāqān malik al-Khazar waʾsmu-hū tʿʾṭr.*[72] Peter Golden, who in his *Khazar Studies* searched for Turkic elements in the Khazarian language, "corrected" (German: *Verschlimmbesserung*) the manuscript form to a nice "Turkic" *bγʾṭr* (= **baγatur*) 'hero,'[73] although that word is never manifest in Arabic script written with "ṭ" (*ṭā muallif*), but only with "t" (dotted *t*).[74] In my opinion *tʿʾṭr* = *tʿāṭr* (with the initial *t-* and not *b-*) is the Khazar-Bulgarian rendering of the Greek name "Theodore,"[75] whereby the local pronunciation of the Arabic letter "*ʿAyn*" as -γ- substituted for the hiatus missing in this language group.[76]

In Khazaria the Bosporus Bulgars were already Muslims during the reign of the caliph al-Maʾmūn (813–833).[77] The descendants of the old Bulgars, the non-Muslim Chuvashes, render the Arabic "*ʿAyn*" by χ[γ] even today,[78] e.g., *sāʿat* 'time' > *sexet*;[79] *ʿār* 'shame' > *xar*; *ʿaql* 'mind' > *xakăl.*

The Arabic "*ṭā*" is commonly used for the Turkic (and Bulgarian) *-d-*. The graphic representation *tʿāṭr* should be read as **teγador*, the Khazarian (and Bulgarian) version of the Greek name "Theodore."[80]

Hence, the empress Irene was not called "Theodora" in the Slavic *Life* of Stephen of Sugdaea.

[72] Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, III. Ahmet Kütüphanesi 2956 (copied in A.D. 1468); vol. 2, fol. 241r, 1.13 (reproduced by Peter B. Golden, *Khazar Studies*, vol. 2 [Budapest, 1980], p. 40).

[73] Golden, *Khazar Studies*, 1:156–57.

[74] See Gerhard Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, vol. 2 (Wiesbaden, 1965), no. 817 (pp. 366–77); Sir Gerard Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century Turkish* (Oxford, 1972), p. 313.

[75] There was no one uniform rendering of Greek personal names in Arabic. In his *Kitāb al-Fihrist* (the oldest Arabic bibliography), an-Nadīm writes (A.D. 988) indiscriminately *ty'drws* (ed. Gustav Flügel, vol. 1 [Leipzig, 1871]), p. 242, l. 17; p. 303, l. 16; *thywdwrs* (ibid., p. 269, l. 5). In his *Ta'rīkh*, the Christian patriarch of Antioch Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṭākī (d. ca. 1066) also uses different variants: *th'wdhrs*; *th'wdwrs*; and *thdwrs*; see ed. J. Kračkovs'kij and A. Vasil'iev (Paris, 1932), p. 375.

[76] Also in Kazan-Tatar, Bashkir, and Kazakh the Arabic "*ʿAyn*" is usually rendered as -γ-.

[77] See Omeljan Pritsak, *The Origin of Rus'*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, Mass., 1981), pp. 60–61.

[78] See Vasilij G. Egorov, *Sovremennyj čuvašskij literaturnyj jazyk v sravnitel'no-istoričeskom osveščenii*, pt. 1 (Čeboksary, 1954), pp. 116–17.

[79] It is interesting that the *Codex Cumanicus* from the thirteenth–fourteenth century also has the variant *sahat* 'hora.' Kaare Grønbech, *Komanisches Wörterbuch* (Copenhagen, 1942), p. 210.

[80] Interestingly enough, the Moldavian documents of the fifteenth–seventeenth centuries render the Greek name as *Toader, Tador, Toder*, etc. See, e.g., *Documenta Romaniae Historica. A. Moldava*, vol. 1 (Bucharest, 1975).

III. BRAV[A]LIN AND THE BRÁVELLIR BATTLE: THE *NORDMANNI* IN THE WEST AND EAST

1.

The third miraculum of St. Stephen of Sugdaea has in its Slavic (Paxomij's) version the title: "*O prixoždenii ratiju k Surožu knjazja Bravlina (Bravalina) iz'' Velikogo Novgoroda,*" i.e., "On the coming to Sugdaea of Prince Bravlin [Bravalin] with his army from Novgorod the Great."[81] Naturally, the words "from Novgorod the Great" are Paxomij's additions.

The story begins as follows:

Po smerti že svjatago malo lět'' minou priide rat' velika rousskaa iz'' Novagrada knjaz' Brav[a]lin'' silen'' zělo. plěni ot'' Korsounja i do Korča. s'' mnogoju siloju priide k Sourožu. za 10 d'nij bišasja zlě mežou sebe. i po 10 d'nij vnide Brav[a]lin''. siloju izlomiv'' železnaa vrata i vnide v'' grad'', i zem'' meč' svoj. i vnide v'' cerkov' v'' svjatuju Sofiju. i razbiv'' dveri i vnide iděže grob'' svjatago. a na grobě car'skoe oděalo i žemčjug'' i zlato i kamen' dragyj, i kandila zlata. i s'' sudov'' zlatyx'' mnogo, vse pograbiša. i v tom'' časě raz'bolěsja. . .

[A few years after the death of the Saint (who died ca. 787) came a large Rus' army from Novgorod (with) Prince Brav[a]lin (who was) very strong. He took captives from Cherson to Kerč, and with a large force he arrived in Sugdaea. For ten days they fought harshly with each other, and after ten days Brav[a]lin entered, having forcibly cut the Iron Gates. And he entered the city, and having taken his sword, he burst into the Church of St. Sophia. And having broken the door, he approached the grave of the saint. On the grave there was a royal robe and pearls, and gold and precious stones, and golden candelabras, and many golden vessels. Having robbed everything, he at once became ill. . .]

He was stricken by palsy. Enquiring about the cause of his calamity, he was told about the Christian faith by the saint himself, and consequently wished to become Christian. Archbishop Philaret and his priests now appeared, and Brav[a]lin and his entire *comitatus* (*i boljare vsi*) were baptized. As a result, Brav[a]lin was miraculously healed. He then ordered that the captives taken from the littorals between Cherson and Kerč be released. Having bestowed great offerings on the grave of the saint, Brav[a]lin departed with his retinue.

I may add that the phrasing "from Cherson to Kerč [Bosporus]" should not be taken literally: it is merely the contemporary (eighth- ninth-century) general designation for the Greek Crimea (the Klimata), which occurs, for example, in the *Life* of Theodore of Studium (written before 855).[82]

[81] Ed. Vasil'evskij, *Trudy*, 3:95.

[82] Οἱ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς κλίμασι τῆς κατὰ Χερσῶνα καὶ Βόσπορον παροικίας ἐπίσκοποι καὶ πρεσβύτεροι, "Vita S. Theodori Studitae," ed. J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series graeco-latina*, vol. 99, col. 253.

2.

As mentioned above, Evfimij II needed an all-Rus' chronicle that depicted Novgorod as *the* original political and religious center, and he commissioned the hagiographer Paxomij to write such a compilation. Unfortunately, this first Novgorod-centered historical work has not come down to us, apparently due to the demise of the Novgorodian republic thirty years later, when Novgorod was conquered and destroyed by Ivan III of Moscow (1478).

It was Aleksej Aleksandrovič Šaxmatov who proved that the so-called *Russkij xronograf* (redaction 1442), which left indelible marks on subsequent all-Rus' chronicle-writing of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, was produced by Paxomij.[83] But the latter's success at introducing "Brav[a]lin from Great Novgorod" as the first single ruler of Rus' was shortlived.

It was the first Kievan chronicler, working ca. 1072, who made an ingenious discovery about the year that marks the debut of the Rus' in history. Having found in certain Bulgaro-Slavonic translations of the Byzantine chronicles that the name of Rus' first appeared during the reign of the Byzantine emperor Michael III (842–867), he placed the emergence of Rus' in the first year of that emperor's reign. Unfortunately, due to a numerical error in his translational sources (explained by A. A. Šaxmatov), he computed that crucial date as A.M. 6362/A.D. 854 rather than A.D. 842, the year of the ascent to the throne of Michael III.[84] This error was "corrected" by the later chronicler, the hegumen Silvester (ca. 1116), compiler of the authoritative *Pověst' vremennyx lět*, to another incorrectly computed date, A.M. 6360/A.D. 852.[85] Since that time, the majority of chroniclers (and modern historians following in their footsteps) have erroneously regarded the year 852 as the "first known historical date" of Rus'. But the old chroniclers did not name the Rus' prince who ruled during that crucial year of 852. Paxomij, who knew from the *Life* of Stephen (of Sugdaea), which he reworked, that there was a Rus' prince Brav[a]lin, did not hesitate to make him (and, naturally, Great Novgorod) the originator of the historical period of Rus'. Initially this was accepted even in Moscow, but with the replacement of the odious name of Novgorod with that of Kiev. In the final

[83] Aleksej A. Šaxmatov, *Obozrenie russkix letopisnyx svodov XIV–XVI vv.* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1938), pp. 134–36.

[84] See Omeljan Pritsak, "The *Pověst' vremennyx lět* and the Question of Truth," *History and Heroic Tale. Proceedings of the Eighth International Symposium. Centre for the Study of Vernacular Literature in the Middle Ages* (Odense, 1983), pp. 136–37.

[85] *Pověst' vremennyx lět* (hereafter *PVL*), ed. D. S. Lixačev, vol. 1 (Moscow and Leningrad, 1950), p. 17.

analysis, the Brav[a]lin episode was ignored by the chroniclers and fell into oblivion.

To illustrate how presentation of this episode progressed, I quote three chronicles, each with a different treatment of the events of the year A.M. 6360/A.D. 852:

Pověst vremennyx lět[86]

V'' lěto 6360, indikta 15 den', načenšju Mixailu carstvovati, nača sja prozyvati Ruskaja zemlja.
O sem' bo uvědaxom'', jako pri sem' cari prixodiša Rus' na Car'gorod'', jakože pišetsja v lětopisan'i greč'stěm'. Těmže otsele počnem'' i čisla položim.''

[In the year 6360 (852), the 15th of the indiction, at the accession of Emperor Michael, the land of Rus' was first named.
We have determined this date (from the fact) that in the reign of this emperor the Rus' attacked Constantinople, as is written in the Greek chronicle. Hence we shall begin at this point and record the dates.]

Paxomij's *Russkij xronograf*[87]

V'' lěto 6360 načen'šu v'' Grěcěx'' Mixailu carstvovati, načatsja prozyvati Ruskaja zemlja.
I xodiša Slovjaně iz'' Novagoroda knjaz' imenem'' Bravalin'' i voevaša na Greki i povoevaša Grečeskuju zemlju ot'' Xersona i do Korčeva i do Suroža okolo Carja grada.

[In the year 6360 (852), at the accession of Michael in Byzantium, the land of Rus' was first named.
And the Slovene of Novgorod (under) Prince Bravalin went out, and they campaigned against the Greeks and raided the Greek land (Byzantium) from Cherson to Kerč (Bosporus) and to Sugdaea near Constantinople.]

Demidov's *xronograf*[88]

Pri carě Mixailě, v'' lěto 6360, xodili Rus' vojnoju iz'' Kieva grada, Knjaz' imenem'' Bravalin'', voevati na Greki, na Car'grad'', i povoevaša Grečeskuju zemlju, ot'' Xersona i do Skurueva [variants: korueva/korčeva] i do Suroža.... o tom'' pisano v'' Čjudesěx'' Sv. Stefana Surožskago.

[During the reign (of Emperor) Michael, in the year 6360 (852), the Rus' went out from Kiev City (under) the prince by the name of Bravalin to combat the Greeks, against Constantinople. And they campaigned in the Greek land (Byzantium) from Cherson to Kerč and to Sugdaea.... It is written about this in the *miracula* of St. Stephen of Sugdaea.]

86 *PVL*, 1:17.
87 Aleksandr Vostokov, ed., *Opisanie russkix i slovenskix rukopisej Rumjancovskogo muzeuma* (St. Petersburg, 1842), p. 351.
88 Andrej Popov, ed., *Obzor xronografov russkoj redakcii*, pt. 1 (Moscow, 1866), p. 234. See also F. Giljarov, *Predanija russkoj Načal'noj letopisi* (Moscow, 1878), p. 102.

3.

Now let us turn to the name *Bravalin/Bravlin*, since it appears in these two variants. In my opinion the form *Bravalin* is the primary one. The name could not have been invented by Paxomij, since it neither rings true nor has any meaning either in Greek or in Slavic, or even in Khazarian. Assuming that the name was present in the Greek original of the *Miracula* of Stephen (of Sugdaea), it must have been written there as *βραβαλινος; apparently it represented a proper name with the adjectivizing suffix -ινος (*-in-o-s*). Since in Greek the final vowel of a stem would be elided by the suffix -ινος, it is reasonable to suppose that the starting point for the Greek form was **bravala*.

This, again, seems to be none other than the Old Norse oblique form *brá-valla*,[89] the genitive of the name *Brá-vellir*. It so happens that this etymon is found uniquely in the name of the most famous battle in Old Norse pre-history—that of Brávellir—probably fought on the later Swedish-Gautish frontier.

The original meaning in Greek must have been "of *Brávalla*," i.e., "a man who participated at the *Brávellir* battle." Whether the form was a rendition of Old Norse **Brávalla-kappi* 'a champion of Brávellir,' or another Old Norse form, is a matter for further investigation and discussion. What is decisive and of primary importance for the present investigation is that we finally have a relatively well-dated event directly connected with the Brávellir battle.

We have seen above that the naval attack on Sugdaea/Surož, led by a warrior called *Bravalin*, i.e., "participant at the Brávellir battle," took place sometime around 790. This again makes it very probable that the Brávellir battle occurred within the life span of *Bravalin*, who in 790 must not have been of an advanced age. Hence, we can establish, provisionally, that the Brávellir battle occurred between 770 and 790.

It is reasonable to assume that this—apparently the earliest—encounter between the Northmen and the Byzantine Greeks of the Crimea in ca. 790, which ended with the conversions of the Rus Bravalin and his *comitatus*,[90] resulted in the appearance of baptized Northmen in Byzantium no later than the end of the eighth century, as noted at the beginning of this paper.

[89] The Old Norse forms given above are in the plural (nom. *vellir*; gen. *valla*). The nominative singular is *vǫllr*, with the basic meaning of "field."

[90] The Danube-Bulgarian Slavic form *boljar-* is used for Bravalin's *comitatus*; ed. Vasil'evskij, *Trudy*, 3:95.

4.

Seven Old Norse sagas of the *Fornaldar* type, reduced to parchment in the second half of the thirteenth century, among them some from ca. 1260, mention a "decisive" battle fought both at the *vík* ("a small creek, inlet, bay"; "trading factory") and on the *vǫllr* ("a field, plain"; cf. Celtic *magos* "field; trading factory") of Brá.[91]

During the last century, scholars have expressed many ingenious (if conflicting) opinions about the historicity or non-historicity of the Brávellir battle. The first school of thought was best formulated by Axel Olrik, who dated the event to ca. A.D. 550. According to Olrik, at that time, on the great plain of Brå härad (East Götland, north of modern Norrköping), the East Gauts (Sigurðr Hring) decisively defeated the invading Danes (Harald Hilditǫnn) and thus stopped the Danish expansion to the north. But the victorious Gauts suffered heavy losses at the battle and soon fell victim to the Svear, thus paving the way for Swedish hegemony.[92] While accepting Olrik's dating, Birger Nerman suggests that the competitors in the battle were the Swedes and the Gauts,[93] while Kemp Malone (basing his conclusions on the data from *Beowulf*) believes that the conflict was between the Franks and Frisians, on the one hand, and the Gauts, on the other.[94] The supporters of the mythic interpretation, especially Stig Wikander, regard the Brávellir battle as the reflection of an Old Indo-European myth, as recounted in the Old Indian *Mahābhārata*'s Kurukshetra battle.[95]

[91] The basic literature on the Brávellir battle is: Axel Olrik, "Bråvallakvadets kæmperække," *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* 10 (n.s. vol. 6) (1894): 223–87; idem, "Brávellir," *Namn och Bygd* (Uppsala), 2 (1914): 297–312; Ture Hedeström, *Fornsagor och Eddakväden i geografisk belysning*, 2 vols. (Stockholm, 1917–19); Paul Herrmann, "Die Heldensagen des Saxo Grammaticus," in idem, *Erläuterungen zu den ersten neun Büchern der Danischen Geschichte des Saxo Grammaticus*, pt. 2 (Leipzig, 1922), esp. pp. 539–48; Hermann Schneider, "Harald Kampfzahn und die 'Bravalla-Schlacht,'" in idem, *Germanische Heldensage* (Berlin), vol. 2, pt. 1 (1933): 189–210; Didrik Arup Seip, "Det norske grunnlag for Bråvallakvadet hos Saxo," *Norsk tidsskrift for sprogvidenskap* (Oslo), 3 (1929): 5–20; idem, "Bråvallakvadet," *Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder* (Copenhagen), 2 (1957): cols. 295–97; Bjarni Guðnason, "Um Brávallaþulu," *Skírnir* (Reykjavík), 132 (1958): 82–128; Kurt Schier, "Brávallaschlacht-Lied," *Kindlers Literatur Lexikon im dtv* (Munich), 3 (1986): 1618–19.

[92] Axel Olrik, "Brávellir," pp. 297–312.

[93] Birger Nerman, *Studier över Svärges hedna Litteratur*, Akademisk avhandling (Uppsala, 1913), pp. 74–88.

[94] Kemp Malone, "Ubbo Fresicus at Brávellir," in idem, *Studies in Heroic Legend and in Current Speech* (Copenhagen, 1959), pp. 82–85.

[95] Stig Wikander, "Från Bråvalla till Kurukshetra," *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* 75 (1960): 183–93; Magnus Wistrand, "Slaget vid Bråvalla—en reflex av den indoeuropeiska mytskatten?," *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* 85 (1970): 208–22.

The battle—the events surrounding it and a long list of the participants—has come down to us in two sources, written independently of each other but apparently drawn from a common Old Norwegian-Icelandic source from ca. 1200. The older representative of that source is the eighth book of Saxo Grammaticus's Latin *Gesta Danorum*, written in Roskilde (Denmark) ca. 1200–1216.[96] Saxo implies that he was drawing upon an Old Norse poem, supposedly composed by the Danish hero Starkather (Starkaðr), an alleged active participant in the events described. The second witness of the Brávellir tradition is an anonymous Old Icelandic fragment called *Sǫgubrot af fornkonungum*, from ca. 1300.[97]

Saxo's list of participants is extensive: it contains 162 names (68 supporters of Haraldr and 94 champions of Hringr). *Sǫgubrot*'s roll has only 98 names (36 on Haraldr's side, and 62 on Hringr's). The majority of the names that occur in the *Sǫgubrot* are also listed in the *Gesta* of Saxo, who typically latinized the Old Norse bynames. Occasionally Saxo gives a detail missing in the *Sǫgubrot*, and vice versa.

If one is to believe Saxo, and no other possibility is left to us, the common source of ca. 1200–1216 was still an oral one. Saxo states this explicitly: "Starkather, also a chief pillar of the Swedish war, was the first to relate its history in the Danish tongue [=*dǫnsk tunga*, i.e., the Old Norse *lingua franca*], though it was handed down by word of mouth rather than in writing."[98]

Studies by Axel Olrik established that the story was based on a *þula*, a verse list (in this case of heroes) within a prose saga.[99] It has been stressed in scholarly literature that in the *þula*, geographical names from every Norwegian province are represented, with special attention given to Telemark. It was probably composed by an Icelander living in Norway.

There is no doubt that the *þula* was "dynamic" rather than "static." It tried to satisfy the taste of the patrons and to be *au courant*, as well as to replace the forgotten hero by the then popular one. Naturally, the mighty Danish king Haraldr, of the eighth century, had to have (anachronistically,

96 *Saxonis Gesta Danorum*, ed. Jørgen Olrik and Hans Ræder, vol. 1 (Copenhagen, 1931), pp. 214–29; *Saxo Grammaticus: The History of the Danes*: vol. 1: English text, trans. Peter Fisher, ed. Hilda Ellis Davidson (Cambridge, 1979), pp. 238–52; vol. 2: Commentary, by Hilda Ellis Davidson and Peter Fisher (Cambridge, 1980), pp. 127–36.

97 I am using the diplomatic edition by Carl af Petersons and Emil Olson in *Sǫgur Danakonunga* (=Samfund, vol. 46) (Copenhagen, 1925), pp. 15–25, esp. p. 20; see also the recent standardized edition by Bjarni Guðnason, *Danakonunga sǫgur* (Íslenzk Fornrit, vol. 35) (Reykjavík, 1982), pp. 59–71, esp. p. 65.

98 *Saxo Grammaticus*, 1:238.

99 Axel Olrik, "Bråvallakvadets kæmperække," pp. 223–87; idem, "Brávellir," pp. 297–312.

to be sure) Icelandic skalds at his court,[100] as was the practice in eleventh- and twelfth-century Scandinavia.

Saxo, too, was not immune to "correcting" the *þula*. In order to describe the splendor of the Danish army, he embellished his list with Kurlanders and Estlanders (newly conquered), as well as with "Slavs, Livonians, and seven thousand Saxons."[101]

5.

Interestingly enough, Saxo and the *Sǫgubrot* disagree on who was the battle's main hero. According to Saxo, it was the Dane Starkather, while in the *Sǫgubrot* the champion was Ubbo the Frisian. Surprisingly, Starkather is the leading champion of Hringr, the Swedish (Gautish) king, whereas Ubbo fights on the side of the Danish king Haraldr. One may agree, however, with Kemp Malone that "Starkaðr had no place in the original tradition about Brávellir," and no embellishments can shake the central importance of Ubbo.[102]

There is still another Frisian component in the Brávellir-*þula*—one that is apparently old, as it concerns a marginal champion who appears only at the beginning of the battle. His name is styled differently in the two lists: in Saxo,[103] "*Regnaldus Ruthenus Rathbarthi nepos* [Regnaldus, the Ruthenus (sic!), the grandson of Rathbarth]"; and in *Sǫgubrot*, in reconstructed form, *Rǫgnvaldr hái Raðbarðs nefi [Rǫgnvaldr the Tall, or grandson of Raðbarðr]."[104]

Raðbarðr of the Old Norse tradition corresponds with the historical Radbod, king of Frisia (and Flanders) and lord of the towns of the epoch (especially Dorestad). For four decades Radbod opposed the Carolingian Frankish expansion in his country (679–719).[105] In the Old Norse tradition his realm is called *Garðaríki* 'the land of the towns', a term which in ca.

[100] *Saxonis Gesta Danorum*, 1:214; *Saxo Grammaticus*, 1:238; 2:127, fn. 8.

[101] *Saxonis Gesta Danorum*, 1:218. The first Danish "crusading" expeditions into Livonia, Estonia, and the Gulf of Finland took place during the reign of Valdemar II (1202–1241).

[102] Malone, "Ubbo," p. 83.

[103] *Saxonis Gesta Danorum*, 1:257.

[104] The *Sǫgubrot* text (ed. Samfund, p. 20), *Rognualldr hai eða Radbarðr hnefi*, is certainly corrupt. Axel Olrik ("Bråvallakvadets kæmperække," pp. 254–55) reconstructs it as follows: **Rǫgnvaldr ryzki, Ráðbarðs nefi*. While I have no objections in accepting his emendations of the last two words (**Ráðbarðs nefi*), I cannot understand how *hai eða* could be a corruption of **ryzki*. The word *hai* has been explained by the editors (e.g., Bjarni Guðnason [see fn. 97]) and the commentators (e.g., Hilda Ellis Davidson, *Saxo Grammaticus: The History of the Danes*, vol. 2, Commentary [Cambridge, 1980], p. 130, fn. 37) as **hái* "tall."

[105] Pritsak, *Origin of Rus'*, 1:490, 494; see also Stéphane Lebecq, *Marchands et navigations Frisons du haut moyen âge*, 2 vols. (Lille, 1983), vol. 1, pp. 111–15, 150–52, 212–15.

the eleventh–twelfth century came to designate the Rus' of Novgorod and Kiev.[106] Saxo's term *Ruthenus* to mean "Frisian" is not surprising, since it is not an ethnic designation, but (as elaborated above) the *nomen* for a *colluvies negociatorum*.[107]

6.

Charlemagne (771–814) decisively changed the map of Europe: in 773–774 he conquered Lombard Italy; in 787–788 he incorporated Bavaria; by 790 he finally subdued the Frisians; and in 795–796 he reduced

106 Pritsak, *Origin of Rus'*, 1:217–26, 231.

107 In his *Historia Regum Britanniae* (written in 1136; first edition, Paris, 1508; the latest, eighth edition by Jacob Hammer [Cambridge, Mass., 1951]), based on the so-called Chronicle of Nennius and the native Welsh "burgher" tradition (comparable to the Old Norse "Þiðreks saga af Bern"), Geoffrey of Monmouth (d. 1136) presents the glorious court of Arthur, the legendary king of the Britons. Among the fellows of Arthur's "Round Table," Geoffrey names Holdin, duke of the *Ruteni*, who ruled over Flanders and was buried in his native city of Tervana (Thérouanne in Artois in the Netherlands, IX, 13); Caesar came *ad litus Rutenorum* and saw *illic Britanniam insulam* (IV, 1). Doubtlessly, Holdin's models were the economically minded counts of Flanders, the enterprising successors of the former kings of Frisia. See also J. S. P. Tatlock, *The Legendary History of Britain: Geoffrey of Monmouth's "Historia regum Britanniae" and its Early Vernacular Versions* (University of California Press, 1950), esp. pp. 94–96.

The Lombard Papias (ca. 1050), commenting on a passage from Lucan's *Pharsalia* (I, 402) in his *Elementum Doctrinae Rudimentum*, a widely used and much copied Latin dictionary and encyclopaedia, explains the *Ruteni flavi* of the text (i.e., Lucan's Celtic *Ruteni*) as *Flandrenses populi*.

The *Codex Cumanicus* is a product of missionary (German) and mercantile (Italian) activities in the Crimean–Azov Sea region from the early period of the Golden Horde (thirteenth–fourteenth centuries). It was a multilingual guide for those who planned to visit the commercially minded Turkic Cumans (Qipčaqs). There is a special passage (phototyp. ed., Kaare Grønbech [Copenhagen, 1936], fol. 46) dealing with the linen fabrics (Middle Latin *tele* = Arabic *ketān*) of Franco-Flanders and Italy: *ǧonban k.* 'linen of Champagne'; *orlens k.* 'linen of Orléans'; *lombardi k.*; 'linen of Lombardy'; *astexan k.* 'linen of [Italian] Asti'; *ostume k.* 'linen of Ostuni'; *bergonia k.* 'linen of Bourgogne'; *bergamaske k.* 'linen of Bergamo'; and finally, *rusi k.*, which is explained as *tele de Rens* 'linen of (i.e., sold at the grand fairs of) Rheims'. Significantly enough, the Arab traveler and adventurer from Spain, Abū Ḥāmid al-Gharnāṭī, who lived in Volga Bulgaria and in Hungary between 1131 and 1153, simply names the land producing the *ketān ar-Rūs* 'linen of Rūs' as *nāmiš* (= *nämič*; cf. Slavic *němci*; ed. G. Ferrand, *Journal Asiatique*, 1925, no. 7–9, pp. 195–98), i.e., the German Roman Empire, a term including "Imperial Flanders" (*Rijksvlaanderen*), i.e., Flanders and Frisia. In 1282 a major flood breached the land between the Zuider Zee and the Northern Sea, and caused the deaths of over 60,000 people. This event in the Frisian Land is described in the Galician Chronicle s.a. 6793/1285; the Frisians are called there *Němci* (*PSRL*, vol. 2, ed. A. A. Šaxmatov [St. Petersburg, 1908], col. 896).

A trace of the activity in the emporium of the *Rus negociatores* on the Danube in Upper Austria is left in the Carolingian charter from 863, where *Ruzaramarcha*, or "the march of the Ruzzi (Rus)" appears; see Omeljan Pritsak, "The Origin of the Name *Rūs/Rus'*," in *Passé Turko-Tatar—Présent Sovietique* (Paris, 1986), pp. 50–51.

the nomadic Avar *pax* in Central Europe. But most of his efforts were in fighting the Saxons (772–785; 793–797). The only Germanic people on the continent that Charlemagne was unable to conquer were the rulers of Denmark, who then made their appearance in history. Between 777 and 797 the Frankish sources mention a king called *Sigifrid Danorum rex* ("Annales Einhardi," s.a. 777), *Sigifridi regis, id est Halptani* ("Annales Laurissenses," s.a. 777), or *Sigifridi regis Danorum, Halbdani vidilicet* ("Annales Fuldenses," s.a. 782).[108] Sigifrid, like his successor, Godfred, was a formidable rival of Charlemagne: he not only dared to give refuge to the Saxon chief Widukind, an enemy of Charlemagne, but also gave Widukind his own daughter, Geva, in marriage (778).[109]

7.

Of crucial importance is that both Sigifrid and his people are given two appellations: Sigifrid is also "Half-Dane" (*Halbdan, Halptan*) and his *Dani* are also *Nordmanni*. The coeval Anglo-Saxon epic *Beowulf* (ca. 800) uses the designation *Hælf-Dene* for the itinerant Vikings connected with the emporia of the *negociatores*.[110] Singled out specifically is Hnæf Hōcing as *Hælf-Dena* in the "Finn Episode."[111] The term *Nordmanni* (>*Lordoman-*) has been discussed above.

It was the great Russian medievalist Ernst (Arist) Kunick (1814–1899) who identified the valiant Sigifrid of the Frankish Annals with Sigurðr Hringr of the Brávellir battle, who, after his great northern victory, was epically identified (epic hypostatis) with the older Germanic hero of the same name: Sigurðr Fafnisbani of the Nibelungen cycle. As the date of the Brávellir battle, Kunick suggested "around 770."[112]

8.

[108] I quote the Frankish annals from the editions of *Monumenta Germaniae Historica; Scriptores rerum Germanicarum* in usum scholarum separati: *Annales regni Francorum inde ab a. 741 usque ad a. 829, qui dicuntur Annales Laurissenses maiores et Einhardi*, ed. Friedrich Kurze (Hanover, 1895); *Annales Fuldenses sive Annales regni Francorum orientalis*, ed. Friedrich Kurze (Hanover, 1891).

[109] Conrad Botho, *Chronicon Brunsvicensium*, ed. Gottfried Leibnitz, *Scriptorum Brunsvicensia illustrantium*, vol. 3 (Hanover, 1711), p. 292. See Ernst Kunick, "Die Brawallaschlacht ist der erste sichere Ausgangspunkt für die dänische, schwedische und ostslavische Chronologie," *Mélanges Russes* (St. Petersburg), 1 (1851): 279.

[110] Pritsak, *Origin of Rus'*, 1: 183–87. Concerning the etymology of the term, see Jan de Vries, *Altnordisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Leiden, 1961), p. 204: "*Halfdan* m. PN. eig. 'der Halbdäne'."

[111] Pritsak, *Origin of Rus'*, 1: 186.

[112] Kunick, "Die Brawallaschlacht," pp. 265–89, esp. pp. 270–71.

A characteristic feature of the early medieval history of Eurasia was the role of the imperial *limes* as the *officina gentium* or *vagina populorum*, to use the terms coined by Jordanes in A.D. 551.[113] It was essentially unimportant whether the sedentary empire was China, Iran, or Rome, since the behavior of the "barbarians" in question was very similar, be they "nomads" of the steppe or those of the sea.

As was the case with the emergence of the Old Turks ca. 550 on the Chinese *limes*, the *Vindivarii* (ancestors of the Wenedi/Wends) were, according to Jordanes, *ex diversis nationibus adgregati*, 'as though they had fled to one particular refuge and had subsequently formed a tribe (gens)'—the Vistula–Baltic sea region in the case of the *Vindivarii* and Mongolia in the case of the Old Turks. Essential to the future frontier "tribe" was the acquisition of a common name, a *nomen/ vocabulum/* ἐπωνυμία, as mentioned above. It made no difference whether the *nomen* was chosen (or usurped, as in the case of the Pseudo-Avars) by the band itself, or given to it by others. The Halani (=Alans)—writes Ammianus Marcellinus (ca. 380)—had "in the course of time been united under one name (*ad unum. . .vocabulum*), and are all, for convenience, called Halani because of the similarity of their customs, their savage mode of life, and their weapons";[114] cf. the tribal names: "Franks" from *franca* 'spear'; "Saxons" from *sahs* 'single-edged sword'; Turks from *türk* 'a young man in his prime'. The case of the Alemanni was similar ([οἱ δὲ 'Αλαμανοί] ξυνήλυδές εἰσιν ἄνθρωποι καὶ μιγάδες καὶ τοῦτο δύναται αὐτοῖς ἡ ἐπωνυμία).[115] H. von Petrikovits has shown that a name (*nomen/vocabulum/*ἐπωνυμία) was essential to the development of tribes formed of *ad hoc colluvies*—congregations of linguistically and racially disparate elements—since the name comprised "the self-consciousness of the group and its recognition as a unit of action." That a band developing into a tribe might collaborate with, prey on, or incorporate the pre-existing organization of international traders (*colluvies negociatorum*) in an inter-imperial *pax* can be seen from the (well-documented) example of the Old Turkic Empire (550–745), which was the result of the fusion of the frontier bands known as "Türk" with the East Iranian Sogdian international traders, called "*Sir*." The *pax* consequently had a double name: *Türk Sir*

113 See my remarks in "The Slavs and the Avars," *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo*, vol. 30, pt. 1 (Spoleto, 1983), pp. 353–424.
114 *Ammianus Marcellinus*, with an English translation by John C. Rolle, vol. 3 (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), pp. 390–91.
115 "The Alemani are a flocked together and mixed people, and this means [to them; i.e., their] surname," Agathias (d. ca. 582), *Historiarum*, ed. Ludwig Dindorf (Historici Graeci Minores, 2) (Leipzig, 1871), pp. 149–50.

bodən (used in ceremonial acts),[116] the abbreviated form of which was *Türk.*

9

As stated above, the second half of the eighth century was dominated by the empire-building and expansion of the Franks under Charlemagne. A new semi-barbarian *pax* soon came into existence along the *limes* of his empire. It consisted of the *colluvies* of international traders (*negociatores*) and of warriors/seamen. The *nomen* of the *negociatores* was *Rut-/Rus-*, and that of the warriors was *Nordmanni.* As in the case of the *Türk*s, the *nomen* that this incipient *pax* chose, or was given, was *Norðmen* (Anglo-Saxon Chronicles, s.a. 787), a word which in the basin of the Mare Nostrum, the main focus of contemporary international trade, was tranformed into *lordoman-* both in the West (Spain) and in the East (Caliphate: al-Mas'ūdī: *al-lō[r]domān-*). The sources name Sigifridus, *rex* of the *Nordmann-* (also called *Dani*), as the catalyst in this process, which evolved from 777 to 797.

It is impossible to investigate in one paper the way in which sedentarization of both the *Dani/Nordmanni* in French Normandy and of the *Rus-/Nordmanni* in Eastern Europe proceeded, or to attempt to determine the degree to which the two groups interacted within the two polities in question. Suffice it to note that the *Nordmanni* (*Dani*) of the second half of the eighth to the early ninth century used an Old Norse *lingua franca* called "Danish" (*dǫnsk tunga*);[117] hence the appearance of the name Inger in Byzantium by the end of the eighth century. It may have been brought there by participants in the battle that was decisive in forging the maritime mercantile "tribe" (*gens*) *Rus-Nordmanni*; hence the name of the "Rus'" leader Brav[a]lin (< *Brávalla-*kappi*, etc.) in the miraculum of the *Life* of Stephen of Sugdaea.

The thrust of this paper has been to show that by the end of the eighth century a corollary movement to that of the *Rus-Nordmanni* (also called Vikings) in the West had also begun in the East, where the focal point was first the Crimea (and Old Ladoga[118]), and later Kiev. Thereafter commenced the process of individual (or group) acculturation to Christianity.

[116] See my "The Distinctive Features of the *Pax Nomadica*," *Settimane di studio del Centro Italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo*, vol. 35 (Spoleto, 1988), pp. 749–88.

[117] In his *De administrando imperio* (from ca. 948–952), Constantine Porphyrogenitus witnesses that along the Dnieper trade route in his times two *linguae francae* were in use: one of the Old Norse type, which he calls Ῥωσιστί (=*dǫnsk tunga*), and the other Σκλαβηνιστί ("Slavonic"); ed. Gy. Moravcsik and R. J. H. Jenkins (Budapest, 1949), pp. 58, 60.

[118] I cannot discuss here the Old Ladoga aspects of the problem under study.

At least one such neophyte family had a successful career in Constantinople in the first half of the ninth century. There must have been similar cases along the Dnieper trade route, which either went unrecorded or have yet to be discovered.

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La brama e lo zelo della Fede del popolo chiamato «Rhos»

VITTORIO PERI

Spetta al patriarca Fozio di Costantinopoli la formulazione del nostro tema[1] e la responsabilità storica di un'affermazione, la cui attendibilità merita d'essere ricordata mentre si celebra il millenario della cristianizzazione della Rus'. E' legittimo chiedersi: come mai il medesimo popolo che ancora al cronografo del IX secolo e a Costantino Porfirogenito appariva ἀθεότατον diverrà τὸ χριστιανικώτατον οἱ Ῥῶς γένος nell'opinione corrente bizantina, riportata nel XII secolo da Niceta Choniates?[2]

«Roma non fu fatta in un sol giorno». Mi colpì subito, trent'anni or sono, quando da barbaro mi trasferii a Roma per restarvi, la frequenza con cui un'affermazione all'apparenza così banale veniva ripetuta nelle più diverse circostanze. M'incuriosì soprattutto il significato proverbiale, ch'essa assumeva sulla labbra del popolo romano.

Da 2741 anni la città è abituata a festeggiare solennemente ogni anno la giornata del 21 aprile come Natale di Roma, sentendo celebrare nei discorsi ufficiali degli uomini della politica e dell'accademia, di stagione in stagione storica, i due mitici fratelli, che, tratti auspici numenici dal volo degli avvoltoi scelgono il luogo della fondazione, ne segnano con l'aratro il perimetro e subito lo sacralizzano con lo spargimento di sangue fraterno.

Richiamare, con un proverbio, la verità che Roma *non* fu fatta in un sol giorno significa contestare il mito pubblico e retorico con concreto realismo e richiamarsi in forma sapienziale al processo ben più lungo, collettivo ed oscuro, da cui la città è effettivamente nata alla storia. Infatti il senso comune del detto serve a ricordare, a chiunque mostri di illudersi del contrario, che ogni meta ed ogni conquista sono frutto di una faticosa fase preparatoria e che il loro raggiungimento inevitabilmente richiede tenacia e soprattutto pazienza.

Neppure il Battesimo della Rus' immensa e millenaria si è compiuto in un solo giorno dell'anno 988 sulle rive del Dnieper, per volontà del principe Volodimero, anche se l'avvenimento, capitale per la nostra storia europea,

[1] Φωτίου Ἐπιστολαὶ... ὑπὸ Ι. Βαλέττα (London, 1864), 178; citato in seguito: Photius, *Epist.*

[2] Nicetae Choniatae *Historia*, III, 5, ex recens. I. Bekker (Bonnae, 1835), 691.

presenta senza alcun dubbio caratteri meno mitici della fondazione della prima Roma. Resta quindi veritiera ed efficace la stupenda rappresentazione del codice della Cronaca slava di Manasses (*Vatic. Slavo* 2 f. 116^{v}, ann. 1344/45), che con la didascalia *kr'štenije Rusom* spiega la scena dove il battezzando è immerso nella corrente purificatrice del fiume, mentre il vescovo gli unge il capo con il *myron* ed altri intorno assistono o aspettano il proprio turno. Ma l'autore della miniatura non potè certamente essere un seguace della corrente pittorica del naturalismo o del realismo socialista!

La Rus' allora «battezzata», verosimilmente si estendeva a tutto il territorio della Ῥωσία, quale poteva immaginarlo Costantino Porfirogenito,[3] ma non ancora alla Rus' geopolitica dei secoli successivi.

Qualche riflessione, di natura prevalentemente metodologica, sulla situazione storica che per oltre un secolo ha preparato l'introduzione stabile del cristianesimo nella Kiev di Volodimero nel 988, vorrebbe costituire l'oggetto del presente contributo. E' immensa, e si è accresciuta negli ultimi anni in misura imponente la bibliografia sulle origini del nome, sui primi insediamenti, sulla genesi e la composizione etnica del popolo, che si affaccia alla storia delle fonti scritte, oggi note nelle diverse lingue, col nome di *Rus'* o *Rhos*.[4] Sarebbe presuntuoso, specialmente senza poter fare

[3] Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *De ceremoniis aulae Byzantinae*, II, 15 e 48, ex recens. Io. Iac. Reiskii, I (Bonnae, 1829), 594 e 691; idem, *De administrando imperio*, 9, Greek Text edited by Gy. Moravcsik, English translation by R. J. H. Jenkins (= Magyar-Görög Tanulmányok, 29) (Budapest, 1949), 56; vol. II, *Commentary*, by F. Dvornik, R. J. H. Jenkins, B. Lewis, Gy. Moravcsik, D. Obolensky, S. Runciman (London, 1962), 20 e 25–27; A. V. Soloviev, «Vizantijskoe imja Rossii», *Vizantijskij vremennik* 12 (1957): 134–155.

[4] La bibliografia specifica è sterminata, anche se l'episodio della prima cristianizzazione della Rus' è, relativamente, meno approfondito dagli autori. Cronologicamente è possibile ricostruirla facendo ricorso ai seguenti titoli: V. Thomson, *The Relations between Ancient Russia and Scandinavia and the Origin of the Russian State* (Oxford-London, 1877); C. de Boor, «Der Angriff der Rhos auf Byzanz», *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 4 (1895): 445–466; A. Palmieri, «La conversione dei Russi al cristianesimo e la testimonianza di Fozio», *Studi Religiosi* 2 (1901): 133–161; V. Parxomenko, *Načalo xristianstva Rusi* (Poltava, 1913); M. Rostovzeff, «Les origines de la Russie kiévienne», *Revue des études slaves* 2 (1922): 5–18; V. Laurent, «Aux origines de l'Église russe. L'établissement de la hiérarchie byzantine», *Échos d'Orient* 24 (1939): 279–295; N. De Baumgarten, *Aux origines de la Russie* (= Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 119) (Roma, 1939); G. Da Costa-Louillet, «Y eut-t-il des invasions russes dans l'empire byzantin avant 860?» *Byzantion* 15 (1940/41): 231–248; G. Vernadsky, «Byzantium and Southern Russia. Two Notes», *Byzantion* 15 (1940/41): 67–86; A. A. Vasiliev, *The Russian Attack on Constantinople in 860* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1945); M. V. Levčenko, *Očerki po istorii russko-vizantijskix otnošenij* (Moskva, 1956), 57–76; G. von Rauch, «Frühe christliche Spuren in Russland», *Saeculum* 7 (1956): 55–64; A. V. Soloviev, «Vizantijskoe imja Rossii», 134–155; M. K. Karger, *Drevnij Kiev: Očerk po istorii material'noj kul'tury drevnerusskogo goroda*, I (Moskva-Leningrad, 1958) (-1961); M. N. Tixomirov, «The Origins of Christianity in Russia», *History* 152 (1959): 199–211; M. Hellmann, «Neue Forschungen zur frühen Geschichte des Kiever Reiches», *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, Bd. 2 (Berlin, 1968); H. Ahrweiler, «Les relations entre les Byzantins et les Russes au IX^{e} siècle», *Bulletin*

appello ad una specifica competenza, pretendere di affrontare con novità simili problemi nel giro di una conversazione. E' pertanto evidente che non questo può essere il mio proposito.

Il tentativo consisterà invece in una considerazione delle fonti, in particolare bizantine, per sottolineare quelle date e quelle informazioni che possono ritenersi criticamente sicure. Per tale motivo, gli specialisti troveranno necessariamente tali rilievi elementari, o perfino ovvii. Ma proprio per questa ragione, nello svilupparsi delle discussioni, si rischia talvolta di non tenerne conto a sufficienza, moltiplicando indagini ed ipotesi erudite, interessanti, ma non sempre direttamente pertinenti ed utili al tema che si vorrebbe illustrare.

Un esempio classico è rappresentato dallo stesso nome *Rhos*. «Se, id est gentem suam, Rhos vocari dicebant».[5] Gli *Annales* detti *Bertiniani* riferiscono questa notizia appresa direttamente ad Ingelheim, nel palazzo di Ludovico il Pio, dagli ambasciatori di quel popolo, che l'imperatore bizantino Teofilo aveva fatto arrivare da Costantinopoli, dov'erano giunti dalle loro lontane sedi settentrionali, fino alle rive del Reno, insieme ai propri inviati. Ugualmente *Rūs*, nell'843/44, lo scrittore arabo Ya'qūbī denomina gli aggressori di Siviglia.[6] Con lo stesso nome di 'Ρῶς li designa Fozio, parlando in Santa Sofia al popolo, che poco prima, nell'860, aveva sentito per la prima volta con terrore il loro orribile urlo di guerra sotto le mura della

d'Information et de coordination de l'Association internationale des études byzantines 5 (Athènes-Paris, 1971), 42–70, riprod. anastat. in idem, *Byzance: Les pays et les territoires*, Variorum Reprints (London, 1976), VII; A. Avenarius, «Xristianstvo na Rusi v IX v.», in *Beiträge zur byzantinischen Geschichte*, hrg. von V. Vavřínek (Praha, 1978), 301–315; O. Pritsak, *The Origin of Rus'*, I, *Old Scandinavian Sources Other than the Sagas* (= Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, Monograph Series, ed. by O. Pritsak, I. Ševčenko, P. Magocsi) (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1981); V. T. Pašuto, *Drevnerusskoe nasledie i istoričeskie sud'by vostočnogo slavjanstva* (edd. V. T. Pašuto, B. I. Florja, A. L. Xoroškevič) (= Kievskaja Rus' i istoričeskie sud'by vostočnyx slavjan k 1500-letiju Kieva) (Moskva, 1982); G. Podskalsky, *Christentum und theologische Literatur in der Kiever Rus' (988–1237)* (München, 1982), 11–17; J.-P. Arrignon, «Les relations diplomatiques entre Byzance et la Russie de 860 à 1043», *Revue des études slaves* 55 (1983): 129–137; P. P. Toločko, *Drevnij Kiev. Vozniknovenie i pervye veki istorii Kieva* (Kiev, 1983); I. Ševčenko, *Byzantine Roots of Ukrainian Christianity* (= The Millennium Series) (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1984); O. Pritsak, *On the Writing of History in Kievan Rus'* (= The Millennium Series) (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1984); E. Mühle, «Die Anfänge Kievs (bis ca. 980) in archäologischer Sicht. Ein Forschungsbericht», *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 35 (1987): I, 80–101.

5 *Annales Bertiniani*, II, ed. G. H. Pertz, in MGH *SS* I, 434; le incursioni cui i Franchi erano costretti a fare fronte risultano condotte da popoli nordici: «adversus Danaorum Sclavorumque, qui ferebantur incursus» (ibid., 435). Cfr. G. Schramm, «'Gentem suam Rhos vocari dicebant'. Hintergründe des ältesten Erwähnung von Russen (a. 839)», in *Ostmitteleuropa* (Stuttgart, 1984), 1–10, dove, come Levčenko, l'autore localizza in Kiev il centro di questi Rhos giunti a Costantinopoli e in Occidente.

6 V. Minorsky, v. *Rūs*, in *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, III (Leiden-Paris, 1936), 1262.

capitale, sguarnita del grosso dell'esercito, e ne aveva sperimentato l'implacabile ferocia.

I nomi, con cui i popoli sono conosciuti in una cultura, sono di due tipi: quelli che essi stessi si danno nella propria lingua e quelli che altri danno loro. *Diudisc / thiudisc / düdesk* è del primo tipo rispetto a нѣмьць,[7] che è del secondo, come del resto la più generica denominazione di βάρβαρος in greco. Il semplice richiamo dell'elementare distinzione impedisce di ripetere oggi, in altre forme, l'errore dei Bizantini, i quali, con l'accostamento fonetico del termine etnico a parole già presenti nella loro lingua e nella loro cultura, stabilirono tra loro un impossibile rapporto semantico. Collegarono così il vocabolo con un nome biblico ricorrente nel libro di Ezechiele o con l'aggettivo ῥούσιος, quasi che la designazione etnica derivasse «a qualitate corporis», come riferisce Liutprando di Cremona.[8]

Un secondo problema, che non ha cessato d'essere trattato appassionatamente, è quello dell'origine e della composizione etnica di questo popolo, che chiamava se stesso Rhos, e della lingua che usava. Il risveglio dell'idea di nazione, portato dal romanticismo ed esasperato da ideologie e vicende politiche e belliche nel nostro secolo, non ha sempre contribuito a dare all'indagine l'impostazione rigorosa e distaccata, ch'essa richiedeva. Eppure non è questo il limite maggiore, di cui ci sembra risentire una tale ricerca. Esso va piuttosto individuato nel rischio di proiettare nelle realtà etniche e politiche del passato una coscienza ed un'ottica ad esse completamente ignote ed estranee. Le attuali conoscenze geografiche, glottologiche, storiche sono ovviamente indispensabili per rappresentarci in modo sempre più adeguato e fedele la realtà delle epoche precedenti la nostra. Se però forzano questa stessa realtà in schemi mentali e concettuali posteriori, non solo si rivelano anacronistiche, ma anche fuorvianti.

[7] *Lexicon linguae Palaeolslovenicae – Slovník jazyka staroslověnského*, II (Praha, 1973), 452: v. нѣмьць (da нѣмъ: mutus, surdus, stimmlos, stumm); cfr. Constantinus Porphirogenitus, *De caeremon.*, II, 48 (ed. Reiskii, Bonnae, 1829, 689: «Βαιούρη · ἔστιν δὲ αὕτη ἡ χώρα οἱ λεγόμενοι Νεμίτζιοι».

[8] Liutprandus Cremonensis, *Antapodosis*, V, 15, in *Die Werke Liutprands von Cremona*, hrg. von J. Becker (Hannover-Leipzig, 1915[3]) (=MGH Auctores in usum scholarum. . .separatim editi), 137: «gens quaedam est sub Aquilonis parte constituta, quam a qualitate corporis Graeci vocant ῥούσιος, *Rúsios*, nos vero a positione loci nominamus Nordmannos. Lingua quippe Teutonum *nôrd* aquilo, *man* autem dicitur homo»; anche I, 11: «Constantinopolitana urbs. . . inter ferocissimas gentes constituta est. Habet quippe ab Aquilone Hungarios, Pizenacos, Chazaros, Rusios, quos alio nos nomine Nordmannos appellamus» (p. 9). Del resto già nelle lettere del papa Giovanni VIII si parla piu' volte dei *Nortmanni* (cfr. MGH *Epist.* VII, 321, 324, 350). Anche Fozio (*Hom.* III, 1 e 3) indica la caratteristica settentrionale del popolo, dicendolo ὑπερβόρειον e Σκυθικόν (ed. Laourdas, 29 e 34; ed. Mango, 82 e 89).

La tendenza a pensare l'unità etnica e linguistica di un popolo come coincidente per natura, in modo indissolubile, con un senso di appartenza politica unitaria ed indipendente, o quanto meno con l'aspirazione consapevole ad una propria unità politica, tale da escludere qualsiasi altro gruppo etnico, serve a capire le realtà nazionali moderne e, ormai solo in parte, contemporanee. Tale tendenza non aiuta però necessariamente a rispondere alla legittima domanda diretta a conoscere chi fossero gli uomini che chiamavano se stessi Rhos nel IX o ancora nel X secolo.

La dimensione cronologica è un fattore di conoscenza storica fondamentale per chi non ragiona in termini di razzismo metafisico o anche solo si lascia influenzare dal determinismo naturalistico o dal positivismo, come, *ratione temporis*, ha fatto la maggior parte degli autori, che hanno sin qui affrontato la questione. I Longobardi, entrati in Italia nel VI secolo, in parte sono e in parte non sono più, come composizione etnica, come lingua d'uso e lingua di cultura, e soprattutto come coscienza di appartenere ad un regno unitario con un suo territorio, lo stesso popolo, detto sempre Longobardo, stabilito nella penisola nell'VIII secolo. Ciò vale per i Goti, i Franchi ed i Normanni in Occidente, come per i Bulgari in Oriente. All'idioma tedesco e turco parlato dalle minoranze dominanti in una prima fase s'erano sostituiti, presso i ceti superiori, il latino e lo slavo parlati prima solo dalle maggioranze etniche assoggettate.

I Rhos non fanno eccezione. La loro evoluzione nel tempo conosce fasi analoghe. Basterà, per evocarlo più che poterlo qui dimostrare, qualche esempio, a cominciare dalle lingue, che si parlarono tra quanti i Bizantini chiamavano Rhos, nell'epoca che conobbe il progressivo affermarsi di un'identità nazionale comune, il diffondersi di un'unica lingua ed il costituirsi di una struttura statale nuova rispetto alle origini nomadi.

Geografi arabi, che scrissero tra la fine del IX e gli inizi del X secolo e dipendono da una fonte comune più antica (ca. 836), quali Ibn Rusta e Gardīzī distinguono formalmente tra *Rūs* e *Ṣaqāliba*, ossia Slavi. Anche più importante, in quanto involontaria rispetto alla sua utilizzazione, è la testimonianza portata con un'informazione da al-Mas'ūdī. Nella sua opera, scritta tra il 947 e il 956, egli riferisce[9] che ad Itil, la capitale cosmopolita dei Khazari alle foci del Volga, convivevano diversi gruppi religiosi ed etnici. «There are in this town both Moslems, Christians, Jews and pagans... and of the latter there are various kinds, including Slavs (*Ṣaqāliba*) and Rus (*Rūs*)». Tale situazione determinò l'istituzione da parte del governo dei Khazari di due giudici permanenti: uno aveva

[9] Mas'ūdī, *Kitāb murūj al-dhahab*, cap. 17, edd. Barbier de Meynard et Pavet de Courteille, II, 8–9 e 11; cfr. Minorsky, v. *Rūs*, in *Encycl. de l'Islam*, III, 1263.

competenza sulle cause concernenti gli appartenenti ad una delle tre grandi religioni monoteiste mediterranee (i quali ordinariamente parlavano greco, arabo ed ebraico); l'altra esercitava la sua giurisdizione sugli idolatri ed i politeisti. Nel secondo gruppo erano classificati, tra altri, come al-Mas'ūdī specifica, i *Ṣaqāliba* e i *Rūs*.[10]

La notizia del geografo arabo conferma innanzi tutto una tolleranza religiosa vigente nell'impero Khazaro quale risulta anche della *Vita* slava di Costantino Filosofo, dove è esposta anche la sua missione presso il *khagan* dei Khazari. Ma la precisazione successiva riflette una consapevolezza esterna, che un'altra cultura aveva circa la differenziazione forse anche religiosa (nell'ambito dei culti animistici o politeistici),[11] ma certamente linguistica, che distingueva i Rhos dagli Slavi. Ancora nei primi decenni del X secolo, quanti di loro vivevano ad Itil erano visti e sentiti dagli altri abitanti della città come due gruppi etnici differenti. La coscienza di tale diversità, evidentemente, era avvertita ancor più nettamente dai due popoli che parlavano le due lingue, anche se vivevano a stretto contatto e spesso negli stessi territori, tanto da avere talvolta per i luoghi dei toponimi comuni.

Ancora una volta è uno straniero, palesemente poco esperto delle due lingue vista l'etimologia indifferenziata che propone per un nome di luogo, a confermare in modo indiretto, ma valido, che le lingue dei due gruppi etnici erano diverse. Costantino Porfirogenito, descrivendo il primo sbarramento (φραγμός) sulle rapide del fiume Dnieper, ne riporta il nome: *Essupì* «ὃ ἑρμηνεύεται Ῥωσιστὶ καὶ Σκλαβηνιστὶ 'μὴ κοιμᾶσαι'».[12] Nella spiegazione, l'autore fornisce un'etimologia unica per due lingue che pure sa diverse; si tratta, più semplicemente di un toponimo ricorrente con identico suono in entrambe le lingue. Poco prima e poco dopo offre invece elementi utili per stabilire questa differenza. Ricorda infatti la città fortificata dall'inconfondibile nome slavo di Βιτετζέβη, «ὅπερ ἐστὶ πακτιωτικὸν κάστρον τῶν Ῥῶς».[13] Di altri sbarramenti lungo il grande fiume precisa di fornire ogni volta i nomi che ognuno aveva nelle due lingue, aggiungendo talora l'etimologia dei nomi slavi. Sono così elencati, sempre con la stessa formula, il «φραγμός, ὁ ἐπιλεγόμενος Ῥωσιστὶ μὲν Οὐλβορσί, Σκλαβηνιστὶ δὲ Ὀστροβουνιπράχ, ὅπερ ἑρμηνεύεται τὸ νήσιον τοῦ φραγμοῦ», ed analogamente i successivi: Ἀειφόρ/Νεασήτ

[10] A. P. Vlasto, *The Entry of the Slavs into Christendom: An Introduction to the Medieval History of the Slavs* (Cambridge, 1970), 238.

[11] V. J. Mansikka, *Die Religion der Ost-Slaven* (= Folklore Fellows Communications, 43) (Helsingfors, 1922); C. H. Meyer, *Fontes historiae religionis Slavicae* (Berlin, 1931).

[12] Const. Porphyr., *De admin. imp.*, 9 (ed. Moravcsik, 58–59).

[13] Const. Porphyr., *De admin. imp.*, 9 (ed. Moravcsik, 58–59).

Βαρουφόρος/Βουλνηπράχ Λεάντι/Βερούτζη Στρούκουν/Ναπρεζή.

Si può così passare dalla considerazione della consapevolezza di un'identità linguistica, culturale e religiosa, che legava al loro interno sia i Rhos che gli Slavi e li costituiva in due distinte etnie, all'osservazione della loro convivenza civile e dell'unità politica e militare, che ne faceva invece, agli occhi degli altri popoli e soprattutto degli altri Stati, un unico γένος o ἔθνος.[14] Un fenomeno analogo è facilmente costatabile nell'affermazione dello Stato bulgaro, formato dalle due componenti turca e slava. Ma anche quanto è noto circa i Khazari conferma come fosse diffusa una simbiosi politica di etnie, che restavano tra loro distinte, pur essendo guidate da un gruppo etnico dominante. Per questo aspetto, nè i cittadini dell'Impero bizantino nè quelli del più recente Impero romano d'Occidente, raccolti essi stessi in un'organizzazione politica polietnica a predominanza greca o franco-latina, avevano motivo di scorgere alcuna contraddizione tra la composizione mista caratteristica di questi «popoli» sovranazionali confinanti ed il fatto di indicarli con il nome dell'etnia tra loro predominante. Americani e Russi, nel linguaggio contemporaneo, sono cosi' designati con un termine, che puo' rivestire un'accezione o nazionale o politica, e serve rispettivamente per indicare i membri della lingua e della cultura dominante nei due Stati, oppure cittadini di questi stessi Stati, anche se di stirpe, lingua e cultura nazionale differente da quella maggioritaria.

Il vocabolario del potere, soprattutto quando concerne le principali espressioni istituzionali della sovranità ed i *leaders* delle gerarchia sociale, può costituire un indizio generale circa il tipo di organizzazione politica che caratterizza il governo unitario di un insieme di sudditi. Anche se le singole istituzioni hanno conosciuto nel tempo un'evidente evoluzione, è sintomatico che l'antica terminologia latina del potere resti viva nell'Oriente greco e nell'Occidente latinizzato dell'alto medioevo con gli stessi vocaboli della tarda epoca imperiale. E se accanto al latino *Imperator* si è affermato il parallelo greco *basileus*, per tutti i gradi inferiori della piramide gerarchica sono stati conservati i vocaboli latini, di solito nella trascrizione fonetica dell'ortografia greca, e con essi hanno continuato a designarsi ufficialmente le cariche pubbliche e quelle della burocrazia e della diplomazia: *Caesar* (καῖσαρ); *rex* (ῥῆξ); *dux* (δοῦξ); *patricius* (πατρίκιος); *spatarius* (σπαθάριος) ecc. Tutti i condottieri ed i capi dei nuovi popoli, entrati a fare parte dell'area di influenza dell'Impero cristiano, hanno finito per

[14] Theophanes Contin., V, 95–97, ex recens. I. Bekkeri, II (Bonnae, 1838), 341 e 342; si parla di τὸ Ἰουδαίων γένος, τὸ Βουλγάρων γένος, τὸ τῶν Ῥῶς ἔθνος, senza che il vocabolario permetta di distinguere se questi gruppi erano composti da una o piu' etnie dal punto di vista politico.

ambirli e per vederseli assegnati, prima che qualcuno di loro finisse col rivendicare per sè anche il titolo supremo di *imperator*, come Carlomagno, o di *basileus*, come Simone di Bulgaria.

Per indicare il tipo di modello organizzativo, sociale e militare dei Rhos appare sintomatico il fatto che il loro capo assuma agli inizi lo stesso titolo di tutti gli altri capi orientali non cristianizzati, quello di *khagan*. E' fatto ben noto che tale titolo contraddistingueva i capi dei Protobulgari fino al IX secolo: Tervel, Kardam, Krum, Omurtag, Malomir, Presiian. La *Vita* slava di Costantino Filosofo[15] indica più volte come *kagaan* o *kagan* il principe dei Khazari, e Costantino Porfirogenito[16] riprende il dato trascrivendo il termine in greco: χαγάνος Χαζαρίας. Anche del sovrano degli Avari, sia alla corte dei Franchi[17] che a quella di Bisanzio,[18] è noto come egli portasse la medesima denominazione. Identico (*kagan*, *caganus*) è il nome del *princeps Hunorum* verso l'805: il loro *caganus* era anzi cristiano, e il successore fu riconosciuto come tale dai Franchi «iuxta priscum eorum ritum».[19] Fin dagli anni '30 del IX secolo il redattore degli *Annales Bertiniani* ha appreso direttamente dagli interessati che tale suona anche il titolo del capo dei Rhos: «rex eorum, chacanus vocabulo».[20] Verso gli stessi anni, la fonte oggi perduta di alcuni geografi arabi ricordava che «leur roi portait le titre de *Khakan*».[21] L'identità, fonetica e semantica, del vocabolo con cui i vari popoli indicarono il loro condottiero permette di presumere che vigesse tra loro una struttura del potere abbastanza simile, comprendente a volte più di un'etnia; non autorizza invece a ritenere che due popoli tra loro indipendenti potessero avere lo stesso *khagan*.

La diversità tra i popoli nuovi e quelli che vivevano nel sistema civile e religioso rappresentato dell'Impero universale cristiano veniva piuttosto individuata nel rispettivo modo di vita e nel rapporto sociale. Essi erano

[15] I rinvii, con le sigle VC e VM, sono fatti a *Constantinus et Methodius Thessalonicenses. Fontes*, recensuerunt et illustraverunt F. Grivec (pars I, II et IV) et F. Tomšič (pars III) (= Radovi Staroslovenskogo Instituta, Knijga, 4) (Zagreb, 1960); per la traduzione italiana cfr. *Cirillo e Metodio: Le biografie paleoslave*, Introd., traduz. e note a cura di V. Peri (Milano, 1981). I passi qui citati sono: VC IX, 10, 15, 17; X, 1; XI, 23, 42, 45, alle pp. 112, 114, 123, 124.

[16] Const. Porphyr., *De cerem.*, 48 (ed. Reiskii, I, 690); idem, *De admin. imp.*, 42 (ed. Moravcsik, 182): «ὁ γὰρ χαγάνος ἐκεῖνος καὶ ὁ πὲχ Χαζαρίας».

[17] MGH *Epist.* VII, 388 «Chaganum vero nos praelatum Avarum. . .nuncupamus»; *Annales Laurissenses et Einhardi*, ad an. 796 (MGH *SS* I, 182).

[18] *Excerpta de legationibus*, ed. C. de Boor, I, *Excerpta de legationibus Romanorum ad gentes* (Berolini, 1903) (= Excerpta historica iussu imper. Constantini Porphyrogeniti confecta, I), *E Theophilacti historia excerpta*, 6 (p. 226): «'Αβάρων. . .χαγάνος».

[19] *Annales Laurissenses et Einhardi*, ad an. 805 (MGH *SS* I, 192).

[20] *Annales Bertiniani*, ad an. 839 (MGH *SS* I, 434).

[21] Minorsky, v. *Rūs*, in *Encycl. de l'Islam*, III, 1263.

classificati globalmente come «barbari», per dirli ancora in una fase di sottosviluppo, appartenenti cioè ad un mondo ancora lontano dalla società considerata avanzata e dai suoi valori fondamentali, quale era quella raggiunta dalla cristianità.

Una differenza non piccola sussisteva invece tra l'Impero cristiano ed altri Stati ed Imperi non cristiani, per quanto concerne sia la tolleranza di religioni e di culti differenti da quello ufficiale dei gruppi etnici dominanti che la libertà, o almeno una restrizione non assoluta ed intransigente, del proselitismo e della propaganda religiosa per queste altre religioni.

Presso i Khazari, che osservavano una propria religione monoteistica, Costantino Filosofo incontrò esponenti della cultura ebraica e di quella islamica, che potevano allora operare alla luce del sole per fare prevalere la rispettiva fede religiosa e farla adottare come nuova religione dello Stato. In questa situazione, il futuro Maestro degli Slavi può esporre con argomenti teologici la superiorità della religione cristiana, che egli ufficialmente rappresenta.[22] Anche nel califfato ommayade, ove in precedenza era stato inviato per cercare di migliorare le condizioni di vita dei sudditi cristiani di quello Stato musulmano, egli potè sostenere e svolgere analoghe tesi in conversazioni ufficiali con i rappresentanti islamici del governo e della cultura. Ma il racconto dell'episodio costituisce al tempo stesso la testimonianza che la sussistenza e la pratica della religione cristiana, anche se soggetta a discriminazioni e a restrizioni, non erano allora vietate ed impedite tassativamente in quelle società.[23]

Sia le fonti scritte che l'archeologia attestano che un'azione missionaria più o meno spontanea in favore del cristianesimo aveva potuto svolgersi capillarmente nei principati dei Bulgari, degli Slavi pannonici, dei Croati e di altre tribù slave occidentali, che ancora conservavano nella vita pubblica le credenze religiose e gli usi pagani dei loro avi. Erano sorte tra quei popoli, grazie al regime di convivenza sul quale si reggevano, le prime comunità ecclesiali, con il culto liturgico. Quindi vi risulta tollerata la presenza e l'azione di sacerdoti, e in alcuni casi di vescovi, capaci di celebrarlo. Diversi scritti agiografici e talune cronache attestano che questi erano di varia provenienza e, dal punto di vista canonico, agivano a nome della Chiesa bizantina greca, della Chiesa occidentale latina (che contava missionari di stirpe latina, franca, irlandese), della Chiesa armena.[24]

22 VC VIII–XI (ed. Grivec, 182–197).

23 VC VI (ed. Grivec, 178–182).

24 VM V, 2 (ed. Grivec, 223): «Vennero presso di noi (e cioè nei principati moravi di Rastislav e Svjatopolk) molti maestri cristiani dall'Italia e dalla Grecia e dalla Germania, insegnando a noi in maniera diversa». Da una lettera di Nicola I del 13 novembre 865 si apprende che simile doveva essere la situazione presso i Bulgari: «Postremo deprecamini nos suppli-

Nulla di simile, tranne lo speciale e spesso precario statuto che tollerava e regolamentava in modo rigido il culto della religione ebraica, era invece pensabile per principio, e possibile per legge nell'Impero cristiano, sia d'Oriente che d'Occidente. Non solo vi erano vietati la professione pubblica, la pratica e l'insegnamento di qualsiasi religione o morale che non fossero quelle cristiane, ma venivano perseguite implacabilmente dal potere dello Stato anche tutte le forme di cristianesimo dichiarate eretiche e in quanto tali bandite dalla legge. Il presupposto ideologico, che ispirava e sorreggeva tale sistema, era la convinzione che fosse precipuo compito, affidato direttamente da Dio all'Autocrate cristiano, quello di favorire con tutti i mezzi, di cui legittimamente disponeva, compresi quelli coercitivi, la convivenza civile e pacifica di tutti gli uomini, diffondendo presso tutti loro, e i particolare presso i propri sudditi, la conoscenza e la pratica della sola vera religione, quella cristiana insegnata dall'unica Chiesa.

Su tale presupposto si stabilivano anche i rapporti con popoli e Stati, che sussistevano fuori dai confini dell'Impero e non seguivano i dettami della religione cristiana. Un'intesa, anche preliminare e limitata al livello di contatto diplomatico iniziale, supponeva nell'interlocutore non cristiano una dichiarazione, anche generica, di disponibilità all'ipotesi che la religione cristiana potesse essere superiore alla propria. Per Bisanzio, ogni dialogo, volto ad intavolare e a stabilire accordi ed alleanze con altri stati, era aperto solo se configurabile dal punto di vista formale come richiesta di subordinazione avanzata all'imperatore dalla controparte e sulla pregiudiziale che questa lasciasse sperare imminente o almeno non escludesse a priori l'adesione al cristianesimo. Ciò spiega la regolare e costante presenza di esperti religiosi o di esponenti ecclesiastici in tutte le ambascerie politiche inviate dall'Imperatore bizantino ad altri sovrani e principi, cristiani o non cristiani, di norma sotto la guida di un funzionario statale.

I differenziati incarichi affidati a Costantino Filosofo e all'egumeno Metodio presso i Khazari monoteisti, e presso alcuni cristiani già evangelizzati del bacino danubiano, appaiono, da questo punto di vista, paradig-

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citer, ut vobis. . .veram et perfectam christianitatem. . .largiamur, asserentes quod in patriam vestram multi ex diversis locis christiani advenerint, qui, prout voluntas eorum existit, multa et varia loquuntur, id est Graeci, Armeni et e ceteris locis» (MGH *Epist.* V, 599). Analoga attività missionaria, composita quanto alle origini dei predicatori, risulta condotta tra gli Slavi occidentali secondo le informazioni offerte dalla *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* (MGH *SS* XI, 4–15; quindi ediz. di M. Kos [Ljubljana, 1936], 126–140). Per quanto concerne la cristianizzazione dei Croati cfr. Theoph. Contin., 54, ex recogn. I. Bekkeri (Bonnae, 1838), 291–292; Const. Porphyr., *De admin. imp.*, 29 (ed. Moravcsik, 124–125); V. Peri, «Spalato e la sua Chiesa nel tema bizantino di Dalmazia», in *Vita religiosa, morale e sociale ed i concili di Split (Spalato) dei secoli X–XI. Atti del Symposium internaz. di storia ecclesiastica (Split, 26–30 sett. 1978)* (= Medioevo e Umanesimo, 49) (Padova, 1984), 304–314.

matici. Ma anche i sacerdoti che facevano parte della delegazione bizantina inviata presso i Serbi,[25] o l'arcivescovo bizantino Agatone dei Moravi, incluso due volte nella delegazione bizantina inviata a Ratisbona alla corte dei Franchi,[26] o i vescovi spediti da Ignazio in Bulgaria per organizzarvi la Chiesa locale nascente, riflettono altrettante espressioni concrete che, di volta in volta, assumeva la politica religiosa dell'Impero, sempre diretta a diffondere e a stabilire la religione cristiana come premessa o come condizione di una perseguita unità politica, capace di associare e di unire all'Impero sempre nuovi popoli.[27]

Ad un certo momento—nella pienezza del loro tempo, secondo la teologia delle Nazioni di Costantino Filosofo!—anche i Rhos, conosciuti nell'860 come pericolosi aggressori sotto le mura di Costantinopoli, entrarono come interlocutori nella politica generale dell'Impero. Il traguardo, come sempre, era quello di stabilire con loro anzitutto una tregua, poi una pace garantita dalla loro conversione al cristianesimo e finalmente un'alleanza definitiva ed irrevocabile (salvo il deplorevole caso di «apostasia» politica), fondata sul riconoscimento del ruolo di guida universale e del carattere egemonico dell'Impero «dei Romei». L'idea di lavorare per ottenere dalla Provvidenza il Battesimo e insieme la civilizzazione degli aggressori Rhos nacque spontaneamente nel patriarca Fozio, dato che faceva parte del compito di ogni patriarca. I suoi predecessori e i suoi successori, Ignazio compreso, non si sarebbero comportati in modo differente. Sempre, s'intende, in espressa armonia con la volontà suprema dell'Impertore ed in accordo con la sua politica.

Si comprende la soddisfazione con cui il patriarca, nella sua lettera enciclica dell'867 agli altri patriarchi e vescovi dell'Impero cristiano, annuncia la riuscita della prima fase del suo tentativo missionario.

Nelle cerimonie religiose di ringraziamento, celebrate in Santa Sofia per lo scampato pericolo nell'860, egli stesso aveva evocato con l'efficacia della sua eloquenza le caratteristiche negative dei Rhos: un popolo oscuro, innumerevole, ignoto, indigente e privo di risorse, marcato dalle caratteristiche che ai Greci apparivano tipiche degli schiavi,[28] barbaro, nomade, con

[25] I. Dujčev, «Une ambassade byzantine auprès des Serbes au IX^e siècle», in *Medioevo bizantino-slavo*, I (= Storia e Letteratura, 102) (Roma, 1965), 224–225; G. Sp. Radojičić, «La date de la conversion des Serbes», *Byzantion* 22 (1952): 253–256.

[26] E. Honigmann, «Deux archevêques de Moravie à Ratisbonne», in *Studies in Slavic Church History*, = *Byzantion* 17 (1944/45): 163–182.

[27] D. Obolensky, «The Principles and Methods of Byzantine Diplomacy», in *Actes du XII^e Congrès international des Études byzantines, Ohrid, 1961*, I (Beograd, 1963), 46–61.

[28] Φωτίου Ὁμιλίαι, Ἔκδοσις, εἰσαγωγὴ καὶ σχόλια ὑπὸ Β. Λαούρδα (= Ἑλληνικὰ, Παράρτημα, 12) (Salonico, 1959): citato in seguito Photius, *Hom.*: *The Homilies of Photius Patriarch of Constantinople*, English translation, introduction and commentary by C. Mango

le basi di partenza in terre lontane, eppure irresistibile per la tracotanza che gli davano le armi e per il modo di battersi: senza controllo di sorta, lottando in massa senza alcun ordine e gerarchia militare, sviluppando una massa d'urto insostenibile e travolgente, che, per la belluina ferocia esercitata in modo indiscriminato contro persone d'ogni età e d'ogni sesso, ricordava l'ondata distruttrice d'una violenta mareggiata o il passaggio selvatico e furioso d'un cinghiale sui prati e sulle culture.[29] Lo stesso popolo verrà caratterizzato come incolto (ἀνήμερον), di agreste rozzezza (ἄγροικον), più che imbattibile in combattimento (δυσμαχώτατον), crudele (ὠμόν) e per eccellenza ateo (ἀθεότατον) dal cronista che riferirà delle sue prime incursioni contro Bisanzio e delle prime trattative di tregua.[30]

Cinque anni dopo il primo cruento impatto, anche questo popolo si rivelò più umano di quanto lasciasse pensare la descrizione di Fozio. Lo apprendiamo dalle parole ufficiali dello stesso patriarca, che involontariamente insegnano quanto sia culturalmente precaria e sospetta l'attribuzione generica di difetti e di qualità a tutto un popolo, come se fossero tipici e caratterizzanti, per conoscerlo. Come il popolo dei Bulgari, che s'era fatto cristiano da barbaro ed ostile a Cristo come era stato fino all'864, stava mutando atteggiamento[31] anche il popolo «τὸ καλούμενον τὸ Ῥῶς», il quale notoriamente non era stato fino allora secondo a nessuno in fatto di stragi e di crudeltà, aveva assoggettato i propri vicini e, inorgoglito oltre misura, aveva osato levare le mani contro il sacro potere imperiale. «Ed ora—annuncia Fozio—anch'essi hanno cambiato le convinzioni atee, alle quali erano prima legati con la pura ed immacolata religione ellenica,

(= Dumbarton Oaks Studies, III) (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1958). Qui il passo citato corrisponde a Photius, *Hom.*, IV, 2 (ed. Laourdas, 42; ed. Mango, 98). La taccia di ἔθνος ἐν ἀνδραπόδοις ταττόμενον «a nation ranked among Slaves», che fin dal primo incontro i Bisantini applicarono a questa stirpe, sembra conservare anche un significato per la storia della mentalità, quando si ricordi che, in greco come in latino, si sia trasformato in nome comune, col senso di «schiavo», «servo», il termine originariamente etnico di «Slavo», che le due lingue classiche hanno modificato in σκλάβος e *sclavus*, poiche non conoscevano il nesso consonantico *sl-* in inizio di parola. Il fenomeno venne rilevato già nel XVII secolo; cfr. Ioannis Lucii, *De regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae libri sex* (Amstelodamii, 1668), lib. VI, 4 (p. 278): «(Graeci) qui cum SL pronuntiandi usum non habeant prout neque Latini, eosdem Graeca et Latina prolatione *Sclabi* vel *Sclabini* dixere».

29 Photius, *Hom.*, IV, 2 (ed. Laourdas, 42; ed. Mango, 98); analoga descrizione e terminologia ricorrono nella *Vita* di san Giorgio di Amastris: cfr. V. Vasil'evskij, *Russko-vizantijskie issledovanija*, II (Skt. Peterburg, 1893), 66–71, cit. da H. Ahrweiler, «Les relations entre les Byzantins et les Russes au IX^e^ siècle», 54–55.

30 Theoph. Contin., *Vita Basilii*, 97 (ed. Bekker, 342–343); ringrazio sentitamente i proff. I. Ševčenko e A. Kambylis per avermi messo a disposizione con generosità il passo nella nuova edizione critica che essi stanno preparando dell'opera; in tale edizione il testo figurerà alla p. 330.

31 Photius, *Epist.* IV, 3 (ed. Valetta, 168).

collocandosi volontariamente nel rango di sudditi ed alleati, in sostituzione dei recenti saccheggi perpetrati ai nostri danni e dell'inaudita temerarietà. La brama e lo zelo della fede li infiammò a tal punto (Paolo leva ancora una volta il grido: 'Benedetto Iddio nei secoli!'), che essi hanno anche accolto un vescovo e pastore, e con molta applicazione e sollecitudine stanno abbracciando la pratica religiosa dei cristiani».[32]

Il carattere ufficiale dell'enciclica foziana, la prossimità degli eventi cui essa si riferisce ed il ruolo personale e diretto avutovi dall'autore tolgono ogni ragionevole e possibile dubbio sull'attendibilità e l'esattezza del suo racconto. Presso i Rhos, prima dell'867, era stato accolto un vescovo bizantino inviatovi ed era stato ammesso un culto cristiano, dal patriarca di Costantinopoli che aveva avuto inizio in modo organizzato. Lo aveva reso possibile la nuova condizione di «ὑπήκοοι καὶ πρόξενοι» dell'Impero accettata dai condottieri Rhos.

Dalla terza e quarta omelia di Fozio, provengono, contemporaneamente all'attacco dell'860, le prime notizie sui Rhos, diffuse nell'opinione pubblica costantinopolitana. I convertiti dell'867 sono certo gli stessi gruppi, o meglio i capi delle stesse ἐθναρχίαι (o gruppi etnici dominanti), che avevano guidato la spedizione marittima. Nella loro città principale si recò pertanto il vescovo missionario. Erano un popolo settentrionale (ὑπερβόρειος), uno «Σκυθικὸν ἔθνος», come, dopo, Fozio, ripeteranno Niceta Paflagone, Teofane e Giorgio Cedreno, usando l'onomastica classica per le popolazioni barbariche continentali.[33] Essi erano piombati senza alcun preavviso su Costantinopoli perché le loro flottiglie avevano percorso prima dei fiumi navigabili (ποταμοὶ ναυσιπόροι) e poi tratti di mare privi di porti (ἀλίμενα πελάγη).[34] Sembrano indicazioni contemporanee

32 Photius, *Epist.* IV, 35 (ed. Valetta, 178).

33 Theoph. Cont., *Vita Michaelis*, 33 (ed. Bekker, 196): «ἔθνος δὲ οὗτοι Σκυθικόν»; Georgius Cedrenus, *Historiarum compendium*, ab I. Bekkero emendatum (Bonnae II, 1839, 173): «ἔθνος δὲ οἱ Ῥῶς Σκυθικόν»; Nicetae Paphlagonis, *Vita Ignatii* (PG 105, 516D): «τῶν Σκυθῶν ἔθνος, οἱ λεγόμενοι Ῥῶς»; Const. Porphyr., *De admin. imp.*, 13 (ed. Moravcsik, 66), li considera uno dei tanti popoli stanziati al nord: «εἴτε Χάζαροι, εἴτε Τοῦρκοι, εἴτε καὶ Ῥῶς ἢ ἕτερόν τι ἔθνος τῶν Βορείων καὶ Σκυθικῶν», detti settentrionali o scitici, con i quali l'imperatore può essere costretto a trattare; idem, *De admin. imp.*, 8 (ed. Moravcsik, 56): «εἴτε εἰς τοὺς Ῥῶς, εἴτε εἰς τοὺς Βουλγάρους, εἴτε καὶ εἰς τοὺς Τούρκους». Photius; *Hom.* III, 2–3 (ed. Laourdas, 34; ed. Mango, 89). Correggendo la tesi di Ševčenko, secondo cui Fozio ricorrendo al termine «Sciti» avrebbe voluto indicare la presenza di Slavi nella scorreria dell'860, Mango (*Homilies of Photius*, 89, n. 43) non nega questa presenza, ma giustamente sottolinea il valore piu' generale e generico che il vocabolo conservava nel greco bizantino.

34 Photius, *Hom.* III, 2–3 (ed. Laourdas, 34; ed. Mango, 88–89): «ὅτι βαρβάρων ἄπυστος δρόμος οὐκ ἔδωκε τῇ φήμῃ καιρὸν ἀγγελίας, ὡς ἄν τις ἀσφάλεια περινοηθείη, ἀλλὰ σύνδρομον ἔσχεν ἡ θέα τὴν ἀκοὴν καὶ τότε πόθεν καὶ χώραις πόσαις, ἐθναρχίαις τε καὶ ποταμοῖς ναυσιπόροις καὶ ἀλιμένοις πελάγεσι τῶν ἐπελασάντων διειργομένων»: «that the unbelievable course of the barbarians did not give rumour time to announce it, so that some

abbastanza significative per identificare in Kiev, come faranno le più antiche fonti russe, la città «dei Rhos» per la cui localizzazione gli studiosi non hanno cessato di discutere sulla scorta di indizi, intuizioni e deduzioni senza numero. Si trattava di un emporio, già allora antico, sorto sul fiume Dnieper; i Khazari lo chiamavano Sambatàs, i Normanni Kœnugarðr, i Greci Κίοβα, Κίαβος o Κιοάβα, gli Arabi Kūyāba.[35] Qui dunque si deve essere recata la delegazione bizantina, che comprendeva nelle sue file il vescovo e pastore inviato ai Rhos da Fozio e da Michele III.

Un racconto di questa prima fase della cristianizzazione dei Rhos, che si incontra nella vita di Basilio I nella continuazione di Teofane ha creato non poche discussioni per le molte analogie ed alcune discrepanze, che vi si possono riscontrare confrontandolo con le notizie ricavate da Fozio. Ancora una volta il popolo che accetta la religione cristiana è quello bellicoso ed ateo dei Rhos, con il suo principe e i suoi Anziani, ma l'Imperatore che ottenne questo risultato lusinghiero per la civiltà e la pace non è Michele III, ma Basilio I che quest'ultimo aveva fatto eliminare nella notte tra il 23 e il 24 settembre 867; il patriarca non è più Fozio, confinato in un monastero e deposto, ma Ignazio, ed il prelato missionario non è un vescovo, ma un arcivescovo. Partendo sovente dalla presunzione che si trattasse di una sola ed unica missione, furono avanzate numerose ipotesi per spiegare le palesi incongruenze tra le due fonti.

Anche in questo caso un'attenzione più specifica alla vita politica e religiosa di Bisanzio poteva chiarire e semplificare i termini della questione. Basilio I, nell'autunno dell'867, era subentrato a Michele III nella guida dell'Impero. Poco dopo Ignazio si era vista restituita la sede patriarcale, da cui Fozio era stato rimosso. Ma le fonti permettono di stabilire con certezza che se il nuovo Imperatore e il reintegrato patriarca mutarono radicalmente la politica di scontro frontale con Roma e con l'Occidente franco, accusati di eresia in modo globale, essi non abbandonarono affatto la politica di

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means of safety could be devised, but the right accompanied the report, and that despite the distance, and the fact that the invaders were sundered off *from us* by so many lands and kingdoms, by navigable rivers and harbourless seas». Cfr. Const. Porphyr., *De admin. imp.*, 42 (ed. Moravcsik, 184): «Εἰς δὲ τὰ ὑψηλότερα τοῦ Δανάπρεως ποταμοῦ μέρη κατοικοῦσιν οἱ Ῥῶς, δι' οὗ ποταμοῦ ἀποπλέοντες πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ποιοῦνται τὴν ἄφιξιν». Nello stesso senso, benchè piu' tardiva e generica, depone la testimonianza occidentale dell'evento, di verosimile tradizione costantinopolitana anche se riferita da Giovanni Diacono di Venezia: «Eo tempore Normanorum gentes cum trecentis sexaginta navibus Constantinopolitanam urbem adire ausi sunt. Verum quia nulla racione inexpugnabilem ledere valebant urbem, suburbanum fortiter patrantes bellum quam plurimos ibi occidere non pepercerunt, et sic praedicta gens cum triumpho ad propriam regressa est»: Iohannis Diaconi, *Chronicum Venetum et Gradense* (MGH *SS* VII, 18).

35 Vlasto, *Entry of the Slavs*, 392, n. 35; 389, n. 10; Const. Porphyr., *De admin. imp.*, 9 (ed. Moravcsik, 56, 58 e 62; vol. II, *Commentary*, 32–33).

alleanza e di conversione al cristianesimo iniziata con successo dai rispettivi predecessori nei confronti dei popoli bulgaro e russo.

Poco dopo l'incursione dei Rhos, Michele III, in accordo con Fozio, aveva stabilito dei contatti con gli aggressori, rientrati nelle lontane sedi di partenza, tanto che una loro delegazione era tornata a Costantinopoli chiedendo di avere parte al battesimo che legava fra loro i cristiani. L'enciclica di Fozio ai patriarchi orientali non permette di mettere in dubbio la fondatezza di questi fatti e della loro collocazione cronologica. Ancor meno autorizza a sospettare di imprecisione il titolo ed il ruolo che in essa è indicato per i protagonisti ecclesiastici.

Ma Basilio I non interruppe l'azione di conversione dei popoli pagani avviata dall'autocrate precedente, del quale, dal 26 maggio 866, era coimperatore. Su questo punto i suoi biografi sono concordi ed espliciti.[36] A lui si attribuisce la conclusione di un trattato di pace con i Rhos, ottenuto dopo la concessione di consistenti aiuti economici;[37] l'accettazione del battesimo e dello statuto di popolo «ὑπήκοος καὶ πρόξενος» dell'Impero era, come di consueto, la condizione pregiudiziale per stipulare l'alleanza. Analoghi risultati, almeno per la loro fase iniziale, erano stati conseguiti già negli ultimi tempi dell'Impero di Michele III e del pontificato di Fozio.[38] Tuttavia

36 L'attività missionaria, compreso il tentativo di obbligare alla conversione gli Ebrei dell'Impero, gli viene attribuita come una scelta e decisione autonoma; cfr. Theoph. Cont., *Vita Basilii*, 95–96 (ed. Bekker, 341–342; ed. Ševčenko, 324–325); Const. Porphyr., *De admin. imp.*, 29 (ed. Moravcsik, 124–125): «πλείονες τῶν τοιούτων Σκλάβων οὐδὲ ἐβαπτίζοντο, ἀλλὰ μέχρι πολλοῦ ἔμενον ἀβάπτιστοι. Ἐπὶ δὲ Βασιλείου, τοῦ φιλοχρίστου Βασιλέως, ἀπέστειλαν ἀποκρισαρίους, ἐξαιτούμενοι καὶ παρακαλοῦντες αὐτὸν τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀβαπτίστους βαπτισθῆναι καὶ εἶναι, ὡς τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ὑποτεταγμένους τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ὧντινων εἰσακούσας ὁ μακάριος ἐκεῖνος. . .βασιλεὺς ἐξαπέστειλεν βασιλικὸν μετὰ καὶ ἱερέων, καὶ ἐβάπτισεν αὐτοὺς πάντας τοὺς τῶν προρρηθέντων ἐθνῶν ἀβαπτίστους τυγχάνοντας».

37 Theoph. Contin., *Vita Basilii*, 97 (ed. Bekker, II, 342–343; ed. Ševčenko, 330): «Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τῶν Ῥῶς ἔθνος δυσμαχώτατόν τε καὶ ἀθεώτατον, ὃν χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ σηρικῶν περιβλημάτων ἱκαναῖς ἐπιδόσεσιν εἰς συμβάσεις ἐφελκυ(σά)μενος καὶ σπονδὰς πρὸς αὐτοὺς σπεισάμενος εἰρηνικάς, ἐν μετοχῇ γενέσθαι καὶ τοῦ σωτηριώδους βαπτίσματος ἔπεισεν καὶ ἀρχιεπίσκοπον παρὰ τοῦ πατριάρχου Ἰγνατίου τὴν χειροτονίαν δεξάμενον δέξασθαι παρεσκεύασεν».

38 Anche Theoph. Contin., *Vita Michaelis*, 33 (ed. Bekker, 196) racconta il fatto anche se lo abbellisce con il *topos* agiografico del vangelo rimasto miracolosamente incombusto fra le fiamme, vincendo così le ultime resistenze alla conversione, e lascia che rimangano piuttosto approssimative le indicazioni cronologiche circa il battesimo dei Rhos: «καὶ μετ'οὐ πολὺ (i.e., dall'attacco a Costantinopoli fronteggiato soprattutto da Fozio qui non nominato) πάλιν τὴν βασιλεύουσαν πρεσβεία αὐτῶν κατελάμβανεν, τοῦ θείου βαπτίσματος ἐν μετοχῇ γενέσθαι αὐτοὺς λιτανεύουσα, ὃ καὶ γέγονε». Il breve paragrafo non lascia minimamente sospettare che dei principi slavi come Rostislav, Svjatopolk e Kocel avevano richiesto a Michele III prima dell'863 una missione di acculturazione religiosa per i propri sudditi slavi; che nell'864 il medesimo imperatore era stato richiesto non solo di favorire il battesimo dei Bulgari ma di fare da padrino, dandogli il proprio nome cristiano, al khagan Boris; che una missione imperiale,

è comprensibile che la storiografia ufficiale preferisca insistere sul fatto che essi furono raggiunti per volontà di Basilio I e del patriarca Ignazio.[39]

La precisazione che il prelato accolto dai Rhos nella loro capitale era un arcivescovo consacrato da Ignazio (invece di un semplice vescovo di obbedienza foziana, come era stato evidentemente chi lo aveva preceduto nella stessa missione), non nega né esclude gli avvenimenti precedenti, anche se li lascia supporre soltanto il modo indiretto e reticente. L'alternarsi nella sede costantinopolitana dei due patriarchi rivali veniva in ogni caso motivata da sentenze canoniche, che, di volta in volta, portavano a dichiarare illegittime le consacrazioni episcopali di quella parte della gerarchia, che rimaneva legata alla comunione e all'obbedienza del patriarca deposto. In queste occasioni molte diocesi avevano conosciuto destituzioni e sostituzioni di vescovi ordinati durante il regime ecclesiastico precedente.

L'arcivescovo ignaziano, giunto presso i Rhos, si trovò di fronte ad un popolo ancora incline ad abbracciare ufficialmente il cristianesimo, ma *infiammato in modo meno unanime dal desiderio e dallo zelo per la fede di* quanto Fozio, con qualche retorico ottimismo, aveva annunciato qualche tempo prima all'intero mondo cristiano. Nel descrivere gli inizi della sua missione con un certo numero di particolari concreti, il cronista ricorda come il prelato dovesse constatare il sussistere di resistenze dichiarate alla generalizzazione dei battesimi, ed operasse per superarle.[40]

Il fenomeno di un'opposizione conservatrice all'adozione collettiva del cristianesimo, o perfino di un temporaneo rigetto della nuova religione già abbracciata, da parte di tutto un popolo o di una sua autorevole minoranza, trova un precedente famoso nella politica di Giuliano l'Apostata, ma esso è riscontrabile presso molti dei gruppi etnici dell'Europa orientale che fino al IX secolo accettarono di entrare nella sfera di influenza egemonica di Bisanzio, accettandone come fondamento ideale la religione universale cri-

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con dei sacerdoti battezzatori, era partita subito dopo alla volta dei Serbi.

La vera cronologia, che riconosce chiaramente a Michele III e a Fozio, prima che a Basilio I e ad Ignazio, il ruolo da essi avuto nel processo di cristianizzazione dei Rhos, e ne distingue in tale modo due fasi risalenti ai due regimi, si puo' ritrovare nei Πάτρια del Monte Athos, contenuti in un codice del XII secolo del monastero Παντελεήμονος ed editi da S. Lambros, Ἀνάμνησις μερικὴ περὶ τοῦ Ἄθω ὄρους, Τὰ λεγομένα πάτρια, «Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων» 9 (1912): 133. Vi si precisa che la Chiesa della Rus', rispetto ad altre Chiese, ebbe un arcivescovo direttamente dipendente dal patriarca di Costantinopoli solo in un secondo tempo e cioè «quando anche i Bulgari, che abitano presso il Danubio, i Moravi e gli Slavi dell'Illiria erano già illuminati mediante il santo battesimo intorno alla metà del IX secolo, sotto l'autocrate Michele e l'insigne patriarca Fozio».

39 Theoph. Contin., *Vita Basilii*, 97 (ed. Bekker, 342–344; ed. Ševčenko, 330–334).

40 Theoph. Contin., *Vita Basilii*, 97 (ed. Bekker, 342–344; ed. Ševčenko, 330).

stiana. Alla base di tale opposizione si trova la comprensibile difficoltà sociale ad abbandonare le credenze della religione ancestrale e a rinunciare ai valori spirituali ed etici tradizionali in favore di quelli cristiani.

La tribù isolata degli Arentani (o Narentani)—così almeno ritiene Costantino Porfirogenito—aveva ricevuto in latino e in greco un secondo nome, quello di Pagani, proprio per il suo irreducibile rifiuto del battesimo, che datava dai tempi dell'Imperatore Eraclio. «Καὶ γὰρ Παγανοὶ κατὰ τὴν τῶν Σκλάβων γλῶτταν ἀβάπτιστοι ἑρμηνεύεται».[41] Non solo tra i Serbi, ma anche tra i Croati rimasero delle tribù che rifiutarono a lungo, fino al tempo di Basilio I, il battesimo, accolto invece da altre già durante il pontificato di papa Giovanni IV (640–642) e di papa Agatone (678–681). Ma anche dopo l'accettazione ufficiale del cristianesimo, imposta ai Croati da Borna (810–821), si disegnò tra i maggiorenti e gli strati popolari una resistenza contro questo cambiamento.[42] Boris-Michele di Bulgaria dovette domare a più riprese l'opposizione anticristiana, a cominciare da quella dei suoi boiari, che osteggiavano un abbandono della religione dei padri.[43]

I Rhos non fecero eccezione. In un'assemblea popolare, in cui il *khagan* sedeva tra gli Anziani, gli esponenti della tendenza conservatrice convocarono l'arcivescovo inviato da Bisanzio. Essi mettevano in discussione gli argomenti da lui sostenuti in favore della conversione al cristianesimo—come i monoteisti, i musulmani e gli ebrei avevano fatto con Costantino Filosofo alla corte del *khagan* dei Khazari, e i dotti arabi alla corte ommayade e si confrontavano «περί τε τῆς οἰκείας καὶ τῶν Χριστιανῶν πίστεως». Nonostante le buone ragioni, anche politiche, che suggerivano la convenienza del cambiamento, restava difficile abbandonare le convinzioni religiose che costituivano le radici culturali tradizionali per l'etnia. Se non altro per la lunga consuetudine (μακρὰ συνήθεια), non poteva presentarsi come una decisione indolore condannare le credenze dei padri quali superstizioni superate (δεισιδαιμονία), per sostituirle con la nuova concezione cristiana della vita e le sue esigenze di culto e di comportamento (θρησκεία). Il prodigioso e provvidenziale segno di un codice del vangelo, che rimase incombusto fra le fiamme, più che le parole e gli argomenti

41 Const. Porphyr., *De admin. imp.*, 29 (ed. Moravcsik, 126): cfr. anche, 36 (ed. Moravcsik, 164): «Παγανοὶ δὲ καλοῦνται διὰ τὸ μὴ καταδέξασθαι αὐτοὺς τῷ τότε καιρῷ βαπτισθῆναι, ὅτε καὶ πάντες οἱ Σέρβλοι ἐβαπτίσθησαν. Καὶ γὰρ Παγανοὶ τῇ τῶν Σκλάβων διάλεκτῳ 'ἀβάπτιστοι' ἑρμηνεύονται».

42 Peri, «Spalato e la sua Chiesa», 300–304.

43 Cfr. Vlasto, *Entry of the Slavs*, 156–160; L. Waldmüller, *Die ersten Begegnungen der Slawen mit dem Christentum und den christlichen Völkern vom VI. bis VIII. Jahrhundert: Die Slawen zwischen Byzanz und Abendland* (= Enzyklopädie der Byzantinistik, 51) (Amsterdam, 1976).

dell'arcivescovo davanti all'assemblea avrebbe finalmente avuto ragione delle ultime riserve: sicché «senza esitazione cominciarono ad essere battezzati».[44]

Il cristianesimo era così entrato per la prima volta tra i Rhos di Kiev. Il Battesimo ufficiale della Rus', almeno come data storicamente determinante, fu rimandato dall'867/8 al 988, anche se il governo russo pensò di festeggiare già nel 1888 il millenario dell'introduzione a Kiev della fede cristiana.[45] La lenta formazione di un popolo e la graduale sostituzione nelle coscienze e nelle istituzioni, individuali e collettive, delle primitive credenze con una nuova religione comune richiede tempo e libertà spirituale. L'impatto culturale nuovo ed originale che tale trasformazione provoca, si configura inevitabilmente come un processo, né lineare né automatico. In questo senso, concreto e storico, si può affermare che il Battesimo della Rus', di cui la nostra generazione festeggia il primo millennio, non può ancor oggi considerarsi un avvenimento concluso.

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

[44] Theoph. Contin., *Vita Basilii*, 97 (ed. Bekker, 344; ed. Ševčenko, 334).

[45] «It so happened that in 1888 the Russian Government decided to celebrate the 1000th year of the introduction of the Christian Faith into Russia, at Kieff»: *Life and Letters of W. J. Birkbek, M.A., F.S.A.*, by His Wife, with a preface by Viscount Halifax (New York–Toronto–Bombay–Calcutta–Madras, 1922), II, 20. La notizia contenuta nella corrispondenza dell'ambasciatore inglese a Mosca, gentilmente segnalataci dal prof. A. Tamborra, meriterebbe forse di essere approfondita, se non altro per sapere come i promotori della celebrazione millennaria già in quest'anno motivassero la propria iniziativa: ma tale ricerca non ci è stata possibile ed esula dal tema che ci siamo prescelto.

Three Byzantine Provinces and the First Byzantine Contacts with the Rus'

WARREN TREADGOLD

In the ninth century the nearest place to Rus' with good records was Byzantium. Nonetheless, Byzantium and Rus' were not very close to each other. To make matters worse, the Byzantines who wrote our surviving sources for the ninth century were primarily interested in events at Constantinople, only secondarily in events in the provinces, and only slightly in what happened outside the empire. Consequently, Byzantine sources say little about the Rus', just as they say little about the Khazars or the Magyars, who were settled in territories closer to the Byzantine capital and had been there a good deal longer than the Rus' had been in their land. Under such circumstances, a scarcity of Byzantine references to the Rus', or even a total absence of such references, proves absolutely nothing. An argument from silence cannot even prove that the Rus' were not in contact with Byzantium.[1]

Here I cannot adduce any direct evidence for Byzantine contact with the Rus' that is not already known to specialists on the subject. My new evidence is indirect. In my opinion, it indicates that three Byzantine military provinces were created in the early ninth century primarily to bolster defenses against the Rus'. Although no source explicitly states the reason for the creation of these provinces, they were plainly directed against some enemy or enemies; and in all three cases much the most likely candidates to be those enemies are the Rus'. The provinces' creation therefore lends support to, and suggests a date for, an otherwise uncorroborated and undatable reference to Rus' raids of Byzantine territory—that in the *Life of George of Amastris*.

So indifferent were the Byzantines to foreigners that the earliest certain appearance of the Rus' at Constantinople passed entirely unrecorded in any Byzantine source. This is the embassy of 839, known only from a Western compilation, the *Annales Bertiniani*. According to a passage from this work, cited by modern scholars many times, on 15 June 839 the Frankish

[1] The present article has grown out of my recent book, *The Byzantine Revival: 780–842* (Stanford, 1988), which includes a full discussion of the Byzantine history of the period.

emperor Louis the Pious received a Byzantine embassy at Ingelheim that included some Rus' ambassadors. These had been sent to Constantinople by their ruler, who used the title of khagan, for the purpose of establishing friendly relations with the Byzantines. When they were ready to return home, however, they had been unwilling to travel by the same route they had come because it was controlled by tribes who were hostile to them. Therefore, the Byzantine emperor Theophilus had sent them to the Frankish emperor with a request that he help them to return to their homeland by another route. Louis questioned these Rus' and discovered that they were Scandinavians. Since the Frankish Empire had recently been suffering from Scandinavian raids, Louis was by no means well disposed toward the unfortunate Rus' ambassadors, whom he appears to have detained indefinitely, concealing his action from Theophilus.[2]

Some implications of this report are both reasonably clear and plausible. By 839, the Rus' had a state, presumably somewhere along the central Dnieper, with at least a modicum of political organization and a monarch. Their relations with the peoples who occupied the territory between them and Byzantium, evidently the Khazars and Magyars, were hostile, presumably as a result of earlier conflict. Consequently, they found communication with Byzantium difficult, though not impossible. The ambassadors had originally come to Constantinople through the enemy-held territories, probably by staying out of their enemies' way on the sparsely populated steppe, and they seem to have known well enough how to reach the Byzantine capital. Their ruler was aware of the importance of Byzantium and wished to be on good terms with the Byzantines. For his part, the emperor Theophilus did not rebuff the Rus' ruler's overtures and took some trouble to help the ambassadors return home. They would have left Constantinople, along with the Byzantine ambassadors to the Frankish court, roughly in April of 839.

Other points are much less clear from the account of the *Annales Bertiniani*. The annals seem to indicate that the Rus' occupation of the central area along the Dnieper was of at least a few years' duration, but they do not exclude the possibility that it had gone on considerably longer. When and how the Rus' had become enemies of the Magyars and Khazars, and when and how the Rus' had previously come into contact with the Byzantines, the annals give us no means of conjecturing. Nor is it certain precisely what the Rus' wanted from the Byzantines—but some sort of cooperation against the Magyars or Khazars is a reasonable guess, because while the Rus' and the Byzantines were cut off from each other friendship was of little use to

2 *Annales de Saint-Bertin*, ed. F. Grat et al. (Paris, 1964), pp. 30–31.

either side. Nor is it plain whether Theophilus granted the Rus' anything beyond ordinary diplomatic courtesy.

None of these points can be clarified further through using direct evidence, because no such evidence is known. But it is probably not a coincidence that later in the same year, 839, the Byzantines created a new military province in the part of their territory that lay closest to the Rus', the Magyars, and the Khazars: that is, the Crimea. The new province, known as the Climata (meaning "the districts"), had the status of a theme, and therefore included a permanent garrison of some size, in this case apparently of 2,000 men. The Theme of the Climata replaced a less important province with the status of an archontate, which would have had no regular troops apart from a small bodyguard for its archon. Creating the Theme of the Climata was therefore a military measure, and in fact our sources state that Theophilus created it so as to avoid losing control over the Crimea.[3]

Since until recently it was believed that the Theme of the Climata was created not in 839 but in 833, it will be useful to recapitulate the evidence for the date. The Byzantine chronicle known as Theophanes Continuatus puts the foundation of the Theme of the Climata in the year following two events: namely, the consecration of John the Grammarian as patriarch of Constantinople and the relegation to a monastery of a certain Martinaces on suspicion of aspiring to the throne. Theophanes Continuatus dates John the Grammarian's consecration to Sunday, April 21; unfortunately, the chronicle omits the year, because bothering with specific years did not suit the most fastidious Byzantines' idea of the elevated style appropriate to historiography.[4]

April 21 fell on a Sunday twice in the reign of Theophilus, in 832 and 838. A. A. Vasiliev, followed by most specialists in Russian, Ukrainian, and Belorussian history, expressed a preference for 832 as the date of John's consecration. But fifty years ago Venance Grumel pointed out that John cannot have been consecrated as early as 832, because a letter addressed to his predecessor, Anthony Cassimates, by the patriarchs of Syria and Egypt bears the date of April 836. It follows that John was consecrated in April of 838. Although Grumel argued that the correct date for the consecration was January 837, emending "April" to "January," his emendation is highly implausible, and Grumel resorted to it only because he relied on two sources that have since been shown to be chronologically worthless. The date of April 838 for John's consecration is supported by

[3] See the sources cited in fn. 6 below.

[4] Theophanes Continuatus, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1838), pp. 121–24.

the chronicle of Symeon the Logothete, a reliable source that puts it between the summer of 837 and July of 838. Further, the punishment of Martinaces for aspiring to the throne, which followed soon after John's consecration, was evidently connected with a plan to proclaim a new emperor in late July of 838, when Theophilus was rumored to have died in battle.[5]

Therefore when Theophanes Continuatus refers to the year following John's consecration and Martinaces' punishment, the year must be 839, shortly after the embassy of the Rus'. In that year, Theophanes Continuatus records, the Khazars sent their own ambassadors to Theophilus, requesting Byzantine help in fortifying their base of Sarkel on the River Don. Theophilus granted their request and sent an expedition that fortified Sarkel. When the head of this expedition returned to Constantinople, he informed Theophilus that the Byzantine possessions in the Crimea were in danger, evidently from the same people against whom Sarkel had been fortified. Theophilus responded by founding the Theme of the Climata there. This story is also told, without a specific date but in nearly the same words, in the *De Administrando Imperio* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus. The date of 839 gains further support from the fact that late in that year Theophilus is known to have founded five new military provinces, among which the Climata is evidently to be included.[6]

What enemy provoked the fortifying of Sarkel and the creation of the Theme of the Climata? It was a foe of both the Byzantines and the Khazars who threatened the lower Don valley. The only plausible candidates are the Magyars and the Rus'. Yet the Magyars had been living near both the Khazars and the Byzantines for more than a century, apparently on mostly amicable terms. And the evidence of the *Annales Bertiniani* indicates that at this time both Magyars and Khazars were hostile to the Rus'; if only one of the two had been hostile, a route through the other's territory would have been a much more convenient way for the Rus' ambassadors to return than a route through Ingelheim. Surely the most likely interpretation is that in 839 the Rus' were trying to sail down the Don to the Black Sea, while the Khazars were trying to prevent them. Both the Rus' and the Khazars sent embassies to Constantinople to try to win the support of the Byzantines;

5 See W. Treadgold, "The Chronological Accuracy of the *Chronicle* of Symeon the Logothete for the Years 813–845," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 33 (1979): 178–79, supplemented by Treadgold, *Byzantine Revival*, pp. 297 and 301. The earlier discussions are in A. A. Vasiliev et al., *Byzance et les Arabes* (Brussels), 1 (1935): 428–29, and V. Grumel, "Chronologie des patriarches iconoclastes du IX^{e} siècle," *Échos d'Orient* 34 (1935): 162–66.

6 Theophanes Continuatus, pp. 122–24; Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, ed. Gy. Moravcsik (revised ed.; Washington, 1967), ch. 42, pp. 182–84. On the creation of the new military provinces, see Treadgold, *Byzantine Revival*, pp. 313–17.

Theophilus chose to help the Khazars against the Rus' by fortifying Sarkel. By siding with the Khazars, Theophilus risked Rus' reprisals against the Byzantine Crimea.

By itself, this reconstruction might seem to imply that the Rus' had not previously made their way to the Black Sea in force; but this was not necessarily the case. After all, the Rus' had already made enemies of the Khazars and Magyars, probably by open warfare, and had evidently learned the way to Constantinople. Although the Rus' made friendly overtures to Theophilus, the emperor soon sided with their enemies, quite possibly because the Byzantine had previously had unfortunate experiences with the Rus'. Such experiences are in fact recorded in the *Life of St. George of Amastris*, although this *Life* shares with most elegant Byzantine authors a dislike of exact dates.

The *Life* records that after St. George was buried at Amastris, a city on the coast of Paphlagonia of which he had been bishop:

> There was an attack of the barbarians, the Rus', a tribe that as everyone knows is very savage and cruel and endowed with no shred of humanity—beastly in manners, inhuman in deeds, showing its bloodthirstiness in its very aspect, delighting in nothing else to which men are inclined so much as in murder. This [tribe], maleficent in both fact and reputation, beginning its devastation from the Propontis and spreading itself over the rest of the coast, penetrated even to the homeland of the saint [Amastris], mercilessly smiting every race and every age, neither pitying the old nor sparing the infants; but, arming its murderous hand against all alike, it hastened to compass destruction as much as it could. There were ruined churches, defiled sanctuaries, overthrown altars, violent libations and sacrifices, the ancient Tauric practice of killing strangers now renewed by these, and the slaughter of male and female virgins. No one was lending aid, no one resisting.

That is, no one resisted but the deceased St. George. When some Rus' tried to break open his tomb, the saint froze them into an immobility from which they were released only when the other Rus' freed their prisoners. The chastened raiders then departed.[7]

I agree with Vasiliev that in this passage the "Propontis" from which the Rus' began is not the Sea of Marmara, but that other sea leading into the Pontus, the Sea of Azov. This seems to follow not only from the logic of geography, but from the author's allusion to the ancient Tauri, which implies that the raiders had come from the region of the Tauric Chersones. This is, then, an account of a Rus' raid beginning at the Sea of Azov, turning southeast along the coast of Georgia, then extending west along the

[7] *Life of St. George of Amastris*, ed. V. G. Vasil'evskij, *Trudy*, vol. 3 (Petrograd, 1915), pp. 64–68.

Black Sea coast of Anatolia from Trebizond to Amastris. Apparently the raid ended at Amastris, though not necessarily in the miraculous fashion described in the *Life*. The author assumes that his readers will know about the Rus' and their murderous reputation. We need not share this assumption, since he also seems to assume, certainly wrongly, that his readers will recognize his allusion to Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris*. It is nevertheless reasonable to suppose that the author was not the only Byzantine who had heard of the Rus' by the time the *Life of George of Amastris* was written.[8]

But who was the author, when did he write, and when was the Rus' raid? The single manuscript that preserves the *Life of George of Amastris* does not include the author's name. The *Life* has long been attributed, however, to Ignatius the Deacon, the author of three other saints' lives of the period that show striking stylistic similarities with the *Life of George of Amastris*. The case has recently been clinched by Ihor Ševčenko, who has shown that the *Life of George* includes borrowings from Gregory of Nazianzus's *Eulogy of St. Basil* that are closely paralleled in the other lives by Ignatius; indeed, in the borrowed passages the correspondence between the *Life of George* and the other lives by Ignatius is closer than that between the *Life of George* and Gregory's eulogy. Therefore the author of the *Life of George* not only used the same source as Ignatius, but used it in the same way.

In fact, the attribution of the *Life of George* to Ignatius is almost inescapable for anyone who reads much of the hagiography of the ninth century. This *Life*, like those certainly by Ignatius but unlike the others of the period, is a rhetorical exercise far more than it is a hagiographical work, rich in learned allusions and remarkably poor in details about the saint. One example is the *Life*'s apt reference to *Iphigenia in Tauris*, alluding to the facts that the Rus' had come from the Crimea, killed foreigners, and performed pagan sacrifices, then recalling the sacrifice of Iphigenia by mentioning the sacrifice of virgins immediately afterward. This is what we would expect of Ignatius, who wrote a dramatic poem on Adam and Eve that is full of borrowings from Greek tragedy, but it would not be at all typical of other ninth-century writers.

Ševčenko has dated the *Life of George of Amastris* to the second period of Iconoclasm, and therefore between 815 and 842. He has shown that the *Life* contains some clear iconoclast sentiments, and concluded that it was written while Ignatius was collaborating with the iconoclasts, as he is known to have done at this time. Since Ignatius was born around 770 and was still alive in 845, he could have written at any time between 815 and

[8] For the identification of the Propontis, see A. A. Vasiliev, *The Goths in the Crimea* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), p. 111, no. 5.

842. Otherwise the only evidence for the date of the *Life of George* is the last event to which it refers, which as it happens is the Rus' raid. Although some scholars have argued that the account of the raid is a later addition because the Rus' are not attested this far south this early, that argument is circular. Ševčenko has assembled convincing parallels to show that the passage is entirely typical of the rest of the *Life*, while a recent attempt to show that the passage is in the style of Photius relies on parallels so feeble that they merely demonstrate the cogency of Ševčenko's case.[9]

This Rus' raid obviously occurred after the death and burial of George of Amastris—but when was that? Ignatius, as I have already observed, avoids giving dates. The *Life*'s last datable event before George's death is the accession of the emperor Nicephorus I, in November of 802. St. George seems to have died not very long after this date, on a February 8. Ignatius says that after George's death the "emperors," in the plural, came to pay their respects to his corpse. Since the *Life* mentions no emperor later than Nicephorus I, who according to the *Life* had taken George as his spiritual adviser, it is reasonable to think that the emperors who visited Amastris on this occasion were Nicephorus I and his son Stauracius. Stauracius had been crowned emperor at the end of 803.

Since Amastris is not very far from Constantinople and is not on a land route to anywhere else of importance, to try to identify this visit with one of the known campaigns of Nicephorus in Asia Minor seems futile. Though the attempt has been made for a campaign in 806, this occurred in the summer, too long after February to be very convincing. Quite possibly, as the *Life* implies, the emperors visited Amastris on a short trip, made only to honor the saint, which passed unrecorded elsewhere. We can conclude merely that George died not before February of 804, the first year when

[9] Ihor Ševčenko, "Hagiography of the Iconoclast Period," in *Iconoclasm*, ed. A. Bryer and J. Herrin (Birmingham, 1977), pp. 120–25, reprinted in Ševčenko, *Ideology, Letters, and Culture in the Byzantine World* (London, 1982). For the attempt to show that the passage in the *Life of George* is in Photius's style, see A. Markopoulos, "La vie de Saint Georges d'Amastris et Photius," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 28 (1979): 75–82. But compare the unmistakable parallels cited by Ševčenko, "Hagiography," pp. 130–31, with the slight similarities cited by Markopoulos in his table. The table merely shows that Ignatius and Photius both wrote in a highly rhetorical style—and that Photius wrote so much on so many subjects that one can find passages in his works that vaguely resemble whatever one chooses. For more on Ignatius, see Treadgold, *Byzantine Revival*, pp. 334 and 375–76; especially on Ignatius's knowledge of tragedy see Robert Browning, "Ignace le diacre et la tragédie classique à Byzance," *Revue des Études Grecques* 81 (1968): 401–10.

Stauracius had been crowned, and not after February of 811, the last year of Nicephorus's reign.[10]

In any case, it seems highly probable that George died before 815, so that he escaped involvement in the reintroduction of Iconoclasm, which Ignatius never explicitly mentions. To this one might possibly object that after 842 the *Life of George* could have been purged of explicit references to Iconoclasm. But if George had been known as an iconoclast, Ignatius could scarcely have hoped to succeed in whitewashing him while memories were still fresh. On the other hand, if Ignatius had left the *Life* in a form that showed George had been an iconoclast, no later editor would have had an interest in concealing the fact. Of course, if George had defended the icons, Ignatius could not credibly have chosen him as the subject of an iconoclast saint's life. The only remaining possibility appears to be that George died before Iconoclasm became an issue again, and so before 815.

Therefore, to judge from the *Life of George*, the Rus' raid should have taken place some time after 804 and before 842. Although usually an argument from silence is not of much use for such matters, this raid should have come close enough to Constantinople to excite anxiety there, and if we had a good chronicle for the time it would probably have mentioned it. Until 813 we have the detailed and contemporary chronicle of Theophanes Confessor, and as late as 816 we have the equally detailed chronicle of the so-called Scriptor Incertus, who is probably to be identified with a contemporary, Sergius Confessor. After 829 we have the detailed chronicle of Symeon the Logothete, which is based on a contemporary source. Between 816 and 829, however, we lack good chronicles, though we do have a certain amount of imperfectly preserved historical material in the late chronicles of Genesius and Theophanes Continuatus. The years between 816 and 829, where detailed contemporary sources fail, would therefore seem the most probable period into which to fit the Rus' raid.[11]

At this point let us recall that according to the *Life of George* the raiders met with no organized military resistance whatever. If true, this might at first glance seem rather strange. The Byzantines had many thousands of troops stationed in Anatolia. These should have been able to organize some defense against this raid, which cannot have been a complete surprise after it had progressed along most of the Byzantines' northern seaboard. Until

10 See *Life of George of Amastris*, pp. 61 (on George's death and the imperial mourners) and 51–56 (on George's previous association with Nicephorus). For the proposed date of 806, see G. da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de Constantinople aux VIII^e, IX^e et X^e siècles," *Byzantion* 34 (1954): 490. On Stauracius's coronation and Nicephorus's campaign in 806, see Treadgold, *Byzantine Revival*, pp. 133–34 and 144–45.

11 For a discussion of these chronicles, see Treadgold, *Byzantine Revival*, pp. 387–90.

the year 819, however, there were only five military provinces in Asia Minor, only two of which included parts of the Black Sea coast. The two on the Black Sea were the Bucellarian and Armeniac themes. Both of these had their headquarters well inland, at Ancyra and Amasia, and their troops had never fought a seagoing enemy, being almost entirely occupied with defense against the land raids of the Arabs. Neither theme seems to have had any ships assigned to it or any officers in charge of naval defense.

This military system would have rendered the Anatolian army nearly useless against a naval raid, because the armies of Byzantine themes functioned only when they were mustered on orders from headquarters. Byzantine thematic soldiers were normally settled all over the countryside, supporting themselves from land grants that they held in return for their military service. When they were needed, their commander sent messengers all over the theme to summon them to staging areas. Only after the troops were thus mustered could they be led into battle. Without commanders specifically in charge of naval defense, the soldiers of Anatolia could probably not have been called up before a naval raid was over; even if they were called up, without ships they would have moved more slowly than seagoing raiders and could not have pursued them. As long as the Rus' moved fairly quickly, they could have raided by sea virtually unopposed as long as this system prevailed.[12]

We know that it prevailed until 819 because a letter of St. Theodore the Studite mentions that in late May or early June of that year, all five themes of Anatolia were under the command of a single military governor—a monostrategus, as he was called. A comparison with another source shows that this monostrategus was probably Manuel the Armenian, one of the leading generals of the time. Thus up to 819 Anatolia was divided into just five themes, which were doubtless the same five themes that had been known for the previous seventy years or so.[13]

Within two years, however, we know that there were two more military provinces in Anatolia, the Theme of Paphlagonia and the Ducate of Chaldia. Both had previously been parts of the Armeniac Theme, and included most of that theme's coast on the Black Sea. Paphlagonia took over the western section of the coast, including Amastris. It is first called a theme in the *Life of Theodore the Studite* by Michael the Studite. Michael's reference belongs before Theodore's death in 826, and it is specifically dated to

[12] For a description of the army as it was before 819, see Treadgold, *Byzantine Revival*, pp. 26–36.

[13] Theodore the Studite, *Letters* 2.63, ed. in Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* 99, col. 1284A–B; see also Treadgold, *Byzantine Revival*, p. 222.

"the times of the iconoclast tidal wave," if I may so translate the word τρικυμία, which means both a powerful wave and a disaster. Since the word is too strong to apply to the tolerant Iconoclasm of Michael II, it must rather refer to the iconoclast persecutions under Leo V, which came to an end with Leo's death in December 820. Consequently Paphlagonia must have become a theme at some time between early 819 and late 820.[14]

The Ducate of Chaldia comprised the eastern part of the Armeniac Theme's seaboard and had its headquarters at Trebizond. Chaldia is first called a ducate in a contemporary letter of Michael II, who mentions fighting that took place there in early 821 between his own troops and the forces of Thomas the Slav, a rival claimant to the Byzantine throne. Chaldia must have been made a ducate not only before early 821, but before the end of 820, when Leo V was assassinated. After Leo's assassination his successor Michael had no time to make administrative changes before the civil war with Thomas the Slav broke out.[15]

Given that Paphlagonia and Chaldia were both created between 819 and 820 from the territory of the same theme, it seems highly probable that both were created at the same time, as part of a single reorganization. In fact, it is most likely that Manuel the Armenian was appointed monostrategus of Asia Minor (he was only the second man known to have held such an office) in order to prepare for this reorganization. Existing themes had very seldom been divided before—only twice in the preceding hundred years—and then only for good reasons. The Opsician Theme had been divided soon after it had supported a rebellion that was put down in 743; its division was presumably intended to reduce its power so as to prevent future rebellions. The Theme of Thrace had been divided soon after its commander had been ambushed by the Bulgars in 788; its division was presumably intended to add flexibility to Byzantine defenses so as to prevent future defeats by the Bulgars.[16]

[14] For a demonstration that Paphlagonia and Chaldia had previously belonged to the Armeniac Theme, see Treadgold, "Notes on the Numbers and Organization of the Ninth-Century Byzantine Army," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 21 (1980): 286–87. For the reference to the Theme of Paphlagonia, see Michael of Studius, *Life of Theodore the Studite*, ed. in Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* 99, col. 309C.

[15] Michael II, *Letter to Louis the Pious*, ed. in Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio* 14, cols. 417E–418A.

[16] The only previous monostrategus of all the themes of Anatolia who is attested was Bardanes Turcus, appointed in 802; see Treadgold, *Byzantine Revival*, p. 129. On the division of the Opsician Theme, see J. Haldon, *Byzantine Praetorians: An Administrative, Institutional, and Social Survey of the Opsikion and Tagmata, c. 580–900* (Bonn, 1984), pp. 205–209; on the division of the Theme of Thrace, see Treadgold, *Byzantine Revival*, p. 91–93.

Why would Leo V have separated Paphlagonia and Chaldia from the Armeniac Theme in 819 or 820? Our rather miserable sources do record that about this time Leo was punishing suspected plotters against him; his suspicions appear to have been in some measure justified, since Leo was assassinated soon thereafter as the result of a plot. In the ensuing civil war the remainder of the Armeniac Theme supported Michael II, who had headed the conspiracy that murdered Leo. It may be, therefore, that Leo, suspecting that some in the army of the Armeniac Theme wished him ill, divided up the theme in order to reduce its power if it should rebel. The theme's soldiers did not, however, actually rebel against Leo; the conspiracy that killed him was based in Constantinople.[17]

But even supposing that suspected disloyalty was one of Leo's motives for the division, we should still ask why Leo chose to divide the Armeniac Theme in the way he did. He did not divide it down the middle, as had been done after the Opsician Theme had rebelled. Instead Leo left the Armeniac Theme with four of its six original turmae (as subdivisions of themes were called), and made the other two turmae not one theme, but two independent provinces. And the two turmae that Leo made independent were those on the Black Sea coast. More than this, Leo evidently gave the new provinces a role in naval defense. The title of duke given to the commander of Chaldia was otherwise used only for coastal commands with fleets; and the Theme of Paphlagonia had on its staff a catepan, a naval official. It seems nearly certain, therefore, that Leo intended for these new provinces to defend the Black Sea coast against some seagoing enemy.[18]

Who can this seagoing enemy have been if not the Rus'? Except for the Byzantines, none of the peoples who were established on the shores of the Black Sea were naval powers. The Bulgars, Magyars, and Khazars seem to have had no knowledge of seafaring to speak of, and even if the Abasgians had a few ships they had never presented the least threat to the Byzantines. It is also interesting that Leo V created his new coastal provinces in the very area that was raided by the Rus' in the account in the *Life of George of Amastris*: that is, the coast as far west as Amastris, which is near the western end of the Paphlagonian seaboard. Leo's reorganization for the first time made independent commanders responsible for the two main sections of the Black Sea coast, and evidently endowed the commanders with fleets of at least modest proportions.

[17] On Leo's suspicions of plots, and on the plot that actually overthrew him, see Treadgold, *Byzantine Revival*, pp. 222–25.
[18] See Treadgold, *Byzantine Revival*, p. 223.

It therefore seems likely that Leo's reorganization of the themes of Anatolia was a response to the raid mentioned in the *Life of George*, which had occurred either in early 819 or shortly before. The Byzantine chronicles tell us scarcely anything about the years between 816 and 820—for example, they say nothing about a campaign of Leo against the Arabs in 817, which is known only from a letter of Theodore of Studius and an Armenian chronicle. Therefore the chroniclers' silence means nothing whatever. On the other hand, with the start of the civil war in 821, the chronicles improve considerably and an argument from silence begins to have some value, particularly for a raid as important as the one described in the *Life of George* seems to have been. Furthermore, after the creation of the separate commands of Paphlagonia and Chaldia the lack of organized Byzantine resistance to the raid would be quite puzzling. Although it remains possible that the raid recorded in the *Life of George* came either earlier or later than the raid which provoked the creation of these new provinces about 819, historians, as a rule, should try to avoid postulating two events where one would do better. It would follow that the *Life of George* was probably written after 819.[19]

These conclusions may be briefly recapitulated in chronological order. The first raid of the Rus' on the coast of Byzantine Asia Minor probably occurred in 818 or 819, and is probably that recounted in the *Life of George of Amastris*. It took the Byzantines by surprise and met with no significant resistance. The emperor Leo V took this raid seriously enough to create two new military provinces, Paphlagonia and Chaldia, as defenses against possible future raids. After this, there may well have been some minor Rus' raids, but none that the somewhat better Byzantine sources of the subsequent period saw fit to record. Probably the new provinces performed their defensive functions successfully and soon deterred further raids on the empire, though the Rus' may still have fought the Magyars and Khazars.

Eventually the Khazars largely succeeded in bottling up the Rus' to the north of the Black Sea. In late 838 or early 839, the Rus', who had not raided Byzantine territory recently, presumed to send an embassy to Constantinople professing friendship. This embassy the emperor Theophilus treated with courtesy but probably granted no practical concessions, except for trying to help the ambassadors return home. Later in 839, with Rus' pressure on the Khazars increasing on the Don as the Rus' tried to reach the Black Sea again, the Khazars appealed to Theophilus for aid. After assisting the Khazars in fortifying Sarkel, Theophilus found that his own hold-

[19] On the overlooked campaign against the Arabs of 817, see Treadgold, "The Bulgars' Treaty with the Byzantines in 816," *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Slavi* 4 (1986): 219–20.

ings in the Crimea needed additional defense in case the Rus' should break through and attack them. At the end of 839 Theophilus therefore founded the Theme of the Climata to defend the Byzantine Crimea.

In this reconstruction I have avoided as much as possible the modern scholarly controversies about the Rus', which mostly lie outside my area of expertise. I concede that my inferences from Byzantine sources concerning the Rus' are not absolutely conclusive; but then, as authorities on the early Rus' generally admit, neither are the inferences that they are forced to draw from other sources, most of which are a good deal less reliable than the Byzantine ones cited here. Obviously, my conclusions support those who think that the Rus' appeared in the central Dnieper region and reached Byzantium relatively early; but this group has recently been gaining ground with the use of quite independent evidence. My conclusions seem to fit most comfortably with a Normanist position, although an anti-Normanist interpretation of them might also be possible. More could certainly be said to put these conclusions into a wider context, but at this point I prefer to await responses of those with more specialized knowledge about the Rus'.[20]

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[20] For a recent argument for the early appearance of the Rus' based on archaeological evidence, see T. S. Noonan, "Why the Vikings First Came to Russia," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, n.s. 34 (1986): 321–48, concluding that "it took the Vikings about one generation, ca. 800–ca. 840, to discover how to travel south across Russia using the great water routes of eastern Europe." For an argument that the evidence of the *Annales Bertiniani* does not necessarily mean that the Rus' were Vikings, see A. V. Riasanovsky, "The Embassy of 838 Revisited: Some Comments in Connection with a 'Normanist' Source on Early Russian History," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* n.s. 10 (1962): 1–12. However, the behavior of the Rus' sea raiders described in the *Life of George of Amastris* seems more characteristic of Vikings than of Slavs at the time.

Ol'ga's Conversion: The Evidence Reconsidered

DIMITRI OBOLENSKY

The time and place of the baptism of Princess Ol'ga, regent of Kievan Rus' after the death in 944 of her husband Igor' and until their son Svjatoslav came of age (ca. 964), have long been the subject of scholarly debate. Indeed in recent years this has become one of the fashionable themes of early medieval *Byzantinoslavica*. During the past twenty years, no fewer than eleven major studies have appeared that are concerned, directly or indirectly, with this topic. Their authors differ, often widely, in their conclusions. Thus Ostrogorskij argued that Ol'ga was baptized in Kiev in 954 or 955;[1] Saxarov supposes that her baptism took place in Constantinople between 9 September and 18 October 957;[2] the Greek scholar Feidas, who also opts for Constantinople, dates it later in that year;[3] Arrignon places it tentatively in Kiev in 959;[4] Litavrin, who devoted a number of articles to this subject, after some hesitation came to the conclusion that she was baptized in Constantinople some time between 1 September 954 and 31 August 955;[5] in Omeljan Pritsak's view, her baptism took place on Sunday, 18 October 957, in Constantinople;[6] Ludolf Müller argues that she was bap-

[1] G. Ostrogorsky (Ostrogorskij), "Vizantija i Kievskaja knjaginja Ol'ga," in *To Honor Roman Jakobson* (The Hague, Paris, 1967), vol. 2, p. 1466; German translation "Byzanz und die Kiewer Fürstin Olga," in the same author's *Byzanz und die Welt der Slawen* (Darmstadt, 1974), p. 44.

[2] A. N. Saxarov, "Diplomatija knjagini Ol'gi," *Voprosy istorii*, 1979, no. 10, p. 38; idem, *Diplomatija Drevnej Rusi* (Moscow, 1980), p. 281.

[3] Β. Φειδᾶς, Ἡ ἡγεμονὶς τοῦ Κιέβου Ὄλγα-Ἑλένη (945–964) μεταξὺ Ἀνατολῆς καὶ Δύσεως, Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν, 39/40 (1972–73): 630–50.

[4] J.-P. Arrignon, "Les relations internationales de la Russie kiévienne au milieu de X^e^ siècle et le baptême de la princesse Olga," *Occident et Orient au X^e^ siècle: Actes du IX^e^ Congrès de la Société des Historiens Médiévistes de l'Enseignement Supérieur Public (Dijon, 2–4 juin 1978)*, Publications de l'Université de Dijon, 57 (Paris, 1979), pp. 177–78.

[5] G. G. Litavrin, "Putešestvie russkoj knjagini Ol'gi v Konstantinopol': Problema istočnikov'," *Vizantijskij vremennik* 42 (1981): 39–41; "O datirovke posol'stva knjagini Ol'gi v Konstantinopol'," *Istorija SSSR*, 1981, no. 5, pp. 173–83; "Russko-vizantijskie svjazi v seredine X veka," *Voprosy Istorii*, 1986, no. 6, pp. 41–52.

[6] O. Pritsak, "When and Where was Ol'ga Baptized?," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 9, no. 1/2 (June 1985): 5–21.

tized in Kiev soon after 944.[7] My own view, which I put forward in two articles published in 1983 and 1984,[8] is reconsidered in this essay, in light of several studies either unavailable to me at the time, or else published later.

In the first of my two articles I reexamined the well-known account in the *Book of Ceremonies* of Ol'ga's reception in Constantinople, written—or at least edited—by her imperial host Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus. This visit of Ol'ga to the Byzantine capital is generally dated to the autumn of 957, although, as we shall see, Litavrin has recently challenged this dating and proposed another. In my article I was concerned to show that during her visit to Constantinople in Constantine's reign, Ol'ga was still a pagan, and that her negotiations with the Byzantine government, whose aim was probably to conclude a new commercial, political, and military alliance between Kiev and Byzantium, ended in failure. In my second article I attempted the more difficult task of demonstrating that the discrepancies over the time and place of Ol'ga's baptism which modern scholars have detected between the Slavonic, the Greek, and the Latin sources are more apparent than real, and that it is possible to reconstruct the circumstances of her conversion in a way that does no violence to any of the sources and is consistent with what we know of Rus'-Byzantine relations in the forties, fifties, and sixties of the tenth century.

Inevitably, in the task I have undertaken here—that of providing an overall critical account of the sources on Ol'ga's conversion—I will have to tread some of the same ground. The novel features of this essay will include an examination of the latest views of several scholars on the place and date of Ol'ga's baptism.

The sources fall into three groups: the Rus', the Byzantine, and the Latin.

I

The prinicipal Rus' source is the Primary Chronicle (*Pověst' vremennyx lět*),[9] a composite work by different hands, which achieved its definite form in the second decade of the twelfth century. Under the year 6463 A.M. it tells, with many fictional details, the story of Ol'ga's journey to

[7] L. Müller, *Die Taufe Russlands* (Munich, 1987), pp. 72–86.

[8] D. Obolensky, "Russia and Byzantium in the Mid-Tenth Century: The Problem of the Baptism of Princess Olga," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 28, no. 2 (1983): 157–71; idem, "The Baptism of Princess Olga of Kiev: The Problem of the Sources," *Byzantina Sorbonensia*, 1984, pp. 159–76.

[9] *Pověst' vremennyx lět*, ed. V. P. Adrianova-Peretc and D. S. Lixačev, vol. 1 (Moscow and Leningrad, 1950). Hereafter *Pověst'*.

Constantinople and of her baptism in that city. The emperor stood as her godfather, and the baptismal ceremony was performed by the patriarch. The date 6463 A.M. corresponds (if the year is taken to begin in September) to the period from 1 September 954 to 31 August 955. This dating is confirmed by a Rus' hagiographical work believed to have been compiled in the late eleventh century, entitled *The Memory and Eulogy of the Rus' Prince Volodimer.*[10] Its presumed author, a certain James the Monk, is thought to have incorporated into this work a "Eulogy" of Princess Ol'ga, written perhaps in the last years of the tenth century. James tells us that Ol'ga was baptized in Constantinople, and adds that fifteen years elapsed between her baptism and her death on 11 July 969. This dating of her baptism—to 954—accords pretty well with the date given in the chronicle. In itself this coincidence means little, as the dating of James and of the Chronicle almost certainly goes back to a common source, a "eulogy" of Princess Ol'ga. The fact that there is no way of checking the accuracy of the figure 15 (the supposed interval between her baptism and her death) has caused some scholars, notably Arrignon,[11] to view this dating with scepticism.

In his latest article, published in 1986, Litavrin accepts it. He believes that Ol'ga was baptized in Constantinople in 954 or 955. I must say that his arguments in support of the chronicle's date seem to me weak. The only one with any substance relates to the account (to which I will later return) of Ol'ga's baptism by the eleventh-century Byzantine historian Skylitzes. Though undated, Skylitzes's account follows his report of the baptism in Constantinople of two Magyar chieftains, which took place ca. 948 and ca. 952, respectively, and immediately precedes the mention of the marriage, in 956, of Constantine VII's son Romanos with Theophano, the daughter of a Constantinople innkeeper.[12] This argument, however, proves nothing, for it is clear that in this passage Skylitzes is not listing events in strict chronological order, but has grouped them thematically. In an earlier article, Litavrin himself acknowledged this fact. To put one's faith in the chronology of the

[10] The text of *The Memory and Eulogy of the Rus' prince Volodimer* was published by E. Golubinskij, *Istorija russkoj cerkvi*, vol. 1, pt. 1, 2nd ed. (Moscow, 1901), pp. 238–45; and by A. A. Zimin in *Kratkie soobščenija Instituta slavjanovedenija*, 37 (Moscow, 1963), pp. 66–75. On this work, whose textual history is obscure, see A. A. Šaxmatov, *Razyskanija o drevnejšix russkix letopisnyx svodax* (St. Petersburg, 1908), pp. 13–28; A. Poppe, "Pamięć i pochwała księcia Włodzimierza," in *Słownik Starożytności Słowiańskich*, 4 (Wrocław, Warsaw, and Cracow, 1967), pp. 16–18.

[11] Arrignon, "Les relations," p. 170.

[12] Ioannis Scylitzae *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. I. Thurn (Berlin, 1973), p. 240.

Primary Chronicle, notoriously unreliable for this period, seems to me hazardous.

II

We now turn to the Byzantine sources. By far the most important is the *Book of Ceremonies*.[13] This detailed account of Ol'ga's reception in Constantinople by her imperial host, Constantine VII, is a firsthand document of the highest value. So I must first briefly summarize its contents.

The day of the first reception (Wednesday, 9 September) began with two formal audiences at which Ol'ga was received, standing, together with the leading members of her retinue, first by the emperor and then by the empress. There followed an informal meeting at which she sat in the company of the emperor, the empress and their children, speaking to the emperor "of whatever she wished" (ὅσα ἐβούλετο). Later that day a banquet (κλητώριον) was held in her honor, at which she was invited to sit at the empress's table together with the ζωσταί, the highest ranking ladies-in-waiting. On entering the banquet hall Ol'ga's female companions of princely rank (ἀρχόντισσαι) paid their respects to the empress and her daughter-in-law by prostrating themselves to the ground (προσκυνησάντων), while Ol'ga confined herself to a slight inclination of the head (τὴν κεφαλὴν μικρὸν ὑποκλίνασα). After the banquet a dessert (δούλκιον) was served in an adjacent room on a golden table, at which Ol'ga sat in the company of the emperor, his son and co-emperor Romanos, and other members of the imperial family. On Sunday, 18 October, the Rus' party was again received in the palace. This time, however, only the men of Ol'ga's retinue were admitted to the emperor's table, while she dined in the company of the empress and her family.

Ol'ga's reception at the Byzantine court has been dated by virtually every scholar to the year 957. The grounds for this dating are basically two: firstly, the 9th September and the 18th October fell in that year respectively on a Wednesday and a Sunday, in full accordance with the text in the *Book of Ceremonies*; secondly, the text repeatedly mentions, among the members of the imperial family present at these two receptions, the emperor's daughter-in-law (ἡ νύμφη). The fact that the marriage of Romanos, the emperor's eldest son, to Theophano had taken place in the previous year, 956, seemed to clinch the matter.

13 Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De caerimoniis aulae byzantinae*, book 2, chapter 15, ed. J. J. Reiske (Bonn, 1829), vol. I, pp. 594–98. Hereafter *De caerim.* For the dating of this passage, see *Le Livre des cérémonies, Commentaire*, by A. Vogt, vol. 1 (Paris, 1967), pp. xxvi–xxviii.

However, in his two latest articles, published in 1981 and 1986, Litavrin has challenged the traditional dating. He rightly points out that in the reign of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the dates of 9 September and 18 October, on which Ol'ga was received at court, fell on a Wednesday and a Sunday, respectively, not only in 957, but also in 946. He then proceeds to marshal in favor of 946, the earlier date, a number of arguments, two of which he regards as particularly important. The first relates to the context of Ol'ga's visit. In the *Book of Ceremonies* it forms the third, and last, section of a chapter describing three state visits to Constantinople.[14] The accounts of all these visits, in Litavrin's view, are based on records composed by officials of the staff of the logothete τοῦ δρόμου (a kind of Byzantine foreign minister), and edited by the emperor Constantine. The first one was an embassy from the Emir of Tarsus, and its purpose was to make peace with Byzantium and to negotiate for an exchange of prisoners. It is the only one of the three to be dated precisely in the text: 31 May of the fourth indiction, that is, A.D. 946. No year is given for the other two visits, but they are listed consecutively by month: the joint embassy from the Daylamite government, represented by the Emir of Amida, and from the Hamdanid Emir of Aleppo, Sayf ad-Dawla, on 30 August; and Ol'ga's two receptions, on 9 September and 18 October. It is hard to resist the impression that all these state visits—in May, August, September, and October—took place in the same year, 946.

Litavrin's second argument in favor of 946 is more curious. Theophano, he points out, was Romanos's second wife. Constantine Porphyrogenitus's eldest son (and his co-emperor since April 945) was first married in 944, at the age of seven, to Bertha, the illegitimate daughter of Hugh of Provence, king of Italy. The couple were approximately the same age; in 949, after five years of unconsummated union, Bertha died. In 946 the child-empress, renamed Evdokia, would have been seven or eight years old; in Litavrin's opinion, she, and not Theophano, was the emperor's daughter-in-law (νύμφη), repeatedly mentioned in the account of Ol'ga's reception. Litavrin's argument is based on the seating arrangements described in the *Book of Ceremonies*. During one of the formal audiences the empress Helen, Constantine's wife, sat on a high throne (called "the great throne of the emperor Theophilos"), while her daughter-in-law sat on a separate, and presumably lower, golden throne: ἡ δὲ δέσποινα ἐκαθέσθη ἐν τῷ

[14] *De caerim.*, 2: 566–98. Cf. F. Tinnefeld, "Die russische Fürstin Olga bei Konstantin VII.," *Russia Mediaevalis* 6, no. 1 (1987): 30–37.

προῤῥηθέντι θρόνῳ, καὶ ἡ νύμφη αὐτῆς ἐν τῷ σελλίῳ.[15] Later during the banquet, however, there is no mention of the golden σελλίον, and the empress and her daughter-in-law appear to be sitting on the same throne, that of the emperor Theophilus: ἐκαθέσθη ἐν τῷ προῤῥηθέντι θρόνῳ ἡ δέσποινα καὶ ἡ νύμφη αὐτῆς.[16] That situation, Litavrin argues, would be impossible to imagine in 957, when the empress's daughter-in-law was the fully grown Theophano, but would be understandable in 946, when she was the seven- or eight-year-old Bertha-Evdokia: the child would have presumably felt uncomfortable sitting at the table on her low-level throne, and it was natural for her mother-in-law to have her sit beside her on her higher throne. Therefore, concludes Litavrin, the νύμφη was Bertha, and the year was 946.

I confess I find this colorful picture of a little girl, nestling beside her mother-in-law on the same throne at a state banquet, a trifle difficult to accept. The text does not tell us explicitly that the two sat on the same throne. The whole weight of Litavrin's arguments rests on the absence, in the second of the two passages I have just quoted, of the words ἐν τῷ σελλίῳ, which are found in the otherwise identical first passage. This absence could equally well be due to a scribal lacuna, or to the original writer's liberty with syntax. Litavrin's interpretation remains, in my view, an ingenious hypothesis, which falls short of definitive proof. His first argument, relating to the sequence of months in the visits of the Arab envoys and Ol'ga, I find more convincing; and without necessarily accepting that Litavrin has proved his point, I believe he has made a strong case for 946 as the year of Ol'ga's visit to Constantine Porphyrogenitus.

I confess I cannot accept Omeljan Pritsak's theory that the two receptions of Ol'ga mentioned in the *Book of Ceremonies*—on 9 September and 18 October—took place in different years, the first in 946, and the second in 957.[17] The minor differences in the numbers of Rus' envoys, merchants, and ladies-in-waiting on these two occasions, which he cites as a major argument for his thesis, can surely be explained just as well if the two receptions were separated by a period of some five weeks, as if we imagine that the interval between them was eleven years. So great a chronological discontinuity, furthermore, finds no support either in the text or in the context of the passage in the *Book of Ceremonies* relating to Ol'ga. Both receptions, the September one and the October one, are grouped together under the same title: Ἑτέρα δοχὴ τῆς Ἔλγας τῆς Ῥωσένης.

[15] *De caerim.*, 2: 595.

[16] *De caerim.*, 2: 596.

[17] Pritsak, "When and Where," pp. 12–14.

Before leaving the *Book of Ceremonies*, I must briefly substantiate my earlier statement that during her visit to the court of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Ol'ga was still a pagan. There are, it seems to me, at least four reasons for believing this.

(1) In the very first sentence of the passage describing Ol'ga's reception, it is stated that it was "in all respects similar to the one described above." This, it will be recalled, was the reception of a joint embassy from various regions of the Arab world. If Ol'ga had been a Christian during her visit, her reception would hardly have been "in all respects similar" to that of the Muslim envoys. Some detail of a Christian ceremonial would surely have been included in the account of her reception.

(2) In the *Book of Ceremonies* the Rus' princess is consistently referred to by her pagan name Elga (Ἔλγα) and not by the Christian name Helen, which she took upon baptism. The official nature of the state records on which Constantine Porphyrogenitus's account is based makes it virtually certain that had Ol'ga been baptized by then, she would have been referred to by her Christian name.

(3) We should note the impressive size of Ol'ga's party. It included her nephew and other relatives, her retainers and those of her son, Svjatoslav, twenty or twenty-two envoys of other princes of Rus', and forty-three or forty-four merchants.[18] The character of this impressive delegation hardly suggests that Ol'ga journeyed to the Byzantine capital in order to be baptized, and shows beyond a shadow of doubt that she was out to conclude a political alliance and a trade agreement with the empire.

(4) A weighty argument in favor of the view that Ol'ga departed from Constantinople still a pagan is her manifest failure to achieve her diplomatic objects. A sign of this failure is her refusal, recorded by the Primary Chronicle, to send on her return to Kiev the promised wax, furs, slaves, and mercenary troops to Byzantium.[19] Another sign of tension is the fact, suggested by the sources, that between Ol'ga's first and second audience with the emperor her large fleet was forced to remain at anchor in the Golden Horn, outside the city walls, for more than five weeks.[20]

I believe that there can be little doubt that during her visit to Constantine VII's court—whether in 946 or 957—Ol'ga was still a pagan, that she failed to extract from the Byzantine government satisfactory political and commercial terms, and that she returned home affronted and displeased. I am

[18] The lower figures are given for Ol'ga's first reception, the higher ones for the second reception.

[19] *Pověst'*, 1: 45.

[20] Obolensky, "Russia and Byzantium in the Mid-Tenth Century," p. 167.

reassured to find both Arrignon[21] and Litavrin[22] in agreement with the view that Ol'ga was not a Christian at the time she visited Constantine Porphyrogenitus.

Our second Byzantine source, the chronicle of John Skylitzes, appears to tell a different story. His account is brief and in places (perhaps deliberately) vague:

And the wife of the prince of Rus' (τοῦ ἄρχοντος τῶν 'Ρῶς) [i.e., Igor', Prince of Kiev] who once sailed forth against the Rhomaioi, Elga by name, journeyed to Constantinople after her husband's death. Having been baptized, having exhibited a determination to abide in the true faith, and having been honored in a manner worthy of this determination, she returned home.[23]

Our two Byzantine sources, then, appear to contradict each other, at least over the place of Ol'ga's baptism. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, in his account of her reception at the Byzantine court, seems to regard Ol'ga as a pagan. Skylitzes plainly states that she was baptized in Constantinople.

III

Our principal Latin source may help us to resolve this contradiction. This is the chronicle known as the Continuation of the Chronicle of the Abbot Regino of Prüm, and it is now established beyond doubt that it was written between 966 and 968 by Adalbert of St. Maximin, the future archbishop of Magdeburg.[24] What we know of Adalbert suggests an accurate and reliable reporter. In the 950s and again in the 960s he acquired legal skills by working in the chancellery of Otto I. He belonged to the highest circles of the German church; owing to his legal training, experience gained in the royal chancellery, and exalted connections, he had access to state documents and was competent to assess their significance. His chronicle, which covers the years from 907 to 967, is regarded as the outstanding work of tenth-century German historiography.[25] He had, moreover, as we shall see, a first hand knowledge of Rus' and its ecclesiastical affairs. Clearly his evidence merits careful consideration.

21 Arrignon, "Les relations."

22 Litavrin, "Russko-vizantijskie svjazi," p. 45.

23 See fn. 12.

24 *Reginonis abbatis Prumiensis chronicon cum continuatione Treverensi*, ed. F. Kurze (Hanover, 1890), Monumenta Germaniae Historica in usum scholarum, pp. 170–72.

25 On Adalbert see M. Lintzel, "Erzbischof Adalbert von Magdeburg als Geschichtsschreiber," in the same author's *Ausgewählte Schriften*, vol. 2 (Berlin, 1961), pp. 399–406; K. Hauck, "Erzbischof Adalbert von Magdeburg als Geschichtsschreiber," in *Festschrift für Walter Schlesinger*, ed. H. Beumann, vol. 2 (Cologne and Vienna, 1974), pp. 276–353.

In 959, Adalbert tells us, "envoys from Helen [i.e., Ol'ga], queen of the Rus' ("reginae Rugorum"), who was baptized in Constantinople in the reign of the emperor Romanos [Romanos II, 959–63] of Constantinople, came to the king [Otto I] and falsely, as it later became apparent, asked for a bishop and priests to be ordained for that people."[26]

Otto's first response to Ol'ga's request was rapid. In Frankfurt, where the king spent Christmas of that same year (959), Libutius, a monk of St. Alban's monastery in Mainz, was consecrated "bishop for the Rus' people" ("genti Rugorum") by the archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen. Before he had a chance to set out on his mission, Libutius died, in March 961. Adalbert describes his own appointment to head the mission to Rus', a task he accepted very reluctantly. He was consecrated in his turn "bishop for the Rus' people" and, liberally provided for the needs of his journey by King Otto, left for Rus', probably later in 961.

Adalbert describes—in the third person singular—the outcome of his journey with tantalizing brevity and vagueness. "Unable," he writes, "to accomplish successfully any of the purposes for which he had been sent, and seeing that he was exerting himself in vain, he returned home. While some of his companions were killed during the homeward journey, he himself escaped with great difficulty."[27] He returned to Germany in 962, intending to report on his mission to Otto I; but the king was in Italy, where on 2 February 962, he was crowned emperor in Rome by the pope. In his absence Adalbert was befriended by the archbishop of Mainz, who had chosen him to head the mission to Rus'.

For our present purpose, the importance of Adalbert's evidence lies in three of his statements: (1) that Ol'ga was baptized in Constantinople; (2) that this occurred in the reign of Romanos II; and (3) that her Christian name was Helen. We must now examine this evidence more closely, to see whether it is coherent as a whole, whether it can be reconciled with the evidence of the other sources, and whether it is consistent with what we know of Rus'-Byzantine relations between 946 and 962.

(1) On Ol'ga's baptism in Constantinople there is in our sources an impressive degree of agreement. Each one of the documents that mentions her baptism—the Primary Chronicle, *The Memory and Eulogy of the Rus'*

[26] "Legati Helenae reginae Rugorum, quae sub Romano imperatore Constantinopolitano Constantinopoli baptizata est, ficte, ut post claruit, ad regem venientes episcopum et presbiteros eidem genti ordinari petebant": *Reginonis abbatis. . . chronicon cum continuatione*, p. 170.

[27] "Eodem anno (962) Adalbertus Rugis ordinatus episcopus nihil in his, propter quae missus fuerat, proficere valens et inaniter se fatigatum videns revertitur et quibusdam ex suis in redeundo occisis ipse cum magno labore vix evasit": *Reginonis abbatis. . . chronicon cum continuatione*, p. 172.

Prince Volodimer, the chronicle of Skylitzes, and Adalbert's report on his mission—states that she was baptized in the Byzantine capital. No medieval source states otherwise. The contrary opinion rests essentially on one key argument: the silence of the *Book of Ceremonies*. But the negative evidence provided by this document merely supports the view, which I have argued above, that Ol'ga was not baptized during her visit to Constantine Porphyrogenitus. And so, if we accept the concurrent testimony of all the other sources, we are forced to conclude that she visited Constantinople twice: the first time in 946 or 957 for political and commercial reasons, the second time on the occasion of her baptism.

(2) We now come to the second of Adalbert's statements: that Ol'ga was baptized in the reign of Romanos II ("sub Romano imperatore"). Romanos, Constantine Porphyrogenitus's son, came to the throne on 10 November 959, and died on 15 March 963. In fact, to be internally consistent, Adalbert's evidence must mean that Ol'ga was baptized sometime between 10 November 959 and the beginning of 962: for, on Adalbert's showing, by early 962 at the latest he had reached Kiev and learned of Ol'ga's baptism in Constantinople.

Attempts have been made by some historians[28] to make Adalbert's words "sub Romano imperatore" cover those years of Constantine VII's reign during which Romanos was his co-emperor, i.e., from 6 April 945. They seem to me misguided. Adalbert was well enough informed on European affairs to know who was the principal Byzantine emperor before 9 November 959. Constantine Porphyrogenitus was one of the most prominent monarchs in Christendom. "Sub Romano imperatore" surely means during the *sole* reign of Romanos.

We must now ask ourselves whether the dating of Ol'ga's baptism between November 959 and the beginning of 962 is consistent with what is known of Byzantine-Rus' relations during those years.

We learn from a contemporary Byzantine source, the sixth book of "Theophanes Continuatus," that as soon as he came to the throne, Romanos II dispatched "letters of friendship" to neighboring countries: among these our chronicler specifically mentions Bulgaria and "peoples of west and east." On receipt of these systatic letters all of them replied, announcing their readiness to conclude treaties of friendship with the empire.[29] Though the Rus' are not mentioned by name, it is likely enough

28 Notably by Litavrin, "Putešestvie russkoj knjagini Ol'gi," p. 39, and by Pritsak, "When and Where," p. 9.

29 Theophanes Continuatus, book 6 (Bonn, 1838), pp. 470–71. The author of this passage appears to be Theodore Daphnopates, a high official of Romanos II and a well-informed source. See Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1958), pp. 541–42; G. Ostrogorsky, *His-*

that one of the recipients of Romanos's friendly advances was Ol'ga of Kiev, the regent of a powerful realm whose support would have been of considerable benefit to the empire. The first major military effort of Romanos's reign was the reconquest of Crete. In the summer of 960 the largest fleet the empire had ever possessed sailed from Constantinople on what was to be one of the greatest military achievements of the middle Byzantine period. After a winter of bitter fighting the Cretan capital Chandax (Herakleion) fell in March 961 to the Byzantine forces. An infantry detachment of Rus' (*Rhos*) took part in the siege of the city.[30] Their presence in the Byzantine army was almost certainly the result of diplomatic negotiations between Rus' and the empire, which were doubtless intensified during the first months of Romanos II's reign, owing to the imperial government's urgent need of Rus' mercenaries for the impending campaign against Crete. These negotiations were presumably initiated soon after Romanos's peace overtures were received in Kiev, i.e., late in 959 or early in 960, and were completed by late June or early July 960, when the Byzantine fleet set sail for the island.

It seems likely that on the Rus' side these negotiations were conducted by Ol'ga herself, and that their importance and urgency required her presence in Constantinople. Their successful outcome suggests that, in exchange for Rus' military aid, she was able to extract greater concessions from the government of Romanos II than his father had been willing to grant her during her previous visit. Her baptism may well have formed part of this package deal.[31] The most likely date for her christening would appear to be the spring or early summer of 960, either in the final stages of the campaign's preparation, or soon after the imperial navy sailed for Crete.

Thus, I submit, Adalbert's statement that Ol'ga was baptized in the reign of Romanus II is entirely consistent with what we know of the relations between Byzantium and Rus' during the early months of this emperor's reign. And, in my interpretation of it, it removes any appearance of discrepancy between the evidence of Adalbert and that of our two Byzantine authorities, Constantine Porphyrogenitus and Skylitzes.

One discrepancy, however, still remains. The Rus' sources—the Primary Chronicle and James the Monk—while agreeing with Adalbert that Ol'ga was baptized in Constantinople, date the event to 954–55. This

tory of the Byzantine State (Oxford, 1968), p. 210.

30 Theophanes Continuatus, 6: 476, 481.

31 The view that Ol'ga's baptism took place during the Rus'-Byzantine negotiations that preceded the Cretan campaign was expressed by Arrignon ("Les relations," pp. 177–78). In my opinion, however, he is wrong in dating it to 959 and placing it in Kiev.

dating, we have seen, probably goes back to a common source, a panegyric of Princess Ol'ga, composed in the late tenth or early eleventh century. This common source, in its extant form, stated that Ol'ga lived after her baptism for fifteen years and died on 11 July 969. Yet it may be possible to remove even this discrepancy in the dating. Ol'ga in 954 or 955 might have undergone a preliminary ceremony of reception into the Christian community of Kiev, postponing her final, and sacramental, christening until a later visit to Constantinople.[32] An alternative solution was suggested to me by Simon Franklin. In his view, the correct figure for the interval between Ol'ga's baptism and her death in the original manuscript could have been nine years, and not fifteen. He shows how this could have happened palaeographically: Θ̃ > Ε̃Ι > ΕΙ̃. The copyist could have mistaken nine for fifteen, and the compilers of the chronicle constructed their dates accordingly. With Ol'ga's death fixed in 969, this ingenious solution, involving a subtraction of 9, would date her baptism to 960, the exact date which, on historical grounds, I proposed earlier.

(3) Adalbert's third statement, that Ol'ga's Christian name was Helen, can be considered more briefly. It accords with the evidence of the Rus' sources, which assert that she took the name Helen on baptism.[33]

It is generally believed—rightly, in my view—that she took this name in honor of the empress Helen, the wife of Constantine VII. Now it is true that Helen Lecapena ceased to be the reigning empress on 9 November 959, the day of her husband's death. However, she retained the rank of Augusta and continued to live in the imperial palace until her death on 19 or 20 September 960.[34] On her previous visit Ol'ga had met Helen personally, and had dined with her twice.[35] On her second visit to Constantinople in the spring or summer of 960, it would have been natural for her to renew her acquaintance with the dowager empress. Personal and diplomatic reasons would have caused Helen, rather than Romanos's wife Theophano, to be chosen to act as sponsor at Ol'ga's baptism. Helen was then, it is true, in poor health and deprived of political power. Yet she seems to have retained

[32] For the preliminary reception of a convert into the Christian community, and the rite known in tenth-century Scandinavia as *prima signatio*, see Obolensky, "Baptism of Princess Olga," pp. 169–70.

[33] *Pověst'*, 1: 44; *Pamjat' i poxvala*, ed. Golubinskij, pp. 239, 242; ed. Zimin, pp. 67, 70. See fn. 10 above.

[34] Theophanes Continuatus, 6: 473 (19 September); Scylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. Thurn, p. 252 (20 September). Arrignon ("Les relations," p. 178) mistakenly states that Helen was dispatched to a monastery early in 960, an error repeated by Litavrin ("Putešestvie russkoj knjagini Ol'gi," p. 38).

[35] *De caerim.*, 2: 596–98.

the affection of the emperor, her son: and her funeral was an occasion for a public display of some magnificence.[36]

Some of the elements in the scenario I have proposed in this paper were put forward briefly and without much supporting argument in the now largely forgotten book by the Ukrainian historian V. Parxomenko, *Načalo xristianstva Rusi.* On several points, however, I would take issue with him: he dates Ol'ga's baptism to the period between the summer of 960 and the autumn of 961—too late, in my opinion; he believes that her sponsor was Romanos II, thus ignoring the evidence for her spiritual relationship with Helen Lecapena; and he fails to consider the strong possibility that her first visit to Constantinople took place in 946, rather than in 957.[37]

In summary, this inquiry has rested primarily on the examination of the two most reliable sources on Ol'ga's relations with Byzantium, whose authors, in one case certainly, in the other very probably, actually met the Rus' princess: Constantine VII's *Book of Ceremonies* and Adalbert's Continuation of Regino's Chronicle. I argued that a careful reading of the former suggests that Ol'ga was still a pagan when she visited Constantinople in 946 or 957, and that her negotiations with the government of Constantine VII were a failure from the political and commercial standpoints. Frustrated in her hopes of obtaining the desired concessions from the empire, which may have included the request for a high-ranking ecclesiastical hierarchy, Ol'ga turned in 959 to Germany, and asked for a Latin bishop and priests from Otto I. A few months after her embassy left for Germany, she received an official and friendly letter from Romanos II, announcing the death of Constantine VII (on 9 November 959) and his own accession to the Byzantine throne. In the expectation, and perhaps knowledge, that the warmth of the new emperor's message heralded a change in the empire's policy towards Rus', she traveled—I believe—a second time to Constantinople. There, in the spring or early summer of 960, she conducted the negotiations with Byzantium that resulted in a peace treaty between Rus' and the empire. Its terms included the participation of Rus' troops in the Cretan campaign of 960–61, and Ol'ga's baptism into the Byzantine church.

A year or so after Ol'ga's return home, the long-delayed German mission, led by Bishop Adalbert, arrived in Kiev. During the past two years Ol'ga's desire for an alliance with Otto I, which no doubt would have followed her acceptance of a German hierarchy, had considerably cooled, very probably under Byzantine diplomatic pressure. Her baptism in

36 Theophanes Continuatus, 6: 473.

37 V. Parxomenko, *Načalo xristianstva Rusi* (Poltava, 1913), pp. 126–45.

Constantinople finally destroyed the prospects of Latin Christianity in Rus'. Adalbert and his companions, seeing that the pro-Byzantine party was solidly entrenched in Kiev, had no option but to return home. Ol'ga, the ambiguity in her foreign policy now resolved, remained faithful to the Byzantine church until her death in 969.

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Religious Centers and Their Missions to Kievan Rus': From Ol'ga to Volodimer

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The fifty years prior to 988, the beginning of the millennium which we are presently celebrating, were probably the most critical in the history of Kievan Rus'-Ukraine.[1] The two events marking the beginning and the end of that half-century were the death of Prince Igor' (945) and the baptism of his grandson Volodimer (988). It is during this timespan that Rus' experienced the political, economic, and cultural changes determining its destiny for centuries to come. The Rurikid dynasty was able to entrench itself as the sole and undisputed rulers over the vast territorial expanse between the Baltic and the Black seas. Major waterways of the area were secured and for some time controlled effectively, thus linking major transient commercial routes between the Baltic, Caspian, and Black seas. The participation of Kiev's rulers in international trade, the improved collection of taxes/tributes, and the development of private estates by members of the princely family, as well as by their retinue—the boyars—made them relatively wealthy and the country prosperous. In cultural and religious life, it was a period of continuous vacillation, if not struggle, primarily between

[1] Several authors have dealt with this period and identified its most significant figures and events, e.g.: Archimandrite Makarii (Bulgakov), *Istoriia khristianstva v Rossii do ravnoapostol'nogo kniazia Vladimira, kak vvedenie v istoriiu russkoi tserkvi* (St. Petersburg, 1846); E. Golubinskii, "Khristianstvo na Rusi do Vladimira," *Zhurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosveshcheniia* (hereafter *ZhMNP*), 187 (1876): 46–84; I. A. Lynnychenko, "Sovremennoe sostoianie voprosa ob obstoiatel'stvakh kreshcheniia Rusi," *Trudy Kievskoi dukhovnoi akademii* (hereafter *TKDA*), 1886, no. 12, pp. 587–606; V. Parkhomenko, *Nachalo khristianstva Rusi: Ocherk iz istorii Rusi IX–X vv.* (Poltava, 1913; first published under the title "Khristianstvo na Rusi do Vladimira," in *Vera i razum* [Kharkiv], 1912, nos. 9, 10; 1913, nos. 7, 8, 10, 11, 13); idem, *U istokov russkoi gosudarstvennosti: VII–XI vv.* (Leningrad, 1924); idem, "Kharakter i znachenie epokhi Vladimira, priniavshego khristianstvo," *Uchenye zapiski Leningradskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta*, no. 73 (1940), pp. 203–214 (especially pp. 204–205); N. Polons'ka, "K voprosu o khristianstve na Rusi do Vladimira," *ZhMNP*, n.s. 71 (1917): 33–80; V. Zaikyn, "Chrześcijaństwo w Europie Wschodniej w połowie X-go wieku," Ἐλπίς. *Czasopismo teologiczne* (Warsaw), 1 (1926): 49–93; 2 (1927): 107–164; 3 (1927): 57–68; 4 (1928): 73–96 (rpt'd as *Chrześcijaństwo w Europie Wschodniej od czasów apostolskich do księcia Igora Starego* (Warsaw, 1928); V. I. Moshin, "Khristianstvo v Rossii do sv. Vladimira," *Vladimirskii sbornik. V pamiat' 950-letiia kreshcheniia Rusi: 988–1938* (Belgrade [1938]), pp. 1–18.

pagan cults and Christianity.

Various social and political forces inside and outside Rus' brought about these developments. The most important factor was the ruling family, above all the prince or princess who ruled Kievan Rus' in each generation. Next in importance was the princely retinue, especially its senior members. Political developments in bordering lands were also of paramount importance, inasmuch as Rus' was often unavoidably affected by them. Developments in the Byzantine and the Frankish Ottonian empires continued to affect lands and nations along their peripheries. The Christianization of Rus' came at a time when both the Byzantine and Frankish empires were politically strong and were enjoying a rich cultural and economic life; these led to the political-military and cultural-religious expansion, and even imperialism, practiced by the Macedonian dynasty (866–1057) in Constantinople and by the Saxonian dynasty (919–1024) in Germany. Hence came inescapable pressure on Rus' to convert and to conform. This pressure was often welcomed by Kievan Rus', as well as by other countries that converted in the second half of the tenth century, as they aligned with one of the two empires and religious centers whose missionaries had converted them.

The Christian offensive of the mid-tenth century was a repetition of a similar effort by Byzantium a century earlier, which had brought about the partial conversion to Christianity of the Khazars, the Alans, and especially the Bulgarians, as well as some Rus'. At that time, Byzantium's successes evoked jealousies and hostilities among the Frankish clergy and some members of the papal curia. A similar attitude existed in the same quarters a century later.[2]

[2] For the historical background of Byzantine missions, see Ihor Ševčenko's contribution to this volume: "Religious Missions Seen from Byzantium," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 12/13 (1988/1989): 7–27. For earlier periods, see the standard work by Isrum Engelhardt, *Mission und Politik in Byzanz. Ein Beitrag zur Strukturanalyse byzantinischer Mission zur Zeit Justins und Justinians*, Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia, 19 (Munich, 1974). On the conversion of Slavs in general, see A. P. Vlasto, *The Entry of the Slavs into Christendom: An Introduction to the Medieval History of the Slavs* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970); F. Dvornik, *Byzantine Missions Among the Slavs: SS. Constantine-Cyril and Methodius* (New Brunswick, N. J., [1970]); a more recent useful survey (notwithstanding its ideological bias) is to be found in a publication by the Institute of Slavic and Balkan Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, *Priniatie khristianstva narodami Tsentral'noi i Iugo-Vostochnoi Evropy i kreshchenie Rusi*, ed. I. G. Litavrin (Moscow, 1988). On Roman missionary activities, see D. Voronov, "O latinskikh propovednikakh na Rusi Kievskoi v X i XI vv.," *Chteniia v Istoricheskom obshchestve Nestora letopistsa* (hereafter *ChIONL*), 1 (1873–77): 1–22; B. Ia. Ramm, *Papstvo i Rus' v X–XV vv.* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1959); Iu. Iu. Sviders'kyi, *Borot'ba Pivdenno-Zakhidnoi Rusi proty katolyts'koi ekspansii v X–XIII st.* (Kiev, 1983); I. Malyshevskii, "Otnoshenie Rusi k tserkvi rimskoi pri sv. kniaze Vladimire," *TKDA*, 1863, no. 2, pp. 89–164 (the first part of this lengthy article deals largely with the historical backround of the Christianization of Rus';

The goal of this survey is to identify the forces that were decisive in bringing about the final and permanent Christianization of Kievan Rus'-Ukraine. Since the basic written sources and the events they describe are

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Eduard Winter, *Russland und das Papstum*, pt. 1, *Von der Christianisierung bis zu den Anfängen der Aufklärung* (Berlin, 1960); cf. also his: *Byzanz und Rom im Kampf um die Ukraine: 955-1939* (Leipzig, 1942), pp. 1–27; M. Jugie, "Les origines romaines de l'Église russe," *Échos d'Orient*, 40 (1937), no. 187, pp. 257–70; T. Manteuffel, "Les tentatives d'entrainement de La Russie de Kiev dans la sphère d'influence latine," *Acta Poloniae Historica* 22 (1970): 36–42 (cf. a review by A. Poppe in *Russia Mediaevalis* 2 [1975]: 225, questioning some of Manteuffel's conclusions).

Especially important are the works of Dimitri Obolensky, collections of which were published by Variorum Reprints: *Byzantium and the Slavs: Collected Studies* (London, 1971), and *The Byzantine Inheritance of Eastern Europe* (London, 1982); and collected works by Andrzej Poppe, *The Rise of Christian Russia* (London, 1982), also published by Variorum Reprints.

Two items dealing specifically with the Christianization of Rus' are: Ludolf Müller, "Die Christianisierung Russlands als Forschungsproblem," *Résumés des Communications. XI^e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques, Stockholm, 21–28 août 1960* (Göteborg, Stockholm, and Uppsala, [1969]), pp. 94–95; and Ihor Ševčenko, "The Christianization of Kievan Rus'," *Polish Review* 5, no. 4 (1960): 29–35.

On the eve of the Millennium jubilee, as well as during 1988 itself, a multitude of books and articles—too numerous to be listed here—on the Christianization of Rus' have appeared in various Western countries. They usually begin with a survey of the historical events that led to the baptism of Prince Volodimer. With few exceptions, the Soviet publications offer a rather uniform and onesided interpretation. The general principles of the Soviet (Marxist) interpretation of the Christianization of Rus' were laid out in two articles published shortly before World War II: S. Bakhrushin, "K voprosu o kreshchenii Kievskoi Rusi," *Istorik-Marksist*, 1937, no. 2 (60), pp. 40–77 (an abbreviated version appeared in *Religiia i tserkov v istorii Rossii: Sovetskie istoriki o pravoslavnoi tserkvi v Rossii* [Moscow, 1975], pp. 16–36, published by the Institute of Scientific Atheism of the Academy of Social Sciences of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, together with a reprint entitled "Priniatie khristianstva na Rusi," by B. D. Grekov and M. N. Tikhomirov); and R. V. Zhdanov, "Kreshchenie Rusi i Nachal'naia letopis'," *Istoricheskie zapiski* 5 (1939): 3–30. See O. M. Rapov, "O nekotorykh prichinakh kreshcheniia Rusi," *Vestnik Moskovskogo universiteta*, 1974, no. 4, pp. 55–70.

Among the most recent Soviet publications on the subject are: L. I. Emeliakh and Ia. Ia. Kozhurin, *Sovetskaia istoricheskaia nauka o kreshchenii Rusi* (Leningrad, 1986); M. F. Kotliar, *Vvedennia khrystyianstva v Kyivs'kii Rusi ta ioho naslidky* (Kiev, 1985); *Zaprovadzhennia khrystyianstva na Rusi: Istorychni narysy* (Kiev, 1988; published by the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR); N. S. Gordienko, *"Kreshchenie Rusi": Fakty protiv legend i mifov. Polemicheskie zametki* (Leningrad, 1984); *Vvedenie khristianstva na Rusi* (Moscow, 1987; a publication of the Institute of Philosophy of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR); *Kak byla kreshchena Rus'* (Moscow, 1988; a collection of previously published articles and excerpts by various authors, e.g., G. Proshin, B. Raushenbakh, G. G. Litavrin, A. Poppe); *"Khreshchenie Rusi" v trudakh russkikh i sovetskikh istorikov* (Moscow, 1988; a publication of the Institute of Scientific Atheism); O. M. Rapov, *Russkaia tserkov v IX-XII v.: Priniatie khristianstva* (Moscow, 1988; "a scholarly-popular publication"): G. L. Kurbatov, E. D. Frolov, and I. Ia. Froianov, *Khristianstvo: Antichnost', Vizantiia, Drevniaia Rus'* (Leningrad, 1988; a popular paperback edition); A. Kuz'min, *Padenie Peruna: Stanovlenie khristianstva na Rusi* (Moscow, 1988; a popular paperback edition).

generally known, I focus only on the most important incidents, as well as on some recently proposed theories and hypotheses.

I

Despite references in extant sources to the Rus' as having been converted to the Christian faith several times since the mid-ninth century,[3] in 945, at the

[3] Cf. the encyclical by Patriarch Photius to the Eastern patriarchs of 866–867: "Photii epistulae XIII," *Patrologia Graeca* (hereafter *PG*), vol. 102, cols. 735–738; for an English translation, see *The Homilies of Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople*, trans. with an introduction and commentary by Cyril Mango (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), pp. 82–95: "First Homily on the Attack of the Russians"; pp. 95–110: "Second Homily on the Attack of the Russians." See also "Note on Homilies III and IV" [as they are numbered in this edition], pp. 74–82, and the Introduction, passim. A Russian translation by I. Loviagin, "Dve besedy sviateishego patriarkha konstantinopol'skogo Fotiia po sluchaiu nashedstviia rossov na Konstantinopol'," was published in *Khristianskoe chtenie*, 1882, no. 2, pp. 430–36; and an account of probably the same event appeared under 876 in the so-called Patriarch Nikon's Chronicle: *The Nikonian Chronicle: From the Beginning to the Year 1132*, vol. 1, ed. with an introduction and annotations by Serge A. Zenkovsky, trans. by Serge A. and Betty Jean Zenkovsky (Princeton, N. J. [ca. 1984]), p. 25. Even earlier references to the baptism of Rus' are to be found in the literature. Two Greek vitae are known to contain such references: the *Vita* of St. Stephen, Bishop of Sugdaea in the Crimea (d. ca. 790), and the *Vita* of George of Amastris (d. prior to 843) by Ignatios of Nicaea (d. soon after 845). Both these vitae were published by V. Vasil'evskii, "Russko-vizantiiskie issledovaniia. Zhitiia svv. Georgiia Amastridskogo i Stefana Surozhskogo. Vvedenie v grecheskie teksty s perevodom. Slaviano-russkii tekst," *Letopis' zaniatii Arkheograficheskoi kommissii, 1882–1884 gg.*, no. 9 (St. Petersburg, 1893), pt. 2, pp. 1–73: "Zhitie sv. Georgiia Amastridskogo: Teksty—russkii i grecheskii"; pp. 74–79: "Zhitie kratkoe sv. Stefana Surozhskogo: Teksty—grecheskii i russkii"; pp. 80–103: "Zhitie (podrobnoe)...: Tekst russkii." See especially pp. 66–71, 100–101, and the introductory commentaries, pp. cxvi–cli, cclxxix–cccv. The publication was reprinted in Vasil'evskii's *Trudy*, vol. 3 (Petrograd, 1915): *Vita Stephani*, pp. 72–76 (Greek text), pp. 77–98 (Slavic text); *Vita Georgii*, pp. 1–71. On the dating of these vitae, see I. Ševčenko, "Hagiography of the Iconoclast Period," in *Iconoclasm: Papers Presented at the 9th Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham, 1975*, ed. A. Bryer and J. Herrin (Birmingham, 1977), pp. 113–31, passim; an expanded version was published in his *Ideology, Letters, and Culture in the Byzantine World* (London, 1982; published by Variorum Reprints), pt. V: 1–42; see especially p. 42, on the dating of the attack on Amastris by the Rus' as a comment on A. Markopoulos' ("La Vie de Saint Georges d'Amastris et Photius," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 28 [1979]: 75–82), who felt that this information was a later interpolation. See the relevant excerpt (the attack by Prince Bravlin/Branlin) in the *Vita* of St. Stephen in modern Russian translation: *"Kreshchenie Rusi" v trudakh russkikh i sovetskikh istorikov*, pp. 298–99. There we read that Prince Bravlin (variants: Bravalin, Bravlenin) of Novgorod (?!) led an attack on the city of Sugdaea (later: Surozh, Sudak), and, after having plundered the grave of the saint in the Church of St. Sophia, was punished with a serious affliction—his head was turned backwards. He was restored to health by the saint only after he and his retinue returned their loot, converted to Christianity, and freed all captives. Vasil'evskii, *Trudy*, 3: 96. On Bravlin, see Omeljan Pritsak, "At the Dawn of Christianity in Rus': East Meets West," in this volume of *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, pp. 102–110.

In the seventeenth century, Ukrainian writers usually referred to five baptisms of Rus'. See, for example, the Hustyn Chronicle ("Gustinskaia letopis'") in *Polnoe sobranie russkikh leto-*

time of his death, neither Prince Igor', the ruling prince of Kiev from ca. 923 and the actual founder of the new Rurikid dynasty in Rus',[4] nor his wife Ol'ga, were Christians. Prince Igor' 's adherence to the pagan cult is confirmed in the ratification of the treaty with Byzantium in Kiev shortly before his death, when he and members of his retinue, as well as the non-Christian representatives of the provinces of the realm, took an oath in front of the statue of Perun.[5] The Christian members of the signatory group swore upon the Church of St. Elias, upon the Holy Cross, and upon the text of the treaty.[6] It can be assumed that the oath was administered in the church by a priest who was a rector (parish priest?) of St. Elias or a chaplain attached to the Byzantine embassy.[7]

On the basis of information contained in the Primary Chronicle about the very end of Prince Igor' 's reign, we can conclude that at the time of his death in 945, the main religious cult in Kiev was paganism and the chief deity was Perun. The ruling princely family adhered to this cult, as did

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pisei (hereafter *PSRL*), vol. 2 (St. Petersburg, 1842), pp. 251–56; L. Krevza's *Obrona* and the *Palinodija* by Z. Kopystens'kyj, Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature, Texts, 3 (Cambridge, Mass., 1987), pp. 30–31, 66–67, and 472–81 respectively (where actually only four baptisms of Rus' are described).

4 Cf. Metropolitan Ilarion of Kiev, "Slovo o zakone i blagodati," most recently published in: *Ideino-filosofskoe nasledie Ilariona Kievskogo*, pt. 1 (Moscow, 1986), pp. 13–41 and 101–171 (photoreproduction of MSS Synod. 591, Moscow State Historical Museum); and Iakov Mnikh, "Pamiat' i pokhvala kniaziu ruskomu Volodimeru," ed. A. N. Zimin', "Pamiat' i pokhvala Iakova Mnikha i Zhitie kniazia Vladimira po drevneishemu spisku," *Kratkie soobshcheniia Instituta Slavianovedeniia* 37 (1963): 66–72. Cf. also V. Parkhomenko, *Nachalo khristianstva Rusi*, p. 93; and Gottfried Schramm, "Die erste Generation der altrussischen Fürstendynastie. Philologische Argumente für die Historizität von Rurik und seinen Brüdern," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, N. F., 28 (1980): 321–33.

5 See the Laurentian text of the Primary Chronicle in *PSRL*, vol. 1: *Lavrent'evskaia letopis' i Suzdal'skaia letopis' po Akademicheskomu spisku* (Moscow, 1956; a reprint of the 1926–1928 edition), col. 52. For the English translation of this text, see *The Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text*, trans. Samuel Hazard Cross and Olgerd P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor (hereafter *PCh*, trans. Cross), Mediaeval Academy of America, 60 (Cambridge, Mass., [1953]), pp. 77 and 238, fn. 53.

6 For the most recent discussion of this treaty and a useful survey of literature on the subject, see A. N. Sakharov, *Diplomatiia Drevnei Rusi: IX–pervaia polovina X v.* (Moscow, 1980), pp. 210–58.

7 *PCh*, trans. Cross, p. 77: "Those of us who are baptized have sworn in the Cathedral, by the Church of St. Elias, upon the Holy Cross set before us and upon this parchment (*[na] khartiiu siiu*)...," *PSRL*, 1: col. 52. The St. Elias Church was, most probably, a filial church of St. Elias in Constantinople, which was frequented by Christian Varangians. See M. Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy*, vol. 1: *Do pochatku XI vika* (rpt'd. New York, 1954), pp. 511–12. Hrushevs'kyi suggests that this, allegedly first, Christian church in Kiev was dedicated to St. Elias because he could easily be compared (or identified) in the minds of Varangians with Perun, the pagan deity venerated in Kiev. See also V. Zaikyn, "Chrześcijaństwo w Europie Wschodniej," 2: 149–52; and S. Tomashivs'kyi, *Istoriia tserkvy na Ukraini* (Philadelphia, n. d.; rpt'd from *Zapysky ChSVV/Analecta OSBM*, 4, [1938]), p. 68.

influential boyar families and members of the princely retinue. Yet the immediate entourage of the prince included a number of individuals and families who professed the Christian religion and practiced it, as the existence in the city of a functioning Christian church named for St. Elías indicates. The existence of other churches in Kiev at that time (of St. Clement and of St. Mary), which is suggested by some authors,[8] is not confirmed in the sources. Prince Igor' apparently showed remarkable tolerance towards the Christian religion (possibly also toward other religons). This attitude on his part has led some historians to conlude that he and Princess Ol'ga were "secret Christians."[9] Igor' was allegedly afraid to practice openly the new religion because of possible opposition from pagan interests among the Slavic population. That speculation can hardly be upheld. His religious tolerance can better be explained by the commercial orientation and the interests of ruling princes and the dominant warrior-merchant class of Kievan Rus' at the time.

[8] See V. Nikolaev, *Slavianobŭlgarskiiat faktor v khristiianizatsiiata na Kievska Rusiia* (Sofia, 1949), p. 14. The author states that there was a Church of St. Clement in Kiev prior to 988, but does not provide a source for this information. Those who assumed the existence of a church by this name were probably misled by Thietmar of Merseburg, who wrote that Prince Volodimer was buried in the Church of St. Clement: "Hic [rex] sepultus in Cuieva civitate magna et in aecclesia Christi martiris et papae Clementis iuxta predictam coniugem suam [Annam], sarcofagis eorundem in medio templi palam stantibus." *Kronika Thietmara. Z tekstu łacinskiego przetłumaczył, wstępem poprzedził, i komentarzem opatrzył Marian Zygmunt Jedlicki. Obok tłumaczenia tekst oryginału* (Poznań, 1953), bk. 7, no. 74, p. 573. Since it is known that Volodimer was buried in the Church of St. Mary (the Tithe Church), scholars have assumed that Thietmar was referring to the St. Clement chapel of that church. Cf. S. P. Shestakov, *Ocherki po istorii Khersonesa v VI–X vekakh po R. Khr.*, Pamiatniki khristianskogo Khersonesa, 3 (Moscow, 1908), p. 93, fn. 3. Cf. also A. Poppe, "The Building of the Church of St. Sophia in Kiev," *Journal of Medieval History* 7 (1981): 16–18.

[9] Cf. V. Zaikyn, "Chrześcijaństwo w Europie Wschodniej," 2: 137. Zaikyn states that this view about Ol'ga and Igor' as being "internally," i.e., secretly, adherents of Christianity, was borrowed by E. Golubinskii (*Istoriia russkoi tserkvi*, vol. 1: *Period pervyi, kievskii ili domongol'skii*, pt. 1, 2nd ed. [Moscow, 1901], pp. 70 and 75) from V. N. Tatishchev (*Istoriia rossiiskaia*, vol. 1; see the new edition: Moscow and Leningrad, 1962, p. 111), who had picked it up from the so-called Ioakim Chronicle. Subsequently this view was accepted by almost all historians, with the exception of V. Parkhomenko (see his *Nachalo khristianstva Rusi*, pp. 106–110 and 123–24). It is difficult to accept Golubinskii's assertion (shared by some historians, e.g., Zaikyn in "Chrześcijaństwo w Europie Wschodniej," 3: 63, and P. Tolochko, "Religious Sites in Kiev During the Reign of Volodimer Sviatoslavich," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* [hereafter *HUS*], 11, no. 3/4 [December 1987]: 320) that already at the time of Prince Igor' and Ol'ga, Christians prevailed in Kievan Rus' numerically, morally, and politically.

II

During the first ten years of her rule as regent for her son Sviatoslav (945–962), Ol'ga seems to have followed the religious policy of her late husband.[10] At least, we do not have documentary evidence to the contrary.

[10] Ol'ga and her reign have enjoyed comparative popularity among ancient (and even contemporary) annalists and writers—both native and foreign—as well as among modern historians. In addition to the Primary Chronicle, native sources include passages in Ilarion's "Sermon on Law and Grace" (see texts of its various redactions in A. M. Moldovan, *"Slovo o zakone i blagodati" Ilariona* [Kiev, 1984]; a recent English translation by O. Ferbey, "Sermon on Law and Grace...," in Ilarion [Ohijenko], *The Ukrainian Church: Outlines of the History of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church*, 2 vols., [paged continuously], ed. and with a preface by Fr. Stephen Jarmus, trans. Orysia Ferbey [Winnipeg, 1986], pp. 275–95); and Jacob the Monk (Iakov Mnikh), "Memory and Eulogy of Prince Volodimer" (see the text published in Golubinskii, *Istoriia russkoi tserkvi*, 1, pt. 1:238–45; A. A. Zimin, "Pamiat' i pokhvala Iakova Mnikha i Zhitie kniaza Vladimira po drevneishemu spisku," *Kratkie soobshcheniia Instituta slavianovedeniia [AN SSSR]* 37 [1963]:66–75; and most recently also in *"Kreshchenie Rusi" v trudakh russkikh i sovetskikh istorikov*, pp. 286–91; on its significance as a historical source, see A. A. Shakhmatov, *Razyskaniia o drevneishikh russkikh letopisnykh svodakh* [St. Petersburg, 1908], pp. 13–28). Ol'ga's vitae should also be mentioned here: see the texts in N. Serebrianskii, *Drevne-russkie kniazheskie zhitiia: Obzor redaktsii i teksty* (Moscow, 1915), pp. 6–13 (introduction). For an earlier edition of this vita, see *Zhitie sv. vel. kn. Ol'gi* (Moscow, 1863). Because the pertinent foreign sources—Byzantine Greek and Latin—have been investigated extensively by historians studying Ol'ga and her time over the last century and a half, I refrain from listing them here. Instead, I note those studies on the subject that are, in my opinion, particularly useful: V. A. Parkhomenko, "O kreshchenii sv. kniagini Ol'gi," *Vera i razum* (Kharkiv), 1910, no. 10, bk. 2, pp. 429–46 (also issued separately: *Drevnerusskaia kniaginia, sviataia ravnoapostol'skaia Ol'ga* [Kiev, 1911]); S. F. Platonov, "Letopisnyi rasskaz o kreshchenii Ol'gi v Tsar'grade," *Izvestiia Tavricheskoi uchenoi arkhivnoi komissii* (Simferopol), no. 54 (1918), pp. 182–86 (also published in *Istoricheskii arkhiv* 1 [1919]:283–88); Isydor Nahaievs'kyi, *Rivnoapostol'na sviata Ol'ha-Olena, kniahynia i volodarka Rusy-Ukrainy. Istorychnyi narys. V 1000-richchia ii khreshchennia* (Philadelphia, 1955); G. Ostrogorsky, "Byzanz und die Kiewer Fürstin Olga," in his *Byzanz und die Welt der Slawen: Beiträge zur Geschichte der byzantinisch-slawischen Beziehungen* (Darmstadt, 1974), pp. 35–52 (originally published in Russian: "Vizantiia i kievskaia kniaginia Ol'ga," in *To honor Roman Jakobson: Essays on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday, 11 October 1966*, vol. 2 [The Hague and Paris, 1967], pp. 1458–73; J.-P. Arrignon, "Les relations internationales de la Russie kiévienne au mileu du X^e siècle et le baptême de la princesse Olga," *Occident et Orient au X^e siècle. Actes du IX^e Congrès de la Société des Historiens Médiévistes de l'Enseignement Supérieur Public: Dijon, 2–4 juin 1978* (Paris, 1979), pp. 167–86 (published also in Russian, with some changes: Zh.-P. Arin'on, "Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniia Kievskoi Rusi v seredine X v. i kreshchenie kniagini Ol'gi," *Vizantiiskii vremennik* [hereafter *VizVrem*], 41 [1980]:113–24); A. N. Sakharov, "Diplomatiia kniagini Ol'gi," *Voprosy istorii*, 1979, no. 10, pp. 25–51; G. G. Litavrin, "Puteshestvie russkoi kniagini Ol'gi v Konstantinopol'. Problema istochnikov," *VizVrem* 42 (1981):35–48; idem, "O datirovke posol'stva kniagini Ol'gi v Konstantinopol'," *Istoriia SSSR*, 1981, no. 5, pp. 173–83; idem, "K voprosu ob obstoiatel'stvakh, meste i vremeni kreshcheniia kniagini Ol'gi," in *Drevneishie gosudarstva na territorii SSSR: Materialy i issledovaniia, 1985 god* (Moscow, 1986), pp. 49–57; D. Obolensky, "Russia and Byzantium in the Mid-Tenth Century: The Problem of the Baptism of Princess Olga," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 28, no. 2 (1983):157–71; idem, "The Baptism of Princess Olga of Kiev: The Problem of Sources," *Byzantina Sorbonen-*

Her vengeance against the *Derevliany*, among whom Igor' found his death, is in line with pagan religious beliefs and convictions of the time. The tactics that she used in meeting with the envoys of the Derevliany reveal not so much her cunning, with which she is credited by the chronicler,[11] as her Scandinavian pagan background. For instance, she is credited with having said: "Indeed, my husband cannot rise again from the dead (*uzhe mne muzha svoego ne krisiti*). But I desire to honor you tomorrow in the presence of my people."[12] This statement was the announcement of the envoys' death by burial alive in a boat, a Scandinavian practice of which the Derevliany were not aware.[13]

Ol'ga's change of heart on religious matters must have taken place prior to her voyage to Constantinople, by which time she became a Christian.[14] Her visit (possibly twice?) to the imperial city,[15] her conversion to Christianity, and her embassy to Otto I are events that have elicited a great deal of commentary, especially recently.[16] The reason or reasons for her conversion at this particular time—assumed but not yet confirmed beyond doubt to be 955—remains unknown. It is hard to accept her personal satisfaction with the new faith as the only reason for the conversion, as the chronicler presents it.[17] Almost without exception the conversions of ruling princes were prompted by political (e.g., dynastic) or economic considerations.

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sia, 1984, pp. 159–76; also his contribution to this volume of *HUS*, "Ol'ga's Conversion: The Evidence Reconsidered"; Ellen Hurwitz, "Dating Ol'ga's Baptism: The Case for an Open Mind," a paper presented at the McMaster Conference on the Culure of Kievan Rus', held at McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario, 31 May–2 June 1987; O. Pritsak, "When and Where was Ol'ga Baptized?," *HUS* 9, no. 1/2 (June 1985): 1–21.

11 *PCh*, trans. Cross, pp. 79–81, s.a. 945–46.

12 *PSRL*, 1: col. 56; *PCh*, trans. Cross, p. 79.

13 See D. Chyzhevs'kyi, *Die Geschichte der altrussischen Literatur im 11., 12. und 13. Jahrhundert: Kiewer Epoche* (Frankfurt am Main [1948]), p. 54. Cf. A. I. Liashchenko, "Letopisnoe skazanie o mesti Ol'gi drevlianam," *Izvestiia po russkomu iazyku i slovesnosti [AN SSSR]*, vol. 2, bk. 1 (1929): 320–36.

14 Assuming that she was baptized in Kiev in 955, and visited Constantinople in 957. On that visit, see Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *De caeremoniis aulae byzantinae*, ed. J. J. Reiske (Bonn, 1829), pp. 594–98.

It is beyond the scope and objectives of this paper to enter into the discussion of the time and place of Ol'ga's baptism. The problem is still unresolved. There seems, however, to be an inclination to accept the view that the baptism occured in 957 in Constantinople. It is Ol'ga's Christian name, Helena, which was the name of the Byzantine empress at the time, that speaks for the city of Constantinople as the place of her baptism.

15 Cf. O. Pritsak, "When and Where was Ol'ga baptized?," pp. 12–15.

16 See fn. 10, above.

17 *PCh*, trans. Cross, p. 82.

Princess Ol'ga was surely not an exception.[18] Indeed, there are indications that she seriously considered introducing Christianity as the new state religion in her realm. Jacob the Monk, in his "Memory and Eulogy of Prince Volodimer" says that Ol'ga, after her baptism in Constantinople, "returned in the land of Rus'. . . and then destroyed the places of [pagan] worship."[19] Her destruction of idols is also mentioned in her Vita: "And she traveled around the entire Rus' land, imposing tributes and light taxes, [and] destroying idols."[20] The question arises whether Ol'ga tried to impose the new religion on her subjects by force. The prevailing opinion among historians holds that the policy of tolerance in religious matters did not change after her conversion and baptism.

Ol'ga's attempt to Christianize the country coincided with the political and religious expansion policy of the Frankish Empire. Hungary, after the defeat of 955, Poland, and the West Slavic tribes not yet baptized, as well as the Danes and other Scandinavian peoples, found themselves under pressure to convert and to conform to this imperial policy.[21] The king of the Saxons (936–962), and subsequently emperor (962–973), Otto I, and the Roman papacy paid special attention to the conversion of the Slavs, as indicated by the establishment of the Archbishopric of Magdeburg in 962. Its

[18] See, for example, Parkhomenko, *Nachalo khristianstva Rusi*, pp. 130–32, 141, who thinks that a dynastic reason was vital, i.e., Ol'ga wanted a Byzantine princess to marry her son Sviatoslav; and B. Φειδᾶς, "Ἡ ἡγεμονὶς τοῦ Κιέβου Ὄλγα-Ἑλένη (954–964) μεταξὺ Ἀνατολῆς καὶ Δύσεως," Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν 39/40 (1972–1973), pp. 630–50, who suggests that the reason behind Ol'ga's voyage was an attempt to organize an anti-Hungarian alliance. His argument is not very convincing, since the Hungarians had ceased to be a menace to both the Byzantine and Frankish empires, and probably to their other neighbors, including Rus', after their defeat in 955 at Lechfeld.

Those historians who propose the dynastic factor (in addition to the economic one) as a reason for Ol'ga's travel to Constantinople in 957 have at least an argument *ex post*, since in the next generation such a dynastic link with the imperial Byzantine house of the Macedonians was, indeed, established. A Byzantine princess and the Christian religion arrived in Kiev, and favorable political and economic relations between Kiev and Constantinople ensued.

For a concise presentation of Ol'ga's diplomacy vis-à-vis the two empires, see chapter 7, "Diplomatiia kniagini Ol'gi: (50-e–nachalo 60-kh godov X v.," of Sakharov, *Diplomatiia Drevnei Rusi*, pp. 259–98; 349–53.

[19] Golubinskii, *Istoriia russkoi tserkvi*, 1, pt. 1:241.

[20] N. Serebrianskii, *Drevne-russkie kniazheskie zhitiia*, Introduction, pp. 8 (redaction A2) and 10 (redaction B).

[21] For a concise, well-documented survey of the missionary policy of the German Empire under Ottonian rule, see Arnold Angenendt, *Kaiserschaft und Königstaufe: Kaiser, Könige und Päpste als geistliche Patrone in der abendländischen Missionsgeschichte*, Arbeiten zur Frühmittelalterforschung. Schriftenreihe des Instituts für Frühmittelalterforschung der Universität Münster, 15 (Berlin and New York, 1984), pp. 274–310.

creation had already been planned for some time.[22] Ol'ga's envoys arrived at the court of Otto in Frankfurt-am-Main at Christmastime of 959. They requested that the king send a bishop and priests to Rus'.[23] We can surmise that at this point neither the hierarchical structure nor the cultural-linguistic orientation of the new faith in Kiev had been determined. Nonetheless, the historical fact of Ol'ga's envoys at the court of Otto I, following her visit to Constantinople, gave historians the opportunity to propose many an ingenious explanation and hypothesis.[24] This act by the princess of Kiev was, however, not without precedent. A century earlier (in 866), under similar circumstances, the tsar of Bulgaria Boris (852–889) sent an embassy to King Louis the German (843–876), also asking for a hierarchy and clergy.[25]

In response to Ol'ga's request, a mission was dispatched to Kiev, but only after considerable delay, due to the death of the first bishop-designate, Libutius (died 15 February 961), from the Monastery of St. Albanus in Mainz. His successor for the mission, Bishop Adalbert of the St. Maximin Monastery in Trier, arrived in Kiev in 961, and soon, according to his own words, was forced to flee the city.[26] After his return from Rus' to Germany, Adalbert distinguished himself as an energetic church prelate, serving successively as the abbot of Weissenburg in Alsace (966–968) and the archbishop of Magdeburg (968–981).[27] He is also credited with the con-

[22] Angenendt, *Kaiserschaft und Königstaufe*, pp. 285–89.

[23] *Reginonis abbatis prumiensis chronicon, cum continuatione treverensi*, ed. Kurz, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* (hereafter *MGH SS*) (Hannover, 1890), s.a. 959, p. 170: "Legati Helenae reginae Rugorum, quae sub Romane imperatore Constantinopolitano Constantinopoli baptizata est, ficte, ut claruit, ad regem venientes episcopum et presbiteros eidem genti ordinari petebant." A concise summary of other Latin sources is in Golubinskii, *Istoriia russkoi tserkvi*, 1, pt. 1: 103–104.

[24] For example, Omeljan Pritsak, "When and Where was Ol'ga Baptized?," p. 21, suggests that Ol'ga was advised by the emperor of Byzantium (Constantine VII or Romanus II) to turn to Otto I for help in organizing the Christian church in her realm.

[25] See V. N. Zlatarski, *Istoriia na bŭlgarskata dŭrzhava prez srednite vekove*, vol. 1, pt. 2 (Sofia, 1927), pp. 83–86. It is interesting to note that in both cases the two respective rulers ask for and receive "doctrinal instruction" from the patriarch of Constantinople, but ask for missionaries from the Western emperors. Cf. Pritsak, "When and Where was Ol'ga Baptized?," p. 20, who indicates the differences between these two analogous events.

[26] *Reginonis abbatis prumiensis chronicon*, s.a. 962, p. 172: "Eodem anno Adalbertus Rugis ordinatus episcopus nihil in his, propter quae missus fuerat, proficere valens et inaniter se fatigatum videns, revertitur et quibusdam ex suis in redeundo occisis ipse cum magno labore vix evasit."

[27] See Dietrich Claude, *Geschichte des Erzbistums Magdeburg bis in das 12. Jahrhundert*, vol. 1, Mitteldeutsche Forschungen, 67 (Cologne and Vienna, 1972), pp. 114–35.

tinuation of the Chronicle of Prüm.[28] But as a missionary in Kiev, he proved to be a dismal failure, for which he blamed the hostile Kievans and Princess Ol'ga. Her request to Otto I for a bishop and priests Adalbert called "fictitious," i.e., a pretense without foundation.[29] His assertion should not be dismissed lightly, however. There could have been objective reasons for the failure of Adalbert's mission, as well as for Princess Ol'ga's religious policy in Kiev. Prince Sviatoslav's coming of age and shedding the long tutelage of his mother is considered one such reason. Another possible cause is hostility against Christian missions and missionaries brought about by the pagan population's reaction against Ol'ga's destruction of ancient pagan places of worship. A hostile attitude toward this particular mission among Christians in Kiev, who perhaps already worshipped in Bulgarian or Greek, should also not be excluded. Yet what little information there is in the existing sources about Adalbert's character points unmistakably toward him personally as a prime cause of his misfortune in Kiev, and as a contributory factor in the setback of Ol'ga's policy of Christianization at the end of her reign over Rus'. In Kiev, it should be remembered, Adalbert represented the Ottonian policy of political expansion combined, according to contemporary German historiography, with church mission.[30] This combined policy is known to have been opposed and resisted in other countries as well, e.g., Poland and Bohemia.[31]

Princess Ol'ga's attempt to christianize Kievan Rus' after her own baptism did not, as we well know, succeed. Indeed, the new religion did not make an impact on or influence her own kin: her family remained pagan after her conversion. Neither her only son Sviatoslav nor her grandsons were baptized during her lifetime.[32] The chronicle entry about the death and

[28] See Karl Hauck, "Erzbischof Adalbert von Magdeburg als Geschichtsschreiber," in *Festschrift für Walter Schlesinger*, ed. Helmut Beumann, vol. 2, Mitteldeutsche Forschungen, 74/2 (Cologne and Vienna, 1974), pp. 276–344.

[29] See above, fn. 23.

[30] See, for example, Helmut Beumann, "Das Kaisertum Ottos des Grossen: Ein Rückblick nach Tausend Jahren," in *Das Kaisertum Ottos des Grossen: Zwei Vorträge von Helmut Beumann und Heinrich Büttner*, Vorträge und Forschungen, 1 (Sigmaringen, 1975), p. 43; Albert Brackmann, *Magdeburg als Haupstadt des deutschen Ostens im frühen Mittelalter* (Leipzig, 1937), p. 15 and passim; Angenendt, *Kaiserschaft und Königstaufe*, pp. 274, 294 and passim. Cf. M. Z. Jedlicki, *Stosunek prawny Polski do Cesarstwa do roku 1000*, Prace Komisji Historycznej Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk, 12 (Poznań, 1939), p. 18 and passim.

[31] Cf. Jerzey Dowiat, *Metryka chrztu Mieszka i jej geneza* (Warsaw, 1961), pp. 165–95 passim.

[32] Interesting information on this issue is found in the chronicle called *Stepennaia kniga* (*PSRL*, vol. 21, pt. 1 [St. Petersburg, 1908], p. 32). It says that Ol'ga was afraid to baptize her grandsons because she was unsure of Sviatoslav's reaction. Instances of the children or grandchildren of Christian rulers of countries not having been baptized are known in other newly converted countries. For instance, Eadbald, son of Ethelbert, king of Kent (560-616),

funeral of Princess Ol'ga perhaps best describes the religious situation in Kiev and in the whole realm of Rus' at the time of her death (969): "She secretly had a presbyter and he buried the blessed Ol'ga."[33] Ol'ga's significance for the later, eventual triumph of Christianity in Rus', however, is also succinctly and correctly stated at the beginning of the next paragraph: "Ol'ga was the precursor of the Christian land, the same way as the day-spring precedes the sun and as the dawn precedes the day."[34]

III

Most of our information about Prince Sviatoslav of Rus' (945–972) comes from two sources: the Primary Chronicle,[35] and the "History" by Leo the Deacon, the Byzantine court historian of the tenth century.[36] There is no disagreement between these two sources about Sviatoslav's religious

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who converted to Christianity in 597, and his wife Bertha (d. 616), who was a Christian princess and daughter of King Charibert of the Franks, was not baptized.

33 *Nikonian Chronicle*, p. 64. Cf. *Povest' vremennykh let*, vol. 2: *Prilozheniia. Stat'i i komentarii*, by D. S. Likhachev (hereafter Likhachev, *PVL*, 2) (Moscow and Leningrad, 1950), pp. 315–16, and *Povest' vremennykh let'*, vol. 1: *Tekst i perevod*, ed. D. S. Likhachev, trans. D. S. Likhachev and B. A. Romanov (hereafter Likhachev, *PVL*, 1) (Moscow and Leningrad, 1950), p. 246.

34 *PCh*, trans. Cross, p. 86.

35 See *PSRL*, 1: col. 57–74, and passim; *PCh*, trans. Cross, pp. 73, 78, 80, 83–91, and passim. See also Likhachev, *PVL*, 2: 301, 308–320.

36 See *Leonis Diaconi Caloensis Historiae, libri decem.* References here are to excerpts from the Bonn edition of 1828 (E rec. C. B. Hase), published together with the Bulgarian translation in *Fontes Graeci historiae Bulgaricae*, vol. 9 (Sofia, [1964]), pp. 246–76; for the most part, they deal with Sviatoslav's Balkan wars. See p. 245 for the literature on this subject. For a recent Russian translation, see Lev Diiakon, *Istoriia*, trans. M. M. Kopylenko, commentary by M. Ia. Siuziumov and S. A. Ivanov (Moscow, 1988). Other sources are discussed in P. O. Karyshkovs'kyi, "K voprosu o pervoistochnikakh po istorii pokhodov Sviatoslova," *Kratkie soobshcheniia Instituta slavianovedeniia AN SSSR*, no. 9: *Iz istorii russko-slavianskikh otnoshenii* (Moscow, 1952), pp. 53–64; idem, "K istorii balkanskikh pokhodov Rusi pri Sviatoslave," ibid., no. 14 (1955), pp. 26–30; idem, "O khronologii russko-vizantiiskoi voiny pri Sviatoslave," *VizVrem* 5 (1952): 127–38; A. N. Sakharov, "Balkanskie pokhody Sviatoslava i diplomatiia Drevnei Rusi: Istoricheskii ocherk," *Voprosy istorii*, 1982, no. 2, pp. 81–107; and older works by V. Z. Zavitnevich, "Velikii kniaz' kievskii Sviatoslav Igorevich i istoricheskoe znachenie ego bogatyrskikh podvigov," *TKDA*, 1888, no. 3, pp. 369–91; A. Chertkov, "Opisanie voiny velikogo kniazia Sviatoslava Igorevicha protiv bolgar i grekov v 967–971 godakh," *Russkii istoricheskii sbornik, izdavaemyi Obshchestvom istorii i drevnostei rossiskikh*, vol. 6, bk. 3-4 (Moscow, 1843), pp.185–469; see also *Dogovory russkikh s grekami i predshestvovavshie ikh pokhody russkikh na Vizantiiu*, ed. N. Marks, pt. 2: *Vremia Igoria i Sviatoslava* (Moscow, 1912).

Prince Sviatoslav, because of his destruction of the the Khazar Empire, is also mentioned in Arabic sources, e.g., by the geographer Ibn Ḥawqal (ca. 977). See D. M. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars* (Princeton, 1954), p. 242.; and A. Iu. Iakubovskii, "O russko-kavkazskikh otnosheniiakh v IX–X vv.," *Izvestiia Akademii nauk SSSR, Seriia istorii i filosofii*, 3, no. 5 (1946): 470–72.

preferences: he practiced the cult of paganism to the end of his life. He expressed his negative attitude toward Christianity, according to the chronicler, in a dialogue with his mother. To the proddings of Princess Ol'ga to accept the Christian faith, he responds: "How shall I alone accept another faith? My followers will laugh at that."[37] Even if this was not the only reason Sviatoslav opted for the old religion, it was an important one. The ruling class of the country, i.e., the princely retinue and the boyars, could not be ignored by the prince, even one as strong as Sviatoslav. But he was tolerant enough to allow Christianity to spread in his realm, as the following statement by the chronicler would suggest:

> ... but he would not listen to her suggestion [to be baptized], though when any man wished to be baptized, he was not hindered, but only mocked.[38]

The alleged dialogue between Princess Ol'ga and her son Prince Sviatoslav concludes with a pronouncement by Ol'ga of a political principle in matters of religion: "If you are converted, all your subjects will follow your example."[39] Her assessment of the ruler's role in the acceptance of a new religion would be realized and implemented with success by her grandson, Prince Volodimer the Great (980–1015).

Sviatoslav's statement regarding his retinue's hostility toward Christianity poses certain questions. At the time of Igor' 's death, about half of his retinue, who had signed the treaty with Byzantium in 944, were Christian; the other half were pagan. The two groups coexisted peacefully, as the Primary Chronicle's account of the confirmation of the treaty would have us believe.[40] By now, twenty years later, not many of them would continue to serve the young prince, due to their age. We know, however, that at least one member of Igor' 's retinue, Sveneld, remained as a trusted commander and advisor of Sviatoslav and even of his son Iaropolk.[41] But what about the sons and even grandsons of those Christian members of the retinue who had served Prince Igor' and Princess Ol'ga after him? Unfortunately, we do not possess information about the ethnic and religious background of these

[37] *PCh*, trans. Cross, p. 84.

[38] *PCh*, trans. Cross, p. 83; *PSRL*, 1: col. 63: the phrase reads: "*ne braniakhu, no rugakhusia tomu.*"

[39] *PCh*, trans. Cross, p. 84.

[40] *PSRL*, 1: col. 52–53; *PCh*, trans. Cross, p. 77. Cf. the text of Sviatoslav's treaty of 971 (*PSRL*, 1: col. 72–73, and *PCh*, trans. Cross, p. 91), the oath on which does not include a reference to the Christian God, but does to the two pagan deities of Perun and Volos.

[41] For his historical role and some scanty biographical data, see M. I. Artamonov, "Voevoda Svenel'd," in *Kul'tura Drevnei Rusi: Sbornik v chest' N. N. Voronina* (Moscow, 1966), pp. 30–35. Cf. also A. V. Poppe, "Rodoslovnaia Mstishi Svenel'dicha," *Letopisi i khroniki: Sbornik statei 1973 g., posviashchen pamiati Arseniia Nikolaevicha Nasonova* (Moscow, 1974), pp. 64–91; and Parkhomenko, *Nachalo khristianstva Rusi*, pp. 150–51.

retainers, and the names of only a few—e.g., Sveneld, Dobrynia, Ikmor—are known to us. What Sviatoslav's statement conveys is the rise in significance of the pagan religion in Kiev during his rule. Of several possible reasons for such a development, one is that Sviatoslav's retinue was recruited from the new contingents of Varangians who were coming to Rus' at the time. This does not necessarily contradict the claim by some historians that in 962 a coup d'état staged in Kiev removed Ol'ga from power.[42] The alleged coup was said to have been executed by Sviatoslav with the help of the pagan party. The coup was supposedly caused by Ol'ga's intensified Christianization of the country, against which a pagan reaction set in.[43] It seems to have coincided with the arrival and short stay in Kiev of Bishop Adalbert, whose mission thus became also one of the contributory factors in the events of 962.[44] No data in the sources confirms such suppositions, however. One thing is certain: in 962 Sviatoslav took over the reins of rule in Kievan Rus', a change which could have happened simply because he came of age.

What were the characteristics of the pagan cult in Kiev during Ol'ga's and Sviatoslav's time? It can be described briefly as a polytheistic, anthropomorphic religion with Perun, the god of heaven, as the chief deity. Recently, knowledge about the cult has been enriched by students of Slavic paganism.[45]

Having chosen to remain loyal to the pagan cult throughout his lifetime, Prince Sviatoslav resisted pressures from other religions on him personally and on his entourage, including members of his immediate family. At the same time, he was in both friendly and (usually) hostile contacts with the countries that represented the major transcendental religions of his time, e.g., Khazaria (Judaism), Volga Bulgars (Islam),[46] Byzantium, Bulgaria,

[42] E.g., Viacheslav Zaikyn (also V. Zaikin in Russian and Wacław Zajikyn in Polish), "Khrystyianstvo na Ukraini za chasiv Iaropolka I (969–979)," *Zapysky ChSVV* 3 (1928): 21; Mykola Chubatyi, *Istoriia khrystyianstva na Rusy-Ukraini*, vol. 1: *(do r. 1353)* (Rome and New York, 1965), p. 184.

[43] Zaikyn, "Khrystyianstvo na Ukraini," 3: 20–22.

[44] Since the Primary Chronicle mentions neither the name nor the presence in Kiev of Bishop Adalbert, this and other developments related to his person can be surmised only from his own report and on the basis of other Western Latin sources generally accepted as reliable. See Zaikyn, "Khrystyianstvo na Ukraini," 3: 19–20.

[45] More than a century of scholarly research on this topic has been superbly integrated into a capital work dealing with paganism in Old Rus', i.e., with the pre-Christian religious beliefs of the East Slavic tribes, by B. A. Rybakov, *Iazychestvo Drevnei Rusi* (Moscow, 1987). The reader is directed to this reference work as well as to its companion volume, by the same author, *Iazychestvo drevnikh slavian* (Moscow, 1981).

[46] For a recent general summary, based primarily on Arabic sources, of relations between Rus' and countries of the East at the time, see *Vvedenie khristianstva na Rusi* (Moscow, 1987),

Poland, and Bohemia (Christianity). He was not swayed, however, by any one of these religions, as can be deduced from the oath by which the peace treaty with Byzantium at the end of the Balkan campaign in 971 was confirmed: there Sviatoslav invoked the pagan deities of Perun and Volos.[47] That invocation of Volos, as well as the one made decades earlier, in the treaty of 907, can be interpreted as an acknowledgement of the ethnically Slavic members of the retinue, and of their supporters in Kievan Rus' society at large.[48]

Three issues with religious connotations relate to Sviatoslav's campaigns in the Balkans. When Sviatoslav entered into an alliance with Byzantium against Bulgaria, then ruled by Peter (927–969), he presumably intended to subdue and to place under his domination the territory of Bulgaria, or, more probably, the basins of the Dniester and Danube rivers. This objective of territorial expansion to the shores of the Black Sea, a region which, according to sources, was almost totally christianized,[49] seems to have been doomed from the outset, given that Sviatoslav intended to remain a pagan.

Wartime propaganda is not an invention of the twentieth century. It has been used with greater or lesser success since antiquity.[50] Such propaganda was employed by the Byzantines against Sviatoslav and the Rus' during the Balkan war. Of interest to us here is its religious aspect. It is not untoward to assume that in the territories populated by Christians a religious appeal could not remain unheeded and would help mobilize forces against the

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pp. 55–57 (chap. 3: "Vostok v bor'be za religioznoe vliianie na Rusi," by A. P. Novosel'tsev). See also M. B. Sverdlov, "Rus' i vostochnye gosudarstva," in *Sovetskoe istoriografiia Kievskoi Rusi* (Leningrad, 1976), pp. 190–99; and idem, "Vostochnye pis'mennye istochniki," in *Sovetskoe istochnikovedenie Kievskoi Rusi: Istoriograficheskie ocherki* (Leningrad, 1979), pp. 63–71. The last volume includes historiographical articles surveying the Byzantine, as well as the West, Central, and North European sources, viz.: E. E. Lipshits, "Vizantiiskie pis'mennye istochniki," pp. 72–79; and M. B. Sverdlov, "Pis'mennye istochniki Zapadnoi, Tsentral'noi i Severnoi Evropy," pp. 80–87.

47 See above, fn. 40.

48 On the functions performed by various groups in society, see George Dumezil, *Gods of the Ancient Northmen*, ed. Einar Haugen, introduction by C. Scott Littleton [to pt. 1] and Udo Strutynski [to pt. 2] (Berkeley, 1973), pp. x–xii (introduction to pt. 1). Cf. also O. Pritsak, *The Origin of Rus'*, vol. 1: *Old Scandinavian Sources other than the Sagas* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981), p. 42.

49 See I. I. Nazarko, *Sviatyi Volodymyr Velykyi—volodar i khrystytel' Rusy-Ukrainy (960-1015)* (Analecta OSBM, ser. II, sec. I, vol. 4) (Rome, 1954), pp. 17–24. See also Chubatyi, *Istoriia khrystyianstva na Rusy-Ukraini*, 1: 67–100; and Georg von Rauch, "Frühe christliche Spuren in Russland," *Saeculum* 7 (1956): 40–67.

50 For examples of Byzantine propaganda, see Alexander Kazhdan, "Certain Traits of Imperial Propaganda in the Byzantine Empire from the Eighth to the Fifteenth Centuries," in *Predication et propaganda au Moyen Age: Islam, Byzance, Occident. Penn–Paris– Dumbarton Oaks Colloquia, III: Session des 20-25 octobre 1980, organisée par: George Makdisi [et al.]* [Paris, 1983], pp. 13–28.

pagan Sviatoslav, leading to his demise at Byzantine hands. We are informed by Leo the Deacon, for example, that Emperor Nicephorus Phocas (963–969) sent his envoys (Patrician Nicephorus Eroticus and Proedros of Euchaïta Philotheus) "to his coreligionist Bulgarians" (in the text: Moesians) to remind them that they "profess the truly Christian doctrine."[51] This reminder would, of course, dwell on the obligation to take a common stand against the pagan forces of Rus', an obligation made sweeter by offers of marital ties with the imperial family of Constantinople. Still, the religious factor in the mutual defense negotiations between the two countries should not be overlooked. It is known, too, that Sviatoslav did not find support among the Bulgarians for his policy of confrontation with Byzantium.[52] In any case, some of the practices of the Rus' reported by Leo the Deacon must have repulsed the Christians in the Balkans. He mentions, for example, that human sacrifice accompanied the burial of fallen soldiers in Sviatoslav's army.[53]

The final issue concerns the contents of the treaty of 971. The treaty does not include any reference to religious matters. At the time of its conclusion at Dorostol, Prince Sviatoslav was a defeated enemy, pressed to come to some agreement with the empire that would extricate him from a dangerous military and political situation, and allow him to return home unpursued. Why, then, did not the imperial government pressure him to accept baptism? The explanation that the treaty was purely political in its nature is unsatisfactory.[54] Essentially, we have no real answer to this question.

Unrelated to the above issues is yet another question about Sviatoslav's religious policy at home, namely, did he remain tolerant towards the Christian faith to the end of his life? The silence in the sources about Christian churches in Kiev following the death of Sviatoslav has led some historians

51 *Leonis Diaconi Historiae*, in *Fontes Graeci historiae Bulgaricae*, 9: 249. Cf. the praise for the virtuous life of Emperor Nicephorus II Phocas, ibid.

52 See Zlatarski, *Istoriia na bŭlgarskata dŭrzhava*, 1: 610–11, 615 and passim.

53 *Leonis Diaconi Historiae*, p. 269. Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy*, 1: 327, doubts that human sacrifices occurred among the Rus', since no confirmation of this usage is found in other sources. But see *PCh*, trans. Cross, p. 95 (and p. 244, fn. 87) s.a. 983. Cf. also Golubinskii, *Istoriia russkoi tserkvi*, 1, pt. 1: 151; and I. S. Duichev, "K voprosu o iazycheskikh zhertvoprinosheniiakh v Drevnei Rusi," in *Kul'turnoe nasledie Drevnei Rusi: Istoki, stanovlenie, traditsii* (Moscow, 1976), pp. 31–34.

54 See, for example, Sakharov, *Diplomatiia Drevnei Rusi*, passim, who stresses this point in analyzing earlier Byzantine-Rus' treaties (907, 911, 944). See also his popular book: *"My ot roda russkogo. . ." : Rozhdenie russkoi diplomatii* (Leningrad, 1986), pp. 329–35, in which the treaty of 971 is discussed without reference to this point. It is interesting to note that Sveneld's counterpart on the Byzantine side was a churchman, Bishop Philotheus or Theophilus of Euchaïta.

to conclude that they might have been destroyed toward the end of his rule, when he was blaming the Christian God for his defeat in the Balkans.[55] The majority of historians who have voiced their opinion in this matter are convinced, however, that Sviatoslav's tolerant attitude toward Christianity remained unchanged to the end of his life.[56]

The untimely death of Prince Sviatoslav in 972 must not only have deepened the political crisis inside the Kievan Rus' commonwealth, but also exacerbated the religious and cultural disorientation among her political elite. Sviatoslav's rejection of Christianity as a state religion was responsible, it can be argued, for the crisis in Kievan Rus' that prevailed in the next two decades.

IV

The rule of the adolescent sons of Sviatoslav, both as his viceroys prior to 972 and subsequently as his successors in the lands to which they were appointed, betweeen 972 and 980 (the probable date of Iaropolk's death), is the least documented period in the history of Kievan Rus'.[57] In the

[55] See V. N. Tatishchev, *Istoriia rossiiskaia*, vol. 2 (Moscow and Leningrad, 1962), p. 241, citing a passage in the Ioakim Chronicle narrating that shortly before his death Sviatoslav ordered Christian temples destroyed and burned, and that he also wanted to destroy all Christians. It seems that this late compilation, which most historians view with suspicion, portrayed Sviatoslav as an enemy of Christians so as to justify his punishment by God.

Some scholars, however, maintain that the chronicle did exist before 1812. At least some of its historical data are considered reliable. See, for example, S. K. Shambinago, "Ioakimovskaia letopis'," *Istoricheskie zapiski* 21 (1947): 254–70; M. N. Tikhomirov, "O russkikh istochnikakh 'Istorii rossiiskoi,'" (an introductory article) in *Istoriia rossiiskaia*, 1: 39–53, cf. 50–52; and M. Gorlin, "La Chronique de Joachim," *Revues des études slaves* 19 (1939): 40–51. Cf. also Poppe, "Rodoslovnaia Mstishi Svenel'dicha," p. 73; and B. M. Kloss [and] V. I. Koretskii, "V. N. Tatishchev i nachalo izucheniia russkikh letopisei," *Letopisi i khroniki. 1980* (Moscow, 1981), pp. 5–13. Note that the authors make no mention of this chronicle.

Nazarko, *Sviatyi Volodymyr Velykyi*, p. 39, thinks that Sviatoslav did not allow the persecution of Christians out of respect for his mother's religious feelings. On the other hand, Sviatoslav's policy of territorial expansion into areas where paganism was still strong might have been important; Golubinskii, *Istoriia russkoi tserkvi*, 1, pt. 1: 87, notes the general tolerance of the pagans in this regard. Parkhomenko, *Nachalo khristianstva Rusi*, pp. 155–56, and, following him, M. G. Popruzhenko, "Bulgariia i Kievska Rus'," *Spisane Rodina*, vol. 1, bk. 3 (Sofia, 1939), pp. 28–29, thought that Prince Sviatoslav contributed to the spread of Christianity among the Rus' inadvertently, by exposing his retinue to Christian influences during his Bulgarian campaigns. This view is not shared by Vsevolod Nikolaev, *Slavianobŭlgarskiiat faktor*, p. 16, who believes that such chance encounters were insignificant.

[56] Cf. fn. 55 above.

[57] Hrushevs'kyi *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy*, 1: 478–79, limits the rule of Iaropolk to seven years, which were consumed by the power struggle among the three brothers. He considers this short period in the history of Kievan Rus', which resulted in its partition, to be very critical. Iaropolk was not strong enough a ruler to overcome the crisis, although he tried to do so when, fol-

historiography of this period the lack of solid data was often compensated by divergent theories and hypotheses. What we do know from the entries in the Primary Chronicle is that the two allegedly older sons of Sviatoslav, Iaropolk and Oleg, were born by Sviatoslav's legitimate wife,[58] whose identity we do not know. Nor do we know the dates when each of Sviatoslav's three sons was born. Volodimer is known to be the son of Malusha-Malfrida, who seems to have fallen into disgrace at the court of Princess Ol'ga, perhaps because of her liaison with Sviatoslav, and was exiled to the estate of Budutin outside Kiev, where Volodimer was born.[59] In 970, Sviatoslav, while in Kiev prior to his second Balkan campaign, appointed Iaropolk prince of Kiev, probably as his viceroy, and made Oleg prince of the Derevliany Land. Volodimer was sent to Novgorod in response to that city's request for a resident prince, or viceroy; his two older half-brothers are said to have refused to go.[60] The chronicle then recounts the struggle among the princely brothers that led to the murder of Oleg in 977, as a result of an attack by Iaropolk; three years later came the death of Iaropolk, who in turn had been attacked by Volodimer. The whole realm of the Kievan Rus' thus came under the sole rule of Volodimer.[61]

Some additional bits of information about this period have been preserved in the Nikon Chronicle, as well as in the excerpts from the Ioakim Chronicle. Since most of that information cannot be verified in other sources, its value is, therefore, only relative.[62]

One foreign, i.e., Western Latin source from the period under consideration should be mentioned here, namely the Lamberti Annales, which records an embassy of Rus' (*Ruscorum*) to the court of Emperor Otto I at

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lowing Volodimer's flight from Novgorod, he appointed his own governor of this city (and appanage). Note the following statement in the Hypatian Chronicle to this effect: "And he [Iaropolk] was one ruler in Rus' " (*PSRL*, vol. 2, 2nd ed. [St. Petersburg, 1908; rpt'd. Moscow, 1962], col. 63). According to the Polish chronicler Jan Długosz (*Ioannis Dlugossii Annales seu cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*, bk. 1-2 [Warsaw, 1964], p. 187), Sviatoslav divided his realm among his sons prior to his death to prevent such a fratricidal struggle. Cf. also Shakhmatov, *Razyskaniia*, pp. 349, 353–54.

58 Neither her name nor background are known.

59 See *PSRL*, 9:35, s.a. 970; *Nikonian Chronicle*, 1:65.

60 *PSRL*, 1:col. 69; *PCh*, trans. Cross, p. 87. For a highly hypothetical explanation of the appointment of Iaropolk to rule in Kiev at that time (supposedly due to pressure by local elements—rather than the Varangians—who were dissatisfied with Sviatoslav's expansionist policy), see V. Zaikyn, "Khrystyianstvo na Ukraini," 3:32.

61 See *PSRL*, 1:col. 74–79; *PCh*, trans. Cross, pp. 90–93. Cf. col. 79 and p. 93, respectively: "And Volodimer began to reign alone in Kiev."

62 See, however, B. M. Kloss, *Nikonovskii svod i russkie letopisi XVI–XVII vekov* (Moscow, 1980), p. 187 and passim, where confirmation of some of the events in the Nikon Chronicle is given. Regarding the Ioakim Chronicle, see fn. 55.

Quedlinburg at the time of Easter in 973.[63]

Fate did not smile on Iaropolk, the oldest son of Sviatoslav. Chronologically, his reign as prince of Kievan Rus' (970/72–980) came between those of two very dynamic rulers, his father Sviatoslav and his half-brother Volodimer. Iaropolk ruled less than ten years, and he died too young, probably at only twenty years of age, to make a true mark in history.[64] But, on the other hand, the length of his rule matches the active lifespan of his father, who distinguished himself as an exceptional political and military leader. Hence, youth was probably not the only reason for Iaropolk's alleged inaction, as some historians believe.[65] Since young princes are known to have acted on the advice and in cooperation with senior members of their retinue, such advice could have been lacking from his advisors. The names and some actions of two of Iaropolk's advisors are known. One of them was Sveneld, who began his service with Igor' and continued under Sviatoslav and Iaropolk, probably until his death in 977 or shortly thereafter.[66] The other was Blud, who has been accused of ill advice and of betrayal resulting in Iaropolk's death.[67]

The lack of information about Prince Iaropolk's rule prompted historians to look for explanations for the relative silence. Usually, the following reasons are mentioned in the historical literature: (a) Prince Iaropolk's weak

63 See the "Annales" of Lampert of Hersfeld, *MGH, SS rerum germanicarum in usum scholarum*, 38: 42. There is no certainty that the embassy that appeared at the court of Otto I at Quedlinburg at Easter 973, was sent by Iaropolk. It could have been sent by Sviatoslav prior to his death. Tomashivs'kyi, *Istoriia tserkvy na Ukraini*, p. 73, assumes that it was sent by Iaropolk at the suggestion of Sveneld, and that religious matters must have been discussed with the emperor, since some time later an embassy from Rome arrived in Kiev. See also Chubatyi, *Istoriia khrystyianstva na Rusy-Ukraini*, 1: 195; and Hryhor Luzhnyts'kyi, *Ukrains'ka tserkva mizh Skhodom i Zakhodom: Narys istorii ukrains'koi tserkvy* (Philadelphia, 1954), p. 41.

64 He is not favored by modern historiography, as is noted by Zaikyn in his "Khrystyianstvo na Ukraini," 4: 378. In addition to Zaikyn's rather lengthy article (*Zapysky ChSVV*, 3: 1–39; 4: 377–402), see also T. B., "Kniaz' Iaropolk Sviatoslavich, katolicheskii gosudar Rusi (Po sluchaiu 950–letiia muchenicheskoi smerti kn. Iaropolka, + 11 iiunia 978 g.—11.VI.1928)," *Kitezh* (Lublin), 1928, no. 5/6, pp. 74–90 (cf. a review note by L. K. in *Zapysky ChSVV* 3 (1929): 289, who states that this is a summary of writings by Parkhomenko and Zaikyn on this topic); Parkhomenko, *Nachalo khristianstva Rusi*, pp. 158–70 (contains a good survey of existing sources on Iaropolk's rule); and idem, "Khristianstvo v Kievskoi Rusi pri Iaropolke, brate Vladimira Sviatogo," *Vera i razum*, 1913, no. 7, pp. 27–35. Parkhomenko's "Khristianstvo Rusi do Vladimira Sviatogo," *Vera i razum*, 1912, nos. 9, 10, and V. Z. (Zaikyn), "Kniaz' Iarapolk I: V 950-ti rokovyny muchenyts'koi smerty katolytskoho volodaria Ukrainy," *Nova Zoria*, vol. 8, no. 43, are both inaccessible to me.

65 See, for example, Golubinskii, *Istoriia russkoi tserkvi*, 1, pt. 1: 93; and Parkhomenko, *Nachalo khristianstva Rusi*, p. 158.

66 See s.n. "Sveneld" in *Sovetskaia istoricheskaia èntsiklopediia*, vol. 12 (Moscow, 1969), col. 594.

67 *PCh*, trans. Cross, pp. 91, 92, 93.

personality (his contemporaries did not think much of him); (b) the brevity of his rule, compounded by the difficult circumstances of the times; and (c) later deliberate deletions from and censorship of the sources.[68] Some scholars even accused Iaropolk of laziness and lack of initiative. Setting aside the question of Iaropolk's character—impossible to judge from the source material available—it is clear that his attack on his brother Oleg, notwithstanding the chronicler's attempt to place the blame for it on the Devil who caused Oleg to murder Sveneld's son,[69] was a major political initiative, aimed at establishing Iaropolk's sole rule in Kievan Rus'. This, in fact, was a revival of the policies of his father and grandfather, who had ruled alone. This is also how Iaropolk's act was understood (correctly) by Volodimer, still in Novgorod at the time; it prompted his flight to Scandinavia, as well as his eventual armed return and victory over Iaropolk.[70] For some time, however, Iaropolk could have been under the delusion that he had, in fact, achieved his objective of becoming the sole ruler of Kievan Rus'.[71]

The historians attempting to explain the paucity of historical data about Iaropolk's rule sometimes assume that the Primary Chronicle contained more information about the prince, but that it was later deleted.[72] Since the chronicle extols Volodimer and his clan (*plemia*), the assumption is that it deliberately downplays the importance of Iaropolk and his rule. Furthermore, some important data have been preserved in the Nikon Chronicle. There the relevant entries read as follows:

[68] See, for example, Parkhomenko, *Nachalo khristianstva Rusi*, pp. 163–64; Zaikyn, "Khrystyianstva na Ukraini," 3:4. Even if we agree with Zaikyn that "the period of Iaropolk is, no question, one of the most important moments in the history of Christianity in Ukraine" (ibid.), we have to assume that the period must have witnessed more important events, including some related to religious matters, than what is contained in the very brief report on the reign in the Primary Chronicle. Regarding various bits of information for the period in question not included in the Primary Chronicle, see especially K. Bestuzhev-Riumin, *O sostave russkikh letopisei do kontsa XIV veka* (St. Petersburg, 1868), introduction pp. 15–16.

[69] See *Nikonian Chronicle*, 1:72, which has this reference to the Devil, absent in the Laurentian text of the Primary Chronicle (see *PCh*, trans. Cross, p. 91). An interesting observation made by Parkhomenko (*Nachalo khristianstva Rusi*, p. 162, fn. 1) is that since the information about the Greek (Christian) wife of Iaropolk is inserted in the part of the chronicle describing the struggle for power among the sons of Sviatoslav, it might have been intended to indicate that there was an interconnection between the two. Cf. M. D. Priselkov, "O bolgarskikh istokakh khristianstva na Rusi" (an abridgement of chap. 1 of his *Ocherki po tserkovno-politicheskoi istorii Kievskoi Rusi X–XII vv.* [St. Petersburg, 1913]), in *Kreshchenie Rusi v trudakh russkikh i sovetskikh istorikov*, pp. 139–69. The author expresses the supposition that "Christian politics was not alien to the plans of Iaropolk, but it provoked a stubborn resistance on the part of the Kievans. . ." (p. 144), which was then exploited by Volodimer.

[70] See *PCh*, trans. Cross, pp. 91, 92.

[71] Cf. *PSRL*, 2: col. 63; see the quote to this effect in fn. 57, above.

[72] Cf. Parkhomenko, *Nachalo khristianstva Rusi*, p. 159, fn. 4, who thinks that this might have been especially true concerning Iaropolk's relations with the Latin West.

In the year 6486 [978]. Iaropolk defeated the Pechenegs and imposed a tribute on them.[73]

In the year 6487 [978]. The Pecheneg Prince Ildei came to Iaropolk and petitioned to be accepted in his service. Iaropolk accepted him and gave him towns and districts and held him in great honor. The same year ambassadors came to Iaropolk from the Byzantine emperor and made a [treaty] of peace and love with him. They came to him on account of tribute in the same way as they had to his father and his grandfather. The same year an envoy came to Iaropolk from the Pope of Rome.[74]

As already mentioned, Iaropolk came to rule suddenly and unexpectedly, amidst a critical situation in which the realm of Kievan Rus' found itself when, following the death of the strong and decisive Prince Sviatoslav, it was faced with a successor young and inexperienced. The failure of Sviatoslav's Balkan political and economic policy was a serious setback. It created military insecurity and economic hardship, because, for at least some time, relations with Byzantium remained hostile. Also, Sviatoslav's religious policy, which amounted to the rise of paganism, was no lesser a liability. At such a critical period the pagan cult could hardly have served as a unifying religion/ideology and was certainly not a helpful factor in relations with neighboring, already Christian countries. At the time, in addition to victorious Byzantium, which now occupied Bulgaria, the Frankish Empire was on the offensive, as indicated by its political and especially religious domination of Bohemia. The most evident manifestation of the Frankish rise was the placing of the newly created Bishopric of Prague under the authority of the Archbishopric of Mainz.[75] Since Germany was not an immediate neighbor of Kievan Rus', such influence and domination was not acute. The developments in Kiev, however, did not escape the attention of Western Latin religious centers, and Rome dispatched an embassy there.[76]

It is against this general background of Iaropolk's rule that we turn to his religious policy. Prince Iaropolk was able to establish direct relations with three major Christian centers: the German Empire of Otto I, just shortly before the latter's death (973); the Byzantine Empire, at the end of his own reign (979); the Papacy of Rome, around the same time (979). These rela-

[73] *Nikonian Chronicle*, 1:73.

[74] *Nikonian Chronicle*, 1:73.

[75] See Peter Hilsch, "Der Bischof von Prag und das Reich in sächsischer Zeit," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 28 (1972): 1–41; and Heidrun Dolezel, "Die Organization der Erzdiöezese Prag," *Bohemia Sacra. Das Christentum in Böhmen: 973–1973*, ed. Ferdinand Seibt [Düsseldorf, 1974], pp. 34–47.

[76] *Nikonian Chronicle*, 1:73. According to Parkhomenko (*Nachalo khristianstva Rusi*, p. 159), an embassy from Rome to Iaropolk in 979 is questioned by those historians (e.g., Golubinskii) who assume that Iaropolk had already been killed in 978.

tions could be, and often are, interpreted as an attempt on his part to accept the Christian faith and to make it a state religion in Kievan Rus'.[77] As the sole ruler of the realm after the death of his brother Oleg and the flight of Volodimer from Novgorod to Scandinavia, he most probably would have succeeded in this,[78] provided that such was his intention. He was deprived of any such chance by the attack of his half-brother Volodimer, who brought about his death. But it should be mentioned that at least two of Iaropolk's three religious embassies (sent or received) were apparently void of religious objectives. The embassy to Quedlinburg in 973, immediately after the defeat of Sviatoslav, could have been an attempt on the part of the political establishment in Kiev to find a mighty new ally and to renew and strengthen trade, for the embassy from Rus' was one of several that arrived from various countries at the imperial court around Eastertime of 973. It has often been suggested, however, that this contact with the German Empire represented Iaropolk's continuation of the pro-Western policies initiated by Princess Ol'ga.[79]

The embassy that arrived in Kiev in 979 from Byzantium had the objective of establishing "peace and love" between the two countries. Its commercial and political character is underscored by the payment of so-called tribute to Iaropolk, in "the same way as they had paid to his father and his grandfather."[80] Perhaps it was also an attempt on the part of Iaropolk to get support for his upcoming war with Volodimer. At the same time, for instance, a Pecheneg chieftain, Prince Ildei, entered Iaropolk's service.[81] Whatever the intentions of the Byzantine embassy and the expectations of Iaropolk might have been, the issue of religion is not mentioned.

On the other hand, the embassy from Rome, provided it really took place, must have aimed at the conversion of Prince Iaropolk and his country to Christianity.[82] Unfortunately, the chronicle's bald mention of such an

[77] Tomashivs'kyi, *Istoriia tserkvy na Ukraini*, p. 73, and Chubatyi, *Istoriia khrystyianstva na Rusy-Ukraini*, 1: 192, were convinced that church matters were discussed by the envoys from Rus' at Quedlinburg in 973. This view is not shared by N. de Baumgarten, *Saint Vladimir et la conversion de la Russie*, Orientalia Christiana, 27, no. 79 (Rome, 1932), p. 48.

[78] Cf. Golubinskii, *Istoriia russkoi tserkvi*, 1, pt. 1: 93.

[79] See Parkhomenko, *Nachalo khristianstva Rusi*, pp. 158–66; Zaikyn, "Khrystyianstvo na Ukraini," 3: 32; Nazarko, *Sviatyi Volodymyr Velykyi*, p. 43; and Chubatyi, *Istoriia khrystyianstva na Rusy-Ukraini*, 1: 192.

[80] *Nikonian Chronicle*, 1: 73. The reference here is to the peace treaties of 944 (Igor') and 971 (Sviatoslav).

[81] *Nikonian Chronicle*, 1: 73, and above p. 179.

[82] See Chubatyi, *Istoriia khrystyianstva na Rusy-Ukraini*, p. 195. Parkhomenko, *Nachalo khristianstva Rusi*, pp. 163–64; Zaikyn, "Khrystyianstvo na Ukraini," 3:4; and O. Efymenko, *Pochatkovyi pidruchnyk ukrains'ko-moskovs'koi istorii* (Kharkiv, 1919) (unavailable to me; quoted by Zaikyn, "Khrystyianstvo na Ukraini," 3: 4 and 4: 379, fn. 4, without page numbers),

embassy, with no further elaboration, makes it impossible to conclude anything from it. The fact that such an embassy did occur, however, should not be dismissed. We find some echo of it in Western Latin sources, for instance, in the "History" of Ademar of Chabannes (d. 1034), where an entry chronologically close to the report in the Nikon Chronicle informs us that a *rex Russiae* had been baptized by a papal envoy.[83] Whatever its objectives and success (or failures), this Roman initiative, as well as others before and after it, had no lasting influence because of the events that took place in 988, or thereabouts.

For some time Iaropolk enjoyed a very favorable opinion among church and religious historians, especially Catholic ones, who believed that he was a Christian, and that he had, indeed, been baptized by a papal missionary. They stressed the benevolent influence that his grandmother, Princess Ol'ga, supposedly had on him. Her alleged pro-Western attitude was underscored. The abovementioned embassies from Kiev to Quedlinburg and from Rome to Kiev during Iaropolk's reign were interpreted as a confirmation of her lasting influence upon her oldest grandson, as well as of his role as the follower and continuator of her religious policies.[84] However, neither in the chronicles nor in the hagiographical literature is Prince Iaropolk linked "religiously" with his grandmother Ol'ga. His alleged pro-Christian stance is also explained by some historians as influenced by his wife, a Greek ex-nun, who was the mother of Sviatopolk,[85] prince of Kievan Rus' in 1015–1019. This assumption is logical, but we have no direct confirmation of it in the sources.

Prince Iaropolk seems to have been a rather sympathetic ruler and person. Had he not attacked his brother Oleg and started a fratricidal war, he most probably would have enjoyed a long and happy reign. Perhaps he would have become a Christian and made Christianity the religion of Kievan Rus'. He seems to have been favorably inclined toward the new religion, which, notwithstanding the protestations ex post facto, could have

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are of the mistaken opinion (see below p. 182, the entry from the Primary Chronicle, s.a. 1044; and A. A. Shakhmatov's review of Parkhomenko's book in *ZhMNP*, n.s. 52, no. 8 [1914]: 338–41) that Iaropolk was baptized by a western Latin missionary.

83 Ademar of Chabannes (988–1034), the author of a history of the Franks (which ends with 1028; see *Ademari Historiarum*, bk. 3, ed. Waitz, *MGH SS*, 4: 106–148) seems responsible for historians' assumption that Prince Iaropolk was baptized in the Latin rite. The information regarding this alleged baptism in Ademar's *Historia* is a later interpolation. Cf. Gerhard Podskalsky, *Christentum und theologische Literatur in der Kiever Rus' (988-1237)* (Munich, [1982]), p. 309.

84 E.g., Tomashivs'kyi, Zaikyn, Chubatyi, Nazarko. Cf. above, fns. 78 and 82.

85 Parkhomenko, *Nachalo khristianstva Rusi*, p. 158; Nazarko, *Sviatyi Volodymyr Velykyi*, p. 42; Chubatyi, *Istoriia khrystyianstva na Rusy-Ukraini*, 1: 191.

been introduced to Rus' in either of two varieties—Byzantine or Roman. Even if we agree with those historians who maintain that at the time preference already tipped in favor of the Byzantine variety of Christianity,[86] we should not forget that in such cases the decision rested with the ruling prince.

Prince Iaropolk did not, however, change the religious situation in his realm nor change his own religious affiliation. He was never baptized and he died a pagan, notwithstanding the rumors to the contrary reported in some sources, mentioned above. Convincing proof of this is found in the Primary Chronicle under the year 1044, where we read:

> The bodies of the two princes, Iaropolk and Oleg, sons of Sviatoslav, after their remains were baptized, were laid in the Church of the Holy Virgin.[87]

[86] E.g., Parkhomenko, *Nachalo khristianstva Rusi*, p. 166. With the death of Iaropolk, the Latin West lost its (third) chance to draw Kiev into its orbit and thus divert it from Byzantine Christianity, which had "historical rights to Kievan Rus'" because it was the first to try (albeit slowly) to convert it. Mykola Kotliar, a contemporary Soviet Ukrainian historian, categorically states that: "Greek Orthodoxy, which was adapted to the needs of the feudal state, was essentially the only acceptable ideology for Rus'." See his "Konstantynopil' chy Rym?: Z istorii zaprovadzhennia khrystyianstva na Rusi," *Vsesvit*, 1988, no. 5, pp. 172–81. That Princess Ol'ga was baptized twice (see Kotliar's statement to this effect, ibid., p. 175), was a surprise to me.

[87] *PCh*, trans. Cross, p. 139; *PSRL*, 1: col. 155. See also ibid., 2: col. 143; 9: col. 83; 15 ("Tverskoi sbornik"): col. 149; 30: col. 45, as well as other chronicles that contain parts of the Primary Chronicle. P. Sokolov (*Russkii arkhierei iz Vizantii i pravo ego naznacheniia do nachala XV veka* [Kiev, 1913], pp. 44–45), considers this act uncanonical and forbidden by the church, and thinks that it could have happened in Kiev at the time indicated only in the absence of Metropolitan Theopempt. A. G. Kuz'min, *Nachal'nye etapy drevnerusskogo letopisaniia* ([Moscow], 1977), p. 214, considers this act to be an attempt on the part of Prince Iaroslav to reconcile the pagan and Christian elements of Rus'. Ia. Shchapov, "Ustav kniazia Iaroslava i vopros ob otnoshenii k vizantiiskomu naslediiu na Rusi v seredine XI v.," *VizVrem* 31 (1971): 72–73, is probably right in stating that the deed was prompted by the same considerations that made Christians of the primitive church baptize their dead relatives who died as pagans, that is, to give them the chance to benefit from Christian burial and grace. The practice could have been prompted by St. Paul's First Letter to the Corinthians, 15:29. It was in usage by the Gnostics and other Christian sects until the sixth century, but was forbidden already by the Third Council of Carthage in 347. See E. Dinkler, "Totentaufe," *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* 6 (1962): col. 958; and R. Schnackenburg, "Totentaufe," *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* 10 (1965): col. 279.

Another documented instance of the rebaptization of bones in the Ukraine is dated to 1636. Prince Oleksander Ostroz'kyi, an Orthodox Christian who died in 1603, had his remains removed by his Roman Catholic daughter, Anna Luisa Chodkiewicz, from the castle church in Ostrih. Prior to reburial in the city of Iaroslav, his bones were washed and baptized by Jesuit priests. See O. A. Bevzo, *L'vivs'kyi litopys i Ostroz'kyi litopysets': Dzhereloznavche doslidzhennia* (Kiev, 1970), pp. 137–38. This information was brought to my attention by Frank E. Sysyn, to whom I am grateful.

This uncanonical attempt to do for the deceased what they had failed to do for themselves during their lifetimes was undertaken by their nephew, Prince Iaroslav the Wise (978–1054).

V

With his baptism into the Christian faith in 988/989, Prince Volodimer of Kiev put an end to half a century of religious and cultural disorientation, even chaos, which had existed in Kievan Rus'.[88] Some incidents from his

[88] Of all the princes of Kievan Rus', Volodimer has enjoyed the greatest popularity among both ancient chroniclers and modern historians. In addition to the Primary Chronicle's substantial account of his reign (cf. *PSRL*, 1: cols. 69, 75–131 and passim; for the realia and commentaries, see Likhachev, *PVL*, 2:320–57 and passim; *PCh*, trans. Cross, pp. 91–126, and commentaries and notes, pp. 242–52 and passim), other ancient literary sources dealing with him are: Metropolitan Ilarion's "Eulogy" (in his "Sermon on Law and Grace," see fn. 10 above), Jacob the Monk's "Memory and Eulogy" (see fn. 10 above), and the hagiographical vitae (see the original texts published by N. Serebrianskii, *Drevne-russkie kniazheskie zhitiia*, pp. 14–26). See also "Pamiatniki drevne-russkoi literatury, posviashchennye Vladimiru sv.," *ChIONL*, 2, pt. 2 (1888): 7–68. This collection of literary texts (pp. 15–68), which includes Ilarion's "Sermon on Law and Grace" and Jacob the Monk's "Memory and Eulogy," was prepared and edited by A. Sobolevskii (see his introductory note, pp. 7–14; and his article "God kreshcheniia Vladimira Sv. [988]," pp. 1–6), in commemoration of the 900th anniversary of the baptism of Rus'; the issue also includes an article by F. Fortinskii, "Kreshchenie kniazia Vladimira i Rusi po zapadnym izvestiiam," pp. 95–128. The whole work later appeared separately, under the title, *Sbornik v pamiat' 900-letiia kreshcheniia Rusi* (Kiev, 1888). For other vitae of Volodimer and an excerpt from the *Prologue*, see Golubinskii, *Istoriia russkoi tserkvi*, 1, pt. 1: 224–28 and 246–47, respectively. For the student of the hagiography of Ol'ga and Volodimer, another publication of interest is V. N. Peretts, "Drevnerusskie kniazheskie zhitiia v ukrainskikh perevodakh XVII v.," in his posthumously published *Issledovaniia i materialy po istorii starinnoi ukrainskoi literatury XVI–XVIII vekov*, ed. D. S. Likhachev (Moscow, 1962), pp. 8–116.

A good list of historiographical literature about Volodimer and his times can be found in R. P. Dmitrieva, comp., *Bibliografiia russkogo letopisaniia* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1962), which lists over eighty entries. An important monograph is V. Z. Zavitnevich, *Vladimir Sviatoi kak politicheskii deiatel'* (Kiev, 1888), reprinted from *TKDA*, 1888, no. 6, pp. 351–441, and no. 8, pp. 635–755; it appeared also in a collection entitled *Vladimirskii sbornik: V pamiat' deviatisotletiia kreshcheniia Rossii* (Kiev, 1888). Fifty years later, Russian émigré intellectuals published a collection of articles—most of them by renowned authors (e.g., Ostrogorsky, Grabar, Kartashev, Nikol'skii, Fedotov)—under a similar title: *Vladimirskii sbornik v pamiat' 950-letiia kreshcheniia Rusi: 988–1938* (Belgrade, [1938]). Also important are I. P. Matchenko, *Sv. ravnoapostol'nyi kniaz' Vladimir—prosvititel' Rusi: 900-letie kreshcheniia Rusi* (St. Petersburg, 1889; rpt'd from the journal *Strannik*, where it was published in installments over five issues in 1888–1889); N. Levitskii, "Vazhneishie istochniki dlia opredileniia vremen kreshcheniia Vladimira i Rusi i ikh dannye: Po povodu mneniia prof. Sobolevskogo," *Khristianskoe chtenie*, 1890, vol. 1, no. 3/4: 370–421; no. 5/6: 687–740; vol. 2, no. 7/8: 147–74; no. 9/10: 318–68; A. I. Sobolevskii, "V kakom godu krestilsia sv. Vladimir?," *ZhMNP*, vol. 257, no. 6 (1888), pt. 2, pp. 396–403; N. de Baumgarten, *Saint Vladimir et la conversion de la Russie*, pp. 1–136; T. Kostruba, *Volodymyr Velykyi—budivnychyi ukrains'koi derzhavy* (Lviv, 1938); Nazarko, *Sviatyi Volodymyr Velykyi*; M. Hellman, "Vladimir der Heilige in der zeitgenösischen abendländischen Überlieferung," *JbGO* 7 (1957): 397–472; and

own biography exemplify that confusion and lack of direction. Probably at the decision of his father, Sviatoslav, Volodimer was brought up as a pagan by his mother Malusha-Malfrida and his uncle and official guardian and educator, Dobrynia. Yet it is known that as a child, Volodimer often stayed at the court of his grandmother Princess Ol'ga, where he surely could not fail to note that she practiced the new Christian religion. It can be assumed that while in Novgorod and in exile, he remained a pagan. Whether during that period he at one point converted to Islam, as some historians maintain,[89] or was baptized by a Latin missionary, as others propose,[90] remains questionable, primarily because of his zealous efforts to strengthen the pagan cult in Kiev once he became the ruling prince of Rus', after the defeat and death of his half-brother, Iaropolk.[91] On these grounds it is safe to conclude that until his conversion to Christianity and marriage to Princess Anna (d. 1011), daughter of Emperor Romanos II (959–963) of Byzantium, Prince Volodimer was a practicing pagan.

Volodimer's conversion was prompted by political, dynastic considerations. As a victorious ally of the emperor (and not his enemy, as the Primary Chronicle would have us believe)[92] in the Crimean campaign against the forces of the usurper Bardas Phocas, Volodimer was promised the hand of the porphyrogenite princess Anna. As part of the marital contract, his conversion to the Christian faith was requested by the imperial family. Prince Volodimer heeded this request, accepted the baptism, most probably in the city of Cherson in the Crimea, and introduced Christianity as the

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a popular recent rendition of his biography by Vladimir Volkoff, *Vladimir, the Russian Viking* (Woodstock, N. Y. [ca. 1984]).

89 See O. Pritsak, "What Really Happened in 988?," in *The Ukrainian Religious Experience*, ed. D. J. Goa (Edmonton, 1989), p. 14; and idem, *Origin of Rus'*, p. xvi (preface). Whether or not Volodimer converted to Islam while he was the ruler in Novgorod is uncertain, but the pressure from Islamic centers on Rus' was real. Cf., e.g., *PCh*, trans. Cross, pp. 96–97, and 244–45. Cf. also Zaikyn, "Khrystyianstvo na Ukraini," 3: 8–10; and *Vvedenie khristianstva na Rusi*, pp. 55–77 ("Vostok v bor'be za religioznoe vliianie na Rusi," by A. P. Novosel'tsev).

90 M. Jugie, "Les origines romaines de l'Église russe," pp. 257–70; N. de Baumgarten, *Olaf Tryggvison, roi de Norvège, et ses relations avec saint Vladimir de Russie*, Orientalia Christiana, 24, no. 73 (Rome, 1931). Both authors offer speculations rather than convincing argumentation.

91 See *PCh*, trans. Cross, s.a. 978–980, pp. 93–94, about Volodimer's efforts to regenerate and strengthen the pagan religion in Kiev by creating a pagan pantheon with Perun as the chief deity.

92 *PCh*, trans. Cross, s.a. 988, pp. 111–13, 116. On the question of whether or not Volodimer was an ally of the legitimate emperor of Byzantium at the time, see the convincing presentation by A. Poppe, "The Political Background to the Baptism of Rus': Byzantine-Russian Relations between 986–988," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 30 (1976): 197–244 (also rpt'd in idem, *Rise of Christian Russia*, pt. II.

official religion in his realm.[93] The conversion of the ruling prince of Kievan Rus' is thus a classic example of conversion and conformity achieved through pressure from a political and religious center.

Of the substantial evidence that Prince Volodimer was indeed converted and baptized about the time indicated, and amidst the circumstances mentioned, the one outstanding proof is his Christian name—Basil. It unmistakably indicates that his godfather was also his imperial patron and future brother-in-law. The precedent of Princess Ol'ga (her godmother was Empress Helen) can be cited here as a supporting argument. It would seem that historians who accept the city of Cherson as the place of Volodimer's baptism have an advantage over those who argue for other localities, i.e., Kiev or Vasiliv (var. Vasilev; presently Vasyl'kiv, a town not far from Kiev). They seem to have a nearly complete "baptismal certificate" for Prince Volodimer. The account in the Primary Chronicle about Volodimer's Crimean expedition (the Cherson Legend) contains all the

93 *PSRL*, 1: col. 111 (stating that the baptism took place in the Church of St. Basil); also *PCh*, trans. Cross. Cf. *PSRL*, 2: col. 97 (in the Church of St. Sophia); ibid., 15: col. 104 (Chronicle of Tver': in the Church of St. James; also thus in ibid., 9: 54, the Nikon Chronicle, and its English translation, op. cit., p. 100). Other sources give the name of the church as that of St. Mary and/or St. Basilicus. Cf. Likhachev, *PVL*, 2: 338. The cathedral in Cherson was named for the Holy Apostles. Volodimer's baptism, if it was performed in that city, as well as the ceremony marrying him to Anna, must have been performed in this church. There could have been a chapel dedicated to St. James within the cathedral. See Shestakov, *Ocherki po istorii Khersonesa*, p. 134; and D. V. Ainalov, *Razvaliny khramov*, Pamiatniki khristianskogo Khersonesa, 1 (Moscow, 1905), pp. 53–61.

The date and place of Volodimer's baptism have not been established beyond dispute. The Cherson Legend of the Primary Chronicle ties the event to Volodimer's campaign there (which is dated in the sources to 988). But according to the "Memory and Eulogy" by Jacob the Monk, the baptism took place in Kiev (allegedly in 987, since according to this source Volodimer died twenty-eight years after his baptism, in 1015). At present, the latter source seems to have credence among most historians. Recently, however, voices have been raised in favor of rehabilitating the data of the Primary Chronicle. See, for example, S. A. Belaev, "Nakhodka v Khersonese," *Zhurnal Moskovskoi patriarkhii*, 1988, no. 6, pp. 32–35, a summary of his paper "Ansambl' Uvarovskoi bazyliki—mesto kreshcheniia i venchaniia kniazia Vladimira," presented at the international conference on "Liturgical Life and Church Creativity of Russian Orthodoxy" held in Leningrad in February 1988 (the third such conference convened by the Russian Orthodox Church on the eve of the celebration of the baptism of Rus'). Cf. A. A. Shakhmatov, "Korsunskaia legenda o kreshchenii Vladimira," in *Sbornik statei, posviashchennykh pochitateliami akademiku i zasluzhennomu professoru V. I. Lamanskomu po sluchaiu piatidesiatiletiia ego uchenoi deiatel'nosti*, pt. 2 (St. Petersburg, 1906), pp. 1029–1153; and idem, *Razyskaniia o drevneishikh russkikh letopisnykh svodakh*, pp. 133–61. Shakhmatov considered the Primary Chronicle's account of Volodimer's baptism in Cherson to be a later interpolation. For a summary of different views regarding the question of the date and place of Volodimer's baptism, see Nazarko, *Sviatyi Volodymyr Velykyi*, pp. 77–88; and Poppe, "The Political Background to the Baptism of Rus'." See also Pritsak, "What Really Happened in 988?," (see fn. 89, above), pp. 11–19.

essential elements needed to compose such a document, i.e., the Christian name of the baptized (Basil), the name of the godfather (Emperor Basil II), the location (Cherson), the church (the cathedral in Cherson),[94] but not the priest who administered the Sacrament of Baptism.[95] Other princes, who were baptized and then converted their respective countries to Christianity, were not as lucky in this respect, e.g., Prince Mieszko of Poland (ca. 960–992).[96] Unfortunately, available documents are not necessarily genuine documents. And birth and baptismal certificates are probably the documents most often forged; hence the suspicion with which they are regarded.

The conversion and Christianization of Kievan Rus' began soon after the conversion of its ruler. Volodimer ordered the destruction of pagan idols and places of worship in Kiev, and the mass baptism of the population of the capital city.[97] Princess Ol'ga's prophetic dictum was thus fulfilled, but not without administrative pressure and coercion, as Metropolitan Ilarion's "Sermon on Law and Grace" tells us.[98] But it would be wrong to think that there were no spontaneous conversions to the new religion. Considering the uneven path of religious life in Rus' prior to Volodimer's conversion, there could have been reconversions among members of the princely retinue and boyars, who during those insecure times followed the "official line" of the ruling princes and changed their religious affiliation accordingly. By making Christianity the state religion of Rus', Volodimer was able to achieve political stability and to provide cultural direction for the country for centuries to come. The Christianization of the whole realm continued, not entirely without pagan opposition, long after the first generation of Kievan Rus' Christians.

[94] Cf. Shestakov, *Ocherki po istorii Khersonesa*, and Ainalov, *Razvaliny khramov*.

[95] The Primary Chronicle (*PSRL*, 1:111), as well as other chronicles noted above (fn. 93) inform us, however, that it was the bishop of the city of Cherson (his name is not mentioned) who first proclaimed Volodimer a catechumen and then baptized him.

[96] See, for example, Jerzy Dowiat, *Metryka chrztu Mieszka I i jej geneza* (Warsaw, 1961); and idem, *Chrzest Polski* (Warsaw, 1969).

[97] *PSRL*, 1:col. 116–22; 124–27; *PCh*, trans. Cross, pp. 249–51. For summaries of his activities as a Christian prince, see also Golubinskii, *Istoriia russkoi tserkvi*, pp. 163–87; Nazarko, *Sviatyi Volodymyr Velykyi*, pp. 89–131; Chubatyi, *Istoriia khrystyianstva na Rusy-Ukraini*, 1:213–73; and Poppe, *Rise of Christian Russia*, pts. 1–2 and 9.

[98] The relevant text reads: "*da ashche kto i ne liuboviiu, n'' strakhom povelevshaa kreshchakhusia, ponezhe be blagoverie ego s'' vlastiiu s''priazheno* (And there were some who were baptized not because of love, but because of fear from the one who gave the order since his orthodoxy was united with authority)." The original text is quoted from A. M. Moldovan, "*Slovo o zakone i blagodati*" *Ilariona*, p. 93.

Several factors favoring the new status of the Christian religion in the realm of Rus' now were at play. The previous penetration of Christianity into Rus' facilitated acceptance of the new religion and accelerated it. The zeal and actions of Volodimer were the key factor, however, in this process. The presence of the imperial Princess Anna in Kiev, as Volodimer's new legitimate wife, and the baptism of his children set an example to follow. The prince was also responsible for the initial, skeletal church organization, centered around clerics brought from Cherson, especially Anastas.[99] He established the material basis for the church's support by introducing tithing at the religious center that became known as the Tithe Church (of St. Mary), which he built.[100] Although Volodimer showed a zealous hostility toward paganism shortly after his conversion—viz. he ordered the destruction of the pagan pantheon in Kiev, which he himself had once had built—he eventually assumed a more tolerant attitude toward the various religions practiced in his realm.

The acceptance of Christianity in the Byzantine Greek form meant the jurisdictional subordination of the church in Rus' to the Patriarchate of Constantinople. It also meant political and cultural alignment with the Byzantine Empire. Hence, the Byzantine Greek civilization became the paternal civilization for the realm of Rus' and, subsequently, for the three Eastern European Slavic nations: Ukrainians, Belorussians, and Russians. Yet, the fledgling filial civilization developed its own original traits, which made it Slavic rather than Greek. It would probably be too farfetched to speculate whether or not Prince Volodimer consciously indicated this direction to his people. Let us recall, however, that the prince's official name after his baptism remained Volodimer, a cultural borrowing from Bulgaria. This was not an insignificant coincidence.[101]

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For almost one hundred and fifty years before Volodimer's baptism,

[99] *PSRL*, 1:col. 116; *PCh*, trans. Cross, p. 116. See also A. Poppe, "The Building of the Church of St. Sophia in Kiev," *Journal of Medieval History* 7 (1981):24, 25, 55, fns. 48–51 (Anastas of Cherson); reprinted in idem, *Rise of Christian Russia*, pt. IV. Consult the index for other references to this cleric.

[100] *PSRL*, 1:col. 121–22, 124; cf. Likhachev, *PVL*, 2:344, 348; *PCh*, trans. Cross, pp. 119, 120–21. See also Poppe, *Rise of Christian Russia*, pt. IV, pp. 24–26, and 55, fns. 47–51.

[101] The son and successor of the Bulgarian prince Boris-Michael (852–889) was called Vladimir (889–893): *Vlastimir* (erroneously) in Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus's *De thematibus*, in *Fontes Graeci historiae Bulgaricae*, 9:209. Regarding this prince and his rule, see Zlatarski, *Istoriia na bŭlgarskata dŭrzhava*, 1, pt. 2:10 and passim. On the Bulgarian factor (connection) in the Christianization of Kievan Rus', see Nikolaev, *Slavianobŭlgarskiiat faktor* (see fn. 8).

attempts were made by various political and religious centers to convert Rus'. The majority of these missionaries were Christians who owed direct allegiance to either Rome or Constantinople. Relations between these centers, although often strained, had not yet become permanently estranged; they even collaborated occasionally in efforts to convert new nations to Christianity, e.g., the mission of SS. Cyril and Methodius. In Kievan Rus', Constantinople had an advantage over Rome, but not a sure victory. Although Princess Ol'ga, by her baptism in the Byzantine variant of Christianity, set an important precedent, any of her successors could have opted for the Western Roman variant and thus changed the religious and cultural orientation of the country. This was less likely because of the strong influence of the Byzantine Empire in Rus', which was in turn due to the following factors:

(a) *Geography*. The proximity of the two countries, which occasionally shared a common border and were also linked by naval routes, was of paramount importance in the development of paternal-filial relations. Neither Rome nor the German Ottonian Empire possessed this advantage. Byzantium, as a Christian country, could not allow the penetration of Rus' by alien cultures and religions.

(b) *Economy and commerce*. The Byzantine Empire represented a superior economic model. It controlled markets for international trade which were physically accessible to merchants from Rus', and vice versa. Rus' was more dependent economically on the empire than the latter was on Rus'. The importance of this factor is confirmed by the continuous attacks by the Rus' on Byzantium for almost two centuries, i.e., from the turn of the eighth century to 1043. Economic relations often lead to cultural influence and religious proselytization by the stronger partner, a phenomenon known already in antiquity. It was, no doubt, a factor in the conversion of Rus' to Byzantine Greek Christianity.

(c) *Politics*. As a superpower of that time, the Byzantine Empire could not observe with indifference a penetration of Rus', at times a mighty and dangerous neighbor, by any other political power. Rus', on the other hand, could not escape political interaction with the empire, as both hostility and military alliances, including Volodimer's, confirm. Dynastic considerations also had an important role in these relations. Whether during her visit to Constantinople Princess Ol'ga attempted to negotiate a marriage between her son Sviatoslav and a Byzantine princess we may never learn. But we do know that Sviatoslav brought from his Balkan campaign a Greek wife (not a princess, however) for his son Iaropolk, and that Volodimer married a Byzantine porphyrogenite princess. Both cases helped to assure Greek Byzantine cultural and religious influence at the princely court in Kiev.

(d) *Culture.* The superior Byzantine Greek culture must have exercised a deep influence on the succeeding generations of Kievan princes, their retinues, and the political and cultural elite of Rus'. They were often in direct contact with this culture, e.g., Igor' 's attack, Ol'ga's visit to Constantinople, Sviatoslav's campaign in the Balkans, and Volodimer's in the Crimea. Here the importance of the Bulgarian cultural connection must be stressed. The superior Byzantine Greek culture could be obtained in a perhaps less perfect Bulgarian variant, but in a language that facilitated its acceptance and dissemination. When exactly this development occurred is uncertain. Perhaps it was already in play before the acceptance of Christianity, and therefore was able to supersede the Greek model.

It was during the critical time from the death of Igor' to the baptism of Volodimer—a span of more than forty years—following misdirection, indecision, and vacillation in religious and cultural life, that the tendencies toward Byzantine Christianity and Slavic culture, which had already existed for some time, prevailed and became dominant in Kievan Rus'.

APPENDIX

Mulier Suadens

The role of women in the spread of religious beliefs is both well known and well represented in historiography. The conversions of male historical figures have often been ascribed to the benevolent influence of mothers, sisters, and wives. St. Helena (d. ca. 330) and St. Monica (332?–387) are exemplars of such *matres suadentes* (persuading mothers). Princess Dobrawa, the Czech wife of Prince Mieszko (ca. 922–992) of Poland, and Queen Jadwiga of Poland (1384–1399), wife of King Władysław Jagiełło (1386–1434), can be described, respectively, as *uxor* and *sponsa suadens* (the persuading wife and bride, respectively). Clothilde, wife of the king of the Franks Clovis (481–511) and daughter of Chilperich II of Burgundy, the Frankish Princess Bertha, wife of the Anglo-Saxon King Ethelbert of Kent (560–616), baptized by St. Augustine in 597, and Gisela, wife of King Stephen of Hungary (997–1038) and sister of the future emperor of Germany Henry II, are all also credited with the conversion of their ruling husbands, hence: *mulieres (sponsae) suadentes*. Additional examples can easily be found in several other countries, both Christian and non-Christian.[102]

[102] Golubinskii, *Istoriia russkoi tserkvi*, 1, pt. 1: 152–53, especially p. 153, fn. 2, stresses the role women played in the spread of Christianity and cites most of the examples mentioned here.

Such women were also important in Kiev. Of prime importance, of course, was Princess Ol'ga, a *mulier* not only *suadens*, but also *agens*. At the time of her marriage to Prince Igor', she was a pagan, and from her actions we can deduce that she upheld and practiced some of the Northern customs of paganism. Hence, we call her an *uxor suadens pagana*. After her conversion and baptism, she tried for some time to persuade her son Sviatoslav to accept the Christian religion, albeit unsuccessfully. Yet her efforts make her a perfect *suadens mater (Christiana)*. Her role as a loving, persuasive mother, wishing well for her son in this world and in eternity, is described by the chronicler as follows:

But. . .Ol'ga loved her son Sviatoslav, and said, "So be the will of God. If God wishes to have pity upon my kin and upon the land of Rus', let him lead my son's heart to return to God, even as God has granted me to do." Thus saying, she prayed night and day for her son and for the people, while she brought him up to manhood and adult age.[103]

Princess Ol'ga is also credited by historians for the allegedly friendly attitude toward Christians of her grandson Iaropolk,[104] as well as for the eventual conversion of another grandson, Volodimer. Both in the Primary Chronicle and in other sources (e.g., her Vita, Jacob the Monk's tract, and Metropolitan Ilarion's eulogy), she is portrayed as a perfect grandmother and saintly Christian whose influence prevailed with her grandson (or grandsons?), even if not with her son. She is depicted also as an instrument of Providence working toward Volodimer's conversion.[105] By having her remains transferred from the original burial site to the Church of St. Mary (the Tithe Church) shortly after it was built, Volodimer seemed to recognize her unique importance in his life.[106] Her memory prevailed even over Volodimer's parents, it seems. The image of the perfect Christian *avia suadens* was thus fixed for centuries to come.

Since Volodimer's mother Malusha-Malfrida was most probably of Northern origin and, according to some sources, a soothsayer,[107] she may

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Cf., however, J. Dąbrowski, *Studia nad początkami państwa polskiego* (Cracow, 1958), p. 55, who indicates that to ascribe conversion of pagan rulers to their Christian wives was a literary convention of the medieval chroniclers. Other views (defending the role of Dobrawa as a *mulier suadens*) are summarized by Dowiat, *Metryka chrztu Mieszka I*, pp. 78–79. See also A. Gieysztor, "La femme dans les civilizations des X^{e}–XII^{e} siècles: La femme en Europe orientale," *Cahiers de civilization médiévale* 20 (1977): 189–200.

103 *PCh*, trans. Cross, p. 84.

104 Zaikyn, "Khrystyianstvo na Ukraini," passim.

105 Cf. *PSRL*, 1: col. 108; *PCh*, trans. Cross, p. 111.

106 Golubinskii, *Istoriia russkoi tserkvi*, 1, pt. 1: 242.

107 See S. Gedeonov, *Variagi i Rus': Istoricheskoe issledovanie*, pt. 1: *Variagi* (Moscow, 1876), p. 242; Shakhmatov (*Razyskaniia o drevneishikh russkikh letopisnykh svodakh*, p. 377) thought that Malusha-Malfrida was a Christian, a view contested and rejected by Parkhomenko

well have been a *sponsa* or *concubina suadens pagana* and a *mater suadens pagana*, as the wife or concubine of Sviatoslav and the mother of Volodimer. Perhaps she really was responsible—to some degree, at least—for Sviatoslav's tenacious adherence to paganism and refusal to convert to Christianity. And perhaps, together with her brother Dobrynia, she was also responsible for Volodimer's pagan upbringing and outlook prior to the Crimean campaign. Malusha's religious convictions might have been the true cause of Princess Ol'ga's displeasure with her. She had a long life and died in 1000. We do not know whether Volodimer's mother was baptized when the court in Kiev became Christian. Probably she was not, since she was not laid to rest in the Church of St. Mary, as was Ol'ga.[108]

Sviatoslav brought a Greek ex-nun captured during his Balkan campaign, probably in 969, to Kiev to marry his son Iaropolk. Her religious background must have made her a good candidate for *uxor suadens*. Iaropolk's alleged pro-Christian tendencies are often credited by historians equally to his grandmother and his wife.[109] The fact that this Greek lady, probably of distinguished noble origin, was a captive, and that she did not conceive until late in her marriage to Iaropolk, casts doubt about the degree of her influence at the court. But her beauty, underscored in the Primary Chronicle, might have compensated for other inadequacies.[110] Whether she played any influential role at the court of Volodimer after the death of Iaropolk, when she became one of Volodimer's wives, is not known. The role of *uxor suadens christiana* to Prince Volodimer was, of course, assumed by Princess Anna. Interestingly enough, the chronicler is less than charitable

(*Nachalo khristianstva Rusi*, pp. 151–53), who believed her to be a pagan of Novgorodian Varangian provenance. See arguments for her being a Christian in A. Prozorovskii, "O rodstve sv. Vladimira po matere," *Zapiski Imperatorskoi akademii nauk* 5 (1864): 17–26. Cf. Sreznevskii, "O Malushe, milostnitse v. k. Ol'gi, materi v. k. Vladimira," p. 27. D. S. Likhachev, *Khudozhestvennaia proza Kievskoi Rusi XI–XIII vekov* (Moscow, 1957), p. 301, on the other hand, states that the identity of Malfrida, mentioned outright in the Primary Chronicle ("Malfrid died. In this year died also Rogned, Iaroslav's mother"; *PSRL*, 1: col. 129, s.a. 1000; *PCh*, trans. Cross, p. 124 and p. 251, fn. 114) as Malusha has not been proved; that is only one of several hypotheses. It was proposed by A. Stender-Petersen, *Die Varägersage als Quelle der altrussischen Chronik*, Acta Jutlandica, no. 6, Aarsskrift for Aarhus Universitet, no. 6 (Copenhagen, 1934), p. 15. See a list of reviews of this work in Dmitrieva, *Bibliografiia russkogo letopisaniia*, p. 298.

108 Shakhmatov (*Razyskaniia o drevneishikh russkikh letopisnykh svodakh*, p. 377) believes that Malusha was indeed buried in that church, and that she gave the estate of Budutin to this *capella regia*. There is no evidence in the sources to support this assumption.

109 See, for example, Parkhomenko, *Nachalo khristianstva Rusi*, p. 158; and Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy*, 1: 483–84.

110 See *PSRL*, 1: col. 75; *PCh*, trans. Cross, p. 91: "Now Iaropolk had a Greek wife who had been a nun. For Sviatoslav, his father, brought her home [from the Bulgarian campaign], and married her to Iaropolk on account of the beauty of her countenance (*krasoty radi litsa eia*)."

vis-à-vis the Greek ex-nun and wife of two sons of Sviatoslav. She is blamed for having produced an "evil fruit," i.e., her son Sviatopolk the Accursed (ca. 980–1019), the paternity of whom was questioned. She is called "a sinful root..., inasmuch as she had [previously] been a nun."[111]

Princess Anna was apparently the perfect *sponsa suadens*. She consented to marry Volodimer only if he first converted to Christianity. Such a requirement would have been made by every good Christian bride.[112] In the case of an imperial porphyrogenite princess, it was proclaimed (through her imperial brothers, it is true) from a position of power. Through her spoke the authority of the Christian empire and of its religious center, the Patriarchate of Constantinople. The pressure to convert and to conform must have been intense. After her marriage to Volodimer, Anna's role as *uxor suadens* at the court in Kiev must have been significant in the confirmation and dissemination of the new religion, of which she was the most representative agent.[113]

There were other wives of Volodimer, before Princess Anna, who were also Christian: a Bulgarian and two Bohemian princesses. They, too, were *uxores* or *mulieres suadentes* favoring the Christian faith at the court of Kiev. Finally, Rohnida (Rog''ned', also called Horyslava; d. 1000), daughter of Prince Rogvolod of Polotsk (d. ca. 980), the unwilling wife of Volodimer, should be mentioned as *uxor* and *mater suadens modo exempli*.

[111] *PCh*, trans. Cross, p. 93; *Nikonian Chronicle*, 1:75.

[112] See *PCh*, trans. Cross, p. 112. The importance of her role is explained to Anna (so as to overcome her reluctance to marry Volodimer) by her brothers, the emperors Basil and Constantine: "Through your agency God turns the land of Rus' to repentance, and you will relieve Greece from the danger of grievious war." Her role in the act of conversion is similarly understood by the German chronicler Thietmar of Merseburg (d. 1018), who writes in his "Chronicon" (VII, 72 [52]): "Hic [rex Ruscorum Wlodimirus] a Grecia ducens uxorem Helenam [mistaken for: Annam] nomine...christianitatis sanctae fidem eius ortatu suscepit...," *Kronika Thietmara*, ed. and trans. Jedlicki, p. 571.

[113] The sources do not provide us with much information about Anna's activities in Kiev; her death in 1011 is recorded in the Primary Chronicle. See *PSRL*, 1: col. 129 (*Prestavisia tsaritsia Volodimiria Anna*), and *PCh*, trans. Cross, p. 124. Yaḥyā of Antioch states, however, that she "built many churches in the land of the Rus'." See V. R. Rozen, *Imperator Vasilii Bolgaroboitsa: Izvlechenie iz letopisi Iakh'i Antiokhiiskogo* [St. Petersburg, 1883], p. 24. It seems that she was instrumental in securing privileges for the church in Rus', which were granted by Volodimer and confirmed and extended by Iaroslav. See Ia. N. Shchapov, *Kniazheskie ustavy i tserkov' v drevnei Rusi XI–XIV vv.* (Moscow, 1972), p. 21 and passim; idem, *Drevnerusskie kniazheskie ustavy XI–XV vv.* (Moscow, 1976), p. 15 and passim. Anna's role as a cofounder with her husband Volodimer of Christianity in Rus' was depicted symbolically in the St. Sophia cathedral in Kiev. Her fresco was placed alongside that of Volodimer in the diakonikon of Symeon and Anna, who were considered the prototypes of the founders of Christianity in Rus'. See N. N. Nikitenko, "K ikonograficheskoi programme odnofigurnykh fresok Sofiiskogo sobora v Kieve," *VizVrem* 48 (1987): 106, 107; idem, "Programma odnofigurnykh fresok Sofiiskogo sobora v Kieve," ibid. 49 (1988): 173, 175, 176, 177, 178.

We read in the Chronicle of Tver[114] that when Prince Volodimer converted and married Princess Anna, he offered Rohnida freedom and suggested that she (being a pagan) remarry. He offered to marry her to the man of her choice. Rohnida rejected the offer with indignation, accusing him of not wanting her to achieve salvation in the Heavenly Kingdom. Instead, she announced she would become a nun, which she did, under the name Anastasia. This scene was witnessed, we are told, by her son Iaroslav (ca. 978–1054), then still a child, who praised his mother for her decision thus: "O, my mother, you are truly an empress over [all] empresses and a lady over [all] ladies, who has decided to exchange temporal glory for eternal glory, and who has refused to come down from on high. Because of this, you are blessed among women."[115] Rohnida's instantaneous conversion and devotion to Christianity served as a model for both her ex-husband and her son, the future ruling prince of Kievan Rus' (from 1019), who made his country truly Christian.

The eventual triumph of Christianity in Kievan Rus' was due to no small degree to the *suasio* of these *mulieres suadentes* at the court of Kiev. Outstanding among them were St. Ol'ga and the imperial princess Anna.

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114 "Letopisnyi sbornik, imenuemyi Tverskoiu letopis'iu," *PSRL*, vol. 15 (St. Petersburg, 1863; rpt'd as pt. 2 of vol. 15, Moscow, 1965), cols. 112–13.
115 *PSRL*, 15: col. 113.

TRANSMISSION OF THE LITERARY LANGUAGE AND CULTURE: I

Contacts between Christians and Jews in the Field of Bible Translations

M. ALTBAUER

In this short report I would like to present some information pertaining to Christian-Jewish contacts in the area of translations from the Old Testament into the languages of the Jewish Diaspora. Although all forms of contacts have two sides and two directions, this discussion will deal only with the Christian influences on certain Jewish Old Testament translations that are characterized by a unique technique of translation that differs from the Christian technique.

Among other translations into the languages of the Jewish Diaspora, there are nine biblical books in vernacular Belorussian, translated by Jews at the beginning of the sixteenth century in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and preserved in Codex 262 of the former Vilnius Public Library.[1] They are the five biblical scrolls (the Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, and Esther) and the Books of Job, Proverbs, Daniel, and the Psalms.

[1] Codex 262 was described by F. Dobrjanskij, *Opisanie rukopisej Vilenskoj publičnoj biblioteki cerkovno-slavjanskix i russkix* (Vilnius, 1882), pp. 441–47. It is now MS. F.19–262 of the Library of the Academy of Sciences of the Lithuanian SSR in Vilnius (MCAB).

Cf. also my publications on the translations of the nine biblical books (among others): "O kryteriach ustalania pierwowzoru tłumaczeń biblijnych," *Slavia* 37 (1967): 590–600; "Ze studiów nad wschodniosłowiańskimi przekładami Biblii (O dwóch przekładach biblijnego akrostychu o zacnej niewieście)," *Studia z Filologii Polskiej i Słowiańskiej* 7 (1967): 179–90; "Uxoruhvenъ nad tmami / Cant.v: 10 / (A Chapter in the History of Translation Technique)," *Annuaire de l'Institute de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves* 18 (1968), 4 pages; *Some Methodological Problems in Research of the East-Slavic Bible Translations* (Vilnius Codex 262), (Jerusalem 1968), 7 pages; "A Previously Unnoticed Slavic and Baltic Dativus Auctoris," in *Donum Balticum*, presented to C. S. Stang (Stockholm, 1970), pp. 1–5; "Studies in the Belorussian Translations of the Bible," *Journal of Byelorussian Studies* 2, no. 4: 359–68.

Codex 262 disappeared after 1913, when all the manuscripts of the Vilnius Public Library were evacuated to St. Petersburg in anticipation of World War I. They were believed to have perished. Only in 1958, when I participated in the Third International Congress of Slavists in Moscow, did I learn from V. I. Borkovskij, the well-known scholar of Belorussian studies, that the collections of the former Vilnius Public Library had been discovered after World War II in the cellars of the Leningrad Branch of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. One portion of the rediscovered manuscripts, among them the unique Codex 262, had been returned to Vilnius, to the Central Library of the newly established Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, and another was given to the Belorussian Academy of Sciences in Minsk.

Since 1965 I have had photographs of the translations of the nine books mentioned above. After a long interruption (caused by the work in the Library of St. Catherine's Monastery in Sinai) I have finished editing the first volume of the Vilnius Bible translations, the five scrolls. The edition will soon appear under the auspices of the Israeli Academy of Sciences and Humanities in Jerusalem, and will include an introduction, the photographs and transcription of the texts, a critical apparatus, and a Slavic-Hebrew Concordance.

Two of the Codex 262 translations—those of the Book of Daniel and the Psalms—differ from the other seven; they were translated according to the unique Jewish translation technique. While they both illustrate Christian influences on Jewish Bible translations, here I will present only a brief analysis of the translation of the biblical Book of Daniel.

As is known, the Book of Daniel is bilingual, written in Hebrew and Aramaic (the *lingua franca* of the Middle East in the last centuries of the old era, B.C.E, and during the first centuries of the new Common Era).[2]

The translator of 262 tried to preserve the bilingual character of Daniel in his East Slavic version: he translated the Hebrew portions of the book into the vernacular Belorussian of his time (the beginning of the sixteenth century), while the Aramaic chapters (2:4–7:28) were couched chiefly in the Slavonic used by Christian Orthodox Slavs in Muscovy and the Lithuanian Commonwealth.

This was not the first attempt to apply this kind of Jewish translation technique to a language of the Jewish Diaspora. Approximately a century prior to the bilingual translation of Daniel into East Slavic, an anonymous *vir doctus*, a Byzantine-Greek Jew from Asia Minor, translated five biblical

[2] The Biblical Aramaic of parts of Daniel and Ezra was also known as *Chaldeen* or *Chaldaean*. Later, Western, or Palestinian, Aramaic became an additional "lingua docta" and "lingua sacra" for the Jews.

books, including Daniel, into Judaeo-Greek, writing in Greek characters. He used the Attic or standard dialect to render the Hebrew portions of Daniel, contrasting them to Doric dialect for the Aramaic portions.[3] As Gebhardt puts it in his introduction to the Book of Daniel, pp. LI–LII:

Quantus hic translator dicendi artifex sit, apparet ex magno illorum vocabulorum numero. . .atque ex scita, nec tamen perfecta Doricae dialecti tractatione, quam ad Chaldaicas libri Danielis particulas reddendas adhibuit.

Whether or not the Jewish translator of 262's Book of Daniel knew of the *Graecus Venetus* translations, he made his translation in a congenial form. One could suppose that, in using the standard Church Slavonic as a basis for the translation of the Aramaic chapters of Daniel, he was supported by his Gentile collaborators—perhaps the copyists of the Belorussian text in a "poluustav" of this period.

The Russian theologian and philologist, I. E. Evseev, published 262's text of Daniel in 1902,[4] stating in his introduction (p. 130) that the translation was done with extraordinary economy of labor (*sdelan s zamečatel'noj èkonomiej truda*): wherever the Jewish translator felt that a chapter in the normal Church Slavonic was close to the biblical source, he retained it in his own version, but wherever a chapter was more removed from the Hebrew Masoretic text (MT), he provided a new translation of the chapter in the East Slavic vernacular of the period (1500–1520).

Evseev must be accorded considerable merit as a historian of Slavic Bible translations. However, I find his explanation of the distribution of the vernacular and Church Slavonic passages in Daniel hard to justify. His inaccurate analysis may be due to inadequate knowledge of the original languages of the Old Testament. In his introduction he repeatedly speaks of the *Hebrew* text of Daniel, even when in fact the given passage is Aramaic. He does not mention the Aramaic language at all.

[3] The manuscripts of these Jewish-Greek Old Testament books are in codex 7 of the *Bibliotheca Marciana* in Venice, and they have been published in full, O. Gebhardt, ed., *Graecus Venetus, Pentateuchi Proverbiorum Ruth Cantici Ecclesiastae Threnorum Danielis Versio Graeca* (Leipzig, 1875).

[4] I. E. Evseev, *Zametki po drevne-slavjanskomu perevodu sv. Pisanija. VI. Kniga proroka Daniila v perevode židovstvujuščix po rukopisi XVI v.* (Moscow, 1902), 36 pp. (= *Čtenija OIDR,* 202, kn. 3, otd. 2, 127–64). For a recent study on this book, cf. A. A. Arxipov, *Iz istorii gebraizmov v russkom knižnom jazyke XV–XVI vekov*, avtoreferat (Moscow, 1982); 28 pp.; idem, "Drevnerusskaja kniga proroka Daniila v perevode s drevneevrejskogo," *Institut russkogo jazyka AN SSSR. Predvaritel'nye publikacii* (Moscow), no. 151, pt. I (1982), 28 pp.; no. 152, pt. II (1982), 44 pp.; no. 153, pt. III (1982), 23 pp.

[4] Decades later, studies of early Slavic translations of Old Testament texts by Soviet scholars, such as the late N. A. Meščerskij and his students, continued to be marred with similar deficiencies in detailed linguistic knowledge. Cf. M. Altbauer and M. Taube, "The Slavonic Book of Esther: When, Where, and from What Language Was It Translated?" *Harvard*

The bilingual translation of the Book of Daniel in Codex 262 was a *conscious* enterprise by a congenial translator who was faithful to the original text of the Bible, as was the translator of *Graecus Venetus*. On the whole, the Jewish translator took over the standard Church Slavonic translations for the Aramaic chapters in the Book of Daniel; when he found divergences from the Masoretic text, however, he made changes. Thus (1) he excluded all non-Masoretic additions that were normal in Slavonic, such as the deuterocanonical verses 24–90 in chapter 3, as well as chapters 13 and 14 in the "Simeon translation"—the Jewish translation of Daniel contains only twelve chapters; (2) he reconciled the sense of the MT and the Slavonic Orthodox versions both by correcting what he saw as errors and by filling lacunae and omissions.

Here a few examples will illustrate types of difference between the text-types of the Slavonic Book of Daniel believed to go back to OCS translations made from Greek by Methodius (M) in the ninth century, or under the auspices of Tsar Simeon (S) in Bulgaria in the tenth, along with a comparison to passages from Codex 262 and the MT Aramaic (A).[5] The full material from 262 and a comparison with M and S will be found in my forthcoming monograph.

Daniel 4:30

M: *don'deže vlasi ego, jako i lvovi i vъzveličiša*
S: *donъždež vlasi emu, jako lьvu, vъzveličiša*
262: *dondež(ъ) vlasi eh(o) jako orlovi vъzrastoša*
A: *di sa'əreh kənišrin rəva*

Daniel 4:33

M: *i mučitelь moi*
S: *i mučitele moi*
262: *i učitelь moi*[6]

Daniel 6:6

Phrase omitted in Greek, and therefore in M and S
262: *naidemъ na neho*
A: *haškaḥna 'alohi.*

Ukrainian Studies 8 (1984): 304–320.

5 The MT numbering of verses is followed here; the Greek, Slavonic, and some English versions may have different usage. Ordinarily MT 4:2-5 = 4:5-8; 4:30, 33 = 4:33, 36; 6:6, 21 = 6:5, 20. The spelling has been slightly normalized.

6 Here the translator was reluctant to leave the confusing mistranslation where οἱ τυραννοί, in the old sense of 'rulers' has been rendered according to the newer sense 'tyrants'. Apparently unwilling to substitute a word closer to the sense of A *hadaverai* 'counsellors', he modified the extant spelling to produce a reasonable equivalent noun. The singular form reflects the late M tradition in Slavonic.

Daniel 6: 21:

M: *glasomъ krěpkymь* ... *otъ ustъ lvovъ*
S: *žrělъmъ krěpъkymь* ... *izъ ustъ lьvovъ*
262: *hlasom smutnymъ* ... *otъ l'vovъ*
A: *bəqol 'atsiv* ... *min 'aryavata.*

These examples show how the Jewish translator of 262 utilized the extant Slavonic text in rendering the Aramaic parts of Daniel. He did not copy passively, but actively checked the standard Christian Orthodox manuscripts against the MT, filling in lacunae and setting right all deviations.

Here are more extended examples to illustrate in more detail the differences between the Jewish and Christian translations of the Book of Daniel.
Daniel 1:1-8

S 1 *Vъ lěto tretiee carьstva Ioakimova carja Ijudina pride*
262 1 *V lěto tretee carstvu Ihojakimovomu carju Ihudinomu prišol*

S *Navxodonosorъ carь Vavülonьskъ na Ierusalimъ i vъevaše na nь.*
262 *Navxodnosorъ carь Bavelskii na Erušalaimъ i obleh ee.*

S 2 *I dastь gospodь vъ ruku ego Ioakima carja Ijudina i otъ časti*
262 2 *i vydal hospodь v ruku eho Ihojakima carja Ijuděiskoho i někoi*

S *sъsudъ xrama božia, i prinese ja vъ zemlju Senaarъ boga*
262 *sosudy domu božeho i prinese ix v zemlju Šinarьskuju v domъ boha*

S *ego, i sъsudy vъnese vъ xramъ iměnia boga svoego.*
262 *svoego, i onyi sosudy prinese v dom skarbu boha svoeho.*

S 3 *i reče carь asfanexovi, starějšině kaženikъ ego, vъvesti otъ*
262 3 *i reklь carь ašpanazu, stareišomu kaženikov svoix, privesti ot*

S *plěničь, synovъ iiz(rai)levъ, i otъ plemene carьska i otъ krěpkyixъ,*
262 *synovъ sěmeni carьskogo i ot knjažat,*

S 4 *junošь na nixъže něstь poroka i dobry ozrьčiju, i sъmyslьnyi*
262 4 *detei v nixže ně*^{s} *nikako*^{h} *poroku i dobrovidnyi rozumějutь*

S *vъ vьsei prěmudrosti i věduščaja uměnie i prěmudrostь i*
262 *vъ vsjakoi mudrosti i vědaju*^{t} *vědanье i rozumějutь dovědanье*

S *imьže estь krěpostь vъ nixъ, jakože prěstojati vъ domu cari*
262 *nixže sila stoati u polatě carьskoi*

S *i naučiti ja kъnigamъ i jazyku xalděisku.*
262 *i naučiti ix knize i jazyku xalděiskomu.*

S 5 *i reče carь po vьsja dьni otъ trapezy carja i otъ vina*
262 5 *i uhotoval im carь obrok po vsja dni xlěba kusa carьsko*^{h} *i ot vina*

S *pitija ego da ja krъmitь lěta tri, ti potomъ stati prědъ carьmъ.*
262 *pi*^{t}*ja e*^{h} *i hodovati ix prihody a někoi ot nix stanut pered caremъ.*

S [6] *i bystь vъ nixъ otъ synovъ Ijudinъ Daniilъ, i Ananija,*
262 [6] *i bylo meži nami [!] ot synovъ Judinyx Danielъ, Xananьja,*
S *i Azarija, i Misail.*
262 *Mišaelъ, Azarьja.*
S [7] *i sъtvori imъ imena starějšina kaženičь, Danijlu Valtasarъ,*
262 [7] *i podaval im bojarin kaženickii imjana, i dalъ Danielu Beltъcarь,*
S *a Ananii Sedraxъ, Azarii že Misakъ, a Misailu Avьdenaago.*
262 *Axanani Šadrax, a Misaelu Mešax, a Azarьi Avednyko.*

Daniel 4:2-4

S [2] *Sъnъ viděxъ, i ustraši mja, i sъmjatoxъ sja na loži moem, i viděnija*
M [2] *Sonъ viděx i užasi mja, i smjatox sja na loži svoemъ, i viděnie*
262 [2] *Sonъ viděxъ, i užase mja, i smjatox sja na loži moemъ, i viděnie*
S *glavy moeja sъmutaaxu mja.* [3] *i mъnoju zapovědě sja zapovědь*
M *glavy moeja smutiša mja.* [3] *I ot mene izyide zapovědь*
262 *glavy moea smutiša mja.* [3] *I ot mene izъide zapovědь*
S *privesti prědъ mja vьsja muža mudryja vavülonьsky, da skazanie sъna*
M *vъvesti pred mja vsja mudreca vavilonskyja, jako da skazanie sna*
262 *vъvesti prěd mja vsě m(u)drci vavilonskija, jako da skazanie sna*
S *vъzvěstjatь mně.* [4] *I vъlažaaxu balia, i vlъsvi, gazarinьscii,*
M *povědjatь mně.* [4] *I vxožaxu obavnici, vlъsvi, gazarini,*
262 *povědjatь mně.* [4] *I vъxožaxu obavniky, vъlъsvi, gazarini,*
S *i xalděi, i sъnъ azъ rěxъ prědъ nimi, i sъkazanija ego*
M *xalděјaně, i sonъ azъ povědax prěd nimi, i skazanija ego*
262 *xalděane, i sonъ azъ povědax prěd nimi, i skazania eho*
S *ne vъzvěstiša mъně.*
M *ne povědaša mně.*
262 *ne povědaša mně.*

As a result of Christian-Jewish contacts in translating the Old Testament and the special technique used by Jewish translators of the Bible into the languages of the Jewish Diaspora, we have received an optimal bilingual translation of the original bilingual text of the Book of Daniel.

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From Boris to Volodimer: Some Remarks on the Emergence of Proto-Orthodox Slavdom

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Our persistent willingness to celebrate Volodimer's baptism as one of the major turnings in European history indicates that historical legends still play an important role in our perception of history and tradition. Modern scholars are aware of the legendary atmosphere that surrounds the story of Volodimer's conversion to Christianity in the Primary Chronicle.[1] One is inevitably disturbed, furthermore, by the absence of comparable information on this subject in Byzantine and Western sources.[2] Nevertheless, we are not ready either to dismiss this legendary story or to minimize its significance.

As to the factual credibility of the chronicle account, modern historians are entitled to reasonable doubts regarding the alleged connections between, on the one hand, Volodimer's voluntary renunciation of his independence to become a satellite of the Byzantine Empire, and, on the other hand, his crushing military victory over the Christian army of the Byzantine ruler. There seems to be little doubt, however, that it was in Volodimer's day that unrestricted pagan worship came to an end in Kiev. All evidence confirms that it was Volodimer's formal acceptance of Christianity that paved the way to the establishment of a steady organization of the local Slavonic church. Thus, the Primary Chronicle's account is seen at the same time as a questionable document and, because of its uniqueness, as an irreplaceable source of information.

The authority of this particular account rests mainly on its ideological function, as the semantic pillar of the entire narrative of the Primary Chronicle. It was because of Volodimer's spontaneous decision to baptize his people aside from human constraint that the Christian people of Rus' became master of its own fate.

[1] *Pověst' vremennyx lět* (hereafter *PVL*), 2 vols., ed. V. P. Adrianova-Peretc (Moscow and Leningrad, 1950); *The Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text*, trans. and ed. S. H. Cross and O. P. Sherbowitz-Wetzer (Cambridge, Mass., 1953).

[2] See A. Poppe, *The Rise of Christian Russia*, Variorum Reprints (London, 1982), pp. 200 ff.

No wonder that the Byzantine writers would not agree with this way of telling the story and would ignore it completely. To deny the newly baptized's duty to honor, respect, and obey his baptizer represented a serious violation of Christian law. Both Byzantium and Rome insisted on this point. More than one hundred years before, Pope Nicholas I had made very clear, in his *Responsa* to Prince Boris of Bulgaria, that "every man should love like a father the one who has taken him to the baptismal font (*Ita diligere debet homo eum, qui se suscipit ex sacro fonte, sicut patrem*)."[3] This very rule had been used by Ol'ga, the witty princess of Kiev, to remind her Greek godfather of his spiritual duty. According to the Primary Chronicle, Ol'ga told Constantine Porphyrogenitus: "Kako xočeši mja pojati, krestivъ mja samъ i narekъ mja dščereju?"[4] ("How can you think of taking me as your wife, since you are the one who baptized me and called me your daughter?") Even if the Chronicle tells us that he "povelě krestiti sja,"[5] that is, "*ordered* them to baptize him," there is no reason to believe that Volodimer could have had such a fundamental rule changed to his special advantage.

It is plausible that the writers of the Primary Chronicle emphasized and even exaggerated for political reasons the importance of Volodimer's conversion, even if, by doing so, they deprived their own Christian community of a more than one century-old seniority. Apparently, their aim was not to assert their prestige, within the Byzantine family of nations, as well-tested bearers of the true faith. Such a desire would have been natural among the members of a Byzantine-inspired missionary community. It would have been to their advantage to be regarded—possibly on the basis of authoritative testimonies such as that provided by Photius—as a well-established community of Christians (even if formally still *in partibus infidelium*) instead of taking upon themselves the delicate task of starting the organization of a new apostolic network. The chronicle itself, on the other hand, tells us that Christian communities and at least one major church existed in Kiev before the years 987–988.

These considerations suggest that the emerging Church of Rus' deliberately created and consistently exalted the holy image of Volodimer, the God-inspired Founding Father that was praised so eloquently in the eleventh century by Metropolitan Ilarion in his "Sermon on Law and

[3] "Responsa Nicolai I papae *ad consulta Bulgarorum*," in *Fontes Latini Historiae Bulgaricae/Latinski izvori za bъlgarska istorija* (hereafter *Fontes/Izvori*), vol. 2, ed. I. Dujčev, M. Vojnov, Str. Lišev, B. Primov (Sofia, 1960), p. 66.

[4] *PVL*, p. 44.

[5] *PVL*, p. 77.

Grace."[6] Apparently, this particular cult was intended to promote practical autonomy, if not formal independence, from the Greek patriarchate. This means that the story of the wondrous pagan prince, who instantly changed into a holy apostle, might reflect a sort of administrative dissidence within the jurisdiction of the Eastern church rather than the ultimate conversion of Kievan Rus' to Christianity in accordance with the Byzantine rite.

Should this hypothesis prove correct, one may wonder how and why a semi-pagan society would become so self-confident as to think of a local way of practicing Christianity. We know for certain that the writer of the Primary Chronicle could not possibly reflect any Latinophile trend. In fact, a sharp anti-Latin statement comes immediately after Volodimer's credo. "Do not accept the teaching given by the Latins," warns the chronicle, "because their teaching is corrupt (*Ne preimaj že učenьja otь latynъ, ixъ že učenь razъvraščeno*)."[7]

If there was neither a Greek nor a Latin model to follow, one can only think, in a broad sense, of an indigenous—that is, Slavic—source of inspiration. This hypothesis has been widely discussed by modern scholars, to the point that the formula "First South Slavic Influence" has become a historiographic topos. In fact, there is plenty of evidence in support of the thesis that there was a *translatio* to Kievan Rus' of early South Slavic writing. Kievan Christianity developed its own early literature in the same language that had been used for more than one hundred years by the scribes, clergymen, and bureaucrats of Bulgaria.

The main question that remains unsolved regards the chronology and, more precisely, the beginning of the "South Slavic Influence." Did it affect Kievan Rus' as part of the intense apostolic activity that resulted from Volodimer's recognition of Christianity as the official religion of a new society and, consequently, of a new church? Or did the Christians of *pre-Volodimer* Rus' participate in some way in the spiritual life of an emerging Christian community of the Slavic tongue?

In order to answer this question exactly, in historical terms, one should rely on data that, unfortunately, are not provided by extant sources. All we can do, therefore, is to look for recurrent features in the available texts, which may enable us to identify the components of an ideological tradition that might have been common to both the Balkan Slavs and Kievan Rus' from the last decades of the ninth century to the eighties of the tenth century, that is, from Boris to Volodimer.

[6] L. Müller, *Des Metropoliten Ilarion Lobrede auf Vladimir den Heiligen und Glaubensbekenntnis* (Wiesbaden, 1962).
[7] *PVL*, p. 79.

It is a well-known fact that the extant writings referring to the early Slavic tradition cannot be located easily in a chronological framework. Late works may contain old textual material. Likewise, recurrent formulae, statements, and citations may express the continuity of a century-old tradition. It seems appropriate, therefore, to try to see to what extent texts of different origin and chronology may reveal the presence of conceptual constants that go back to the early stages of what could be termed *Proto-Slavia orthodoxa*.

The notion of *Slavia orthodoxa*—that is, "Orthodox Slavdom"—refers to a religious and linguistic community of Slavic peoples which, from the Balkan peninsula to the East Slavic lands, continued for centuries, patterning its spiritual life on common principles and cultural models. Within this community, the unifying role of such a supranational medium as Church Slavonic must have been crucial from the very beginning of its existence. It seems reasonable to assume that the idea of a religious community of the Slavic tongue was not foreign to the pre-Volodimer Christians of Rus'. In fact, this assumption corresponds to what we know about the early formation of a Cyrillo-Methodian tradition, which, spreading out of Moravia, inspired the apostolic activity of Clement of Ochrid and the other founding fathers of Slavonic writing in the Bulgarian lands during the reigns of Boris and Simeon.

It was not unusual to define a religious tradition on the basis of its language. This criterion applied not only to "ethnics," because of the natural connection between ἔθνος and γλῶσσα, but to areas of ecclesiastic jurisdiction as well. One can detect in Latin sources of the ninth century some signs of an inclination to describe the emerging community of the Slavic tongue in terms that suggest adherence to the same conceptual scheme on which the opposition *Latina lingua* vs. *Graeca lingua* was based. When examining these data, one should not be influenced by the old bias according to which the Holy See, in the ninth century, was more hostile than its Greek counterpart to the religious use of Slavonic. In reality, the Roman church, following traditional principles common to the universal church, encouraged the recourse to Slavonic as an "apostolic dialect," but did not accept its use in the liturgical celebration of the Mysteries. This means that Rome would go as far as to sponsor and protect Methodius's apostolic mission in the Slavic tongue, but would not be ready to grant Slavonic the same dignity that belonged to sacred languages such as Latin and Greek. Constantinople's attitude would not be very different. Its diffidence about the aptitude of Slavonic writings to preserve the essence of orthodox teaching was inevitable.

In a letter of 864 to Boris of Bulgaria, Pope Nicholas I blames the Byzantine rulers Bardas and Michael for their blasphemous slandering of the Roman church (*principes dictantes... in lacu blasphemiae intixisse calamum*).[8] The Pope defines here his church as "the Church that makes use of the Latin language (*Conantur enim tam nostram specialiter quam omnem, quae lingua Latina utitur, ecclesiam reprehendere*)."[9]

This formula indicates that language was a distinctive component of jurisdictional and administrative definitions from the ecclesiastic viewpoint. One may assume that, in case the Slavonic language acquired full ecclesiastic dignity, the parallel notion of a "Church of Slavonic language" would also be employed. Clearly, Rome was not willing to allow this possibility to become fact. We know, however, that a "Church of the Slavonic language" did actually come into being under Boris and Simeon.

The question now arises whether and to what extent the sphere of influence of this church expanded beyond the borders of the Bulgarian state. It certainly had an impact on the first activities of Slavic scribes in Serbia as well as in some portions of the Romanian lands, which were reached by the Bulgarian army. Whether, on the other hand, such influence also reached Kievan Rus' remains a matter of speculation.

A Latin document can support the thesis that a supranational religious community, based apparently on the common use of Old Church Slavonic and including both Bulgaria and Rus', was taking shape. This document, an important letter sent by Pope John XIII to Prince Boleslaus of Bohemia, dates from the late sixties of the tenth century, after Ol'ga's baptism (957) and before Volodimer's reign (972–1015).[10] Pope John XIII informs Prince Boleslaus that the Church of SS. Vitus and Wenceslas in Prague is granted the status of bishopric, and that the prince's sister Maria (Mlada) is appointed abbess of the newly established Benedictine congregation at the Church of St. George. The pope then warns the prince that a particular form of Slavic rite should be avoided:

> ...Verumtamen non secundum ritus aut sectam Bulgariae gentis vel Ruziae, aut sclavonicae gentis, sed magis sequens instituta et decreta apostolica, unum pociorem tocius ecclesiae ad placitum eligas in hoc opus clericum, Latinis adprime litteris eruditum, qui verbi vomere novalia cordis gentilium scindere et triticum bonae operationis serere atque manipulos frugum vestrae fidei Christo reportare sufficiat.[11]

8 *Fontes/Izvori*, 2: 64.
9 *Fontes/Izvori*, 2: 64.
10 *Fontes/Izvori*, 2: 317.
11 *Fontes/Izvori*, l.c.

The most striking part of this text is the formula "rite, or sect of the people (nation) of Bulgaria or Rus', or the Slavonic language." This phrasing indicates that Rome considered the possibility of a dangerous influence from a religious body, or traditional community, that included Bulgaria and Rus'. *Ruzia* and *Bulgaria* are seen here as two sides of the same coin. They are both connected with the notion of "Slavonic language," which must be interpreted as "Church Slavonic," that is, a language capable of replacing Latin for liturgical purposes.

Both the letter and the spirit of these words by Pope John XIII suggest that he was thinking of an equivalent of what we are calling here *Proto-Slavia orthodoxa*. Even if we consider the possibility that the significance and the prestige of a Christian community in pre-Volodimer *Ruzia*, using the *Sclavonica lingua*, might be overestimated or exaggerated for special purposes by the pope, the very fact that *Ruzia* is mentioned in this context is certainly important. *Ruzia* "and/or"(*vel*) *Bulgaria* are considered expressions of a "sect" that practiced its own "rite." The condemnation implied by this polemical language does not affect the significance of the pope's recognition that this (deplorable) entity is so vital that it could infiltrate Bohemia. The Christianity of *Ruzia* might actually not be such an active member of the "sect"; it was considered to be connected, in any case, with Bulgaria and the whole community of Eastern Christians using Slavonic as a sacred medium.

Thus, there are good reasons to wonder whether the Christians of Rus' before Volodimer might not only have had connections with Bulgaria, but also have been familiar with the liturgy in the Slavonic language. If this assumption proved well-founded, one should no longer consider the years from Volodimer to Jaroslav as a period of sudden discovery of religious values. One should rather speak of the emergence of a still embryonic, but already vital, local trend. Volodimer's official conversion would not have marked the beginning of a new Christian era under Greek protection, but would have made possible the victory in Kievan Rus' of the same Slavonic tradition that the Byzantine ruler, Basil II Bulgaroctonus, was about to annihilate in the Balkan area.

If one assumes that the first Slavonic writers of Kievan Rus' acted within a tradition which was not new to their country and which coincided to a certain extent with that of ninth or tenth-century Bulgaria and *Proto-Slavia orthodoxa*, it becomes easier to grasp the symbolic meaning of the Volodimer story as told by local chroniclers. In fact, this story can be seen as the adaptation to local needs of a common scheme characterizing the historiographic and hagiographic tradition of Orthodox Slavdom. The main con-

stants of this traditional scheme are: (1) The blessed legacy of the Moravian apostles Cyril and Methodius, inspired inventors of the Slavonic writing, was transferred to the reigns of equally inspired, blessed, and Orthodox Slavic princes, from Boris and Simeon to Volodimer, then from Stefan Nemanja to Stefan Lazarević in fifteenth-century Serbia; (2) The salvation of the Slavic people was the result of a direct intervention of God's mercifulness, and the work of new apostles, chosen like the old ones by God, whose loving care for his human creatures is by no means limited to a particular period of time, but perennial through the ages.[12]

The opening statement of the *Vita Constantini* is perhaps the best-known presentation of this sort of Manifesto of emergent Orthodox Slavdom: "*God, who is merciful and generous*, does not abandon the human race to perish because of its weakness, but in all times and ages does not stop giving us his grace... He also did this for our people, by spurring such a teacher as the one who enlightened our people."[13] These words represent the kernel of a leitmotif that occurs in the main texts of Orthodox Slavic literature.

The narrator of the Primary Chronicle, too, appears to be guided by this dominant idea. When he starts telling the complex story of Prince Volodimer's gradual switch from fierce paganism to the true faith, he considers it appropriate to call immediately—and well in advance—his audience's attention to the higher meaning of the events he is about to narrate: "I nača knjažiti Volodimerъ vъ Kievě edinъ, i postavi kumiry na xolmu... I oskvernisja krovьmi zemlja Ruska i xolmo-tъ."[14] God, however, as stated in the *Vita Constantini* as well, is not willing to let his creatures succumb to sin: "No preblagij bogъ ne xotja smerti grešnikomъ," the Kievan chronicler says, "na tomъ xolmě nyně cerkvi stoitь, svjatago Vasilьja estь, jakože poslědi skažemъ."[15] If one compares the phrasing of this passage with that of the *Vita Constantini*, it is clear that

[12] On the "continuity of apostleship" see: R. Picchio, "Questione della lingua e Slavia Cirillometodiana," in *Studi sulla Questione della lingua presso gli Slavi*, ed. R. Picchio (Rome, 1972), pp. 7–120.

[13] "B[o]gъ m[i]l[o]stivyi i štedryi, ožidaei pokaanïe čl[vě]čьsko, da byše vъsi sp[a]seni byli i vъ razoumь istinnyi prišli,—ne xoštet bo sъmrъti grěšnikou, nъ pokaanïju i životu, ašte i naipače priležitь na zlobou—nъ ne ostavjaet čl[o]vьča roda otpasti oslabljenïemь i vъ sъblaznь neprijazninnou priïti i oogybnouti, nъ na koeždo lěto i vrěmena ne prěstaetь bl[a]g[o]d[a]tь tvore namь mnogo... Eže sъtvori i vъ naše rody, vъzdvigъ namь oučitelja sego...": Kliment Oxridski, *Sъbrani sъčinenija, III: Prostranni žitija na Kiril i Metodii.*, ed. B. Angelov and H. Kodov (Sofia, 1973), p. 89.

[14] "And Volodimer began to reign alone in Kiev, and he put idols on the hill... and the land of Rus', and that hill brought upon themselves the shame of blood." *PVL*, p. 56.

[15] "But the most gracious God does not want the death of the sinners. There is now a church on that hill, the church of Saint Basil, as we will tell later...." *PVL*, l.c.

this is common textual material. The wording in the Primary Chronicle "preblagij bogъ ne xotja smerti grešnikomъ" coincides with that of the *Vita Constantini* to the point that one can think of minor scribal variants of the same text. It would certainly be inappropriate to claim that the Kievan chronicler was familiar with the *Vita Constantini*, since the common words represent a citation from the Bible.[16] It is important to note, however, that the same biblical reference acts in different contexts as a semantic marker intended to convey the same spiritual message. The fact that the story of Prince Volodimer of Kiev is introduced by the same semantic marker that introduces the *Vita* of Constantine-Cyril suggests that the two texts are governed by the same hagiographic convention.

Volodimer's image combines that of the "inspired ruler of the Slavic people" with that of the "Apostle of the Slavs." Both images belong to the hagiographic patrimony of early Orthodox Slavdom. It was thanks to the intervention of an inspired ruler of the Slavs that the Cyrillo-Methodian legacy, doomed otherwise to extinction in the Latin-German world, had become the most cherished patrimony of Orthodox Slavs. This switch from an "apostle-centric" to a "caesarocentric" vision of the providential design, which conferred upon the Slavs the dignity of a New Israel, appears to go back to the "First Bulgarian State." Perhaps the most typical document of this new vision is contained in the twelfth-century Greek *Life of Clement of Ochrid*, attributed to Theophylactus.[17] Though the text is relatively late, there are good reasons to believe that it represents a compendium of local topoi of early Slavic origin.

Because of his giving good refuge to Methodius's pupils, Prince Michael-Boris is referred to as "God's subordinate commander (ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ ὄντος ὑποστράτηγος Μιχαήλ).[18] When the hour of death comes for Michael-Boris, "servant of God, ruler of Bulgaria (τῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ δούλῳ Μιχαὴλ τῷ Βορίσῃ τω ἡγιασμένῳ Βουλγαρίας ἄρχοντι),"[19] his son Simeon succeeds him. In the solemn language of the hagiographer, this is an almost divine event. Boris generated his son "according to his image and likeness (τοῦτον ἐγέννησεν ὁ Μιχαὴλ κατὰ τὴν ἰδέαν καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὁμοίωσιν αὐτοῦ)."[20] The topical use of such an important biblical refer-

16 Cf. Ps. 102:8 and 110:4; Joel 2:13; Ezekiel 33:11.
17 A. Milev, *Grъckite žitija na Kliment Oxridski* (Sofia, 1966).
18 Milev, *Grъckite žitija*, p. 124.
19 Milev, *Grъckite žitija*, p. 128.
20 Milev, *Grъckite žitija*, p. 128.

ence (Gen. 1:26) implied recognition of the high mission assigned by God to the first recipient of the holy message brought to the chosen land of Bulgaria by Methodius's pupils.

It would not be surprising to see that the hagiographic tint of Volodimer's image in the chronicle account resulted from an early familiarity of Kievan Christians with Old Slavonic clichés. In fact, the whole narrative of the Primary Chronicle clearly shows that its writers were perfectly aware of the existence of a Christian Slavonic tradition born in Moravia and transferred very soon to the Bulgarian lands ("Kostjantinъ že vъzvratisja vъspjatь, i ide učitъ bolgarьskago jazyka, a Mefodij osta v Moravě.")[21] Christian Bulgaria was certainly not seen as a remote, inaccessible country. At least, it was well known to the veterans of Svjatoslav's army. Svjatoslav himself considered settling in Preslav and living there—one may assume—as the ruler of Bulgaria and Rus' at the same time: "Reče Svjatoslavъ kъ materi svoej i kъ boljaromъ svoimъ: ne ljubo mi estь v Kievě byti, xočju žiti v Perejaslavci na Dunai."[22] It is hard to believe that the entourage of a prince who considered moving permanently to Bulgaria would not be familiar with Bulgarian writings. No wonder, therefore, that the first hagiographers of his Christian son Volodimer might be influenced by Bulgarian writing patterns.

The more we learn about the early writing centers in Bulgaria under Boris and Simeon, the more we are led to believe that those founding fathers of *Proto-Slavia orthodoxa* were seen by their contemporaries, and even more by their first successors, as spiritual leaders of a supranational religious movement. The new textual evidence, recently discovered in Old Bulgarian hymnography by such distinguished scholars as Georgi Popov and Stefan Kožuxarov,[23] indicates that Clement of Ochrid, Naum, and the Preslav bishop Constantine were concerned not only with the Bulgarian Slavs within their jurisdictions, but with the whole community of Slavs. As Georgi Popov points out, the writings of Cyril and Methodius's pupils "have a pan-Slavic significance" and "spread throughout the Orthodox Slavic world."[24] Apparently, the founders of the writing centers in Pliska-

[21] *PVL*, p. 22 ("Constantine went back, and went to teach the Bulgarian people").

[22] "Svjatoslav told his mother and his boyars: 'I do not like to live in Kiev, I want to live in Perejaslavec on the Danube.'" *PVL*, p. 48.

[23] G. Popov, "Novootkriti ximnografski proizvedenija na Kliment Oxridski," *Bъlgarski ezik* 31, no. 1 (1982): 3–26; St. Kožuxarov, "Pesennoto tvorčestvo na starobъlgarskijat knižovnik Naum Oxridski," *Literaturna istorija*, 1984, no. 12, pp. 3–19.

[24] G. Popov, "Knižovnoto nasledstvo na Kirilo-Metodievite učenici," *Literaturna misъl*, 1988, no. 1, p. 8.

Preslav and Ochrid considered themselves members of a Cyrillo-Methodian diaspora, whose sacred task was to spread a new word not only within the Bulgarian state, but from country to country, following the example of Jesus' Apostles.

In a troparion by Constantine of Preslav, one reads: "You, the Apostles who were persecuted by emperors and princes as well as by the peoples because of your preaching the holy truth to the peoples, you, holy men, protect now your servants who are pushed away by the trilinguists and must wander from land to land."[25] The reference to "trilinguists" here, in the *Vita Constantini*, appears to allude, rather than to the Roman church, to local adversaries either in the Germanic area or in the Byzantine world itself. The Latin church, in fact, explicitly condemned "trilingualism." The Synod of Frankfurt of 794 had decided, a century before the birth of Bulgarian sacred literature in the Slavonic tongue, that "ullus credat, quod nonnisi in tribus linguis deus orandus sit, quia in omni lingua deus adoratur et homo exauditur, si justa petierit."[26] The founders of the Slavic church of Bulgaria should believe and maintain that "trilingualism," like any other discrimination against the sacred use of Slavonic, was against the accepted teaching of the universal church. This attitude would encourage them to expand their apostolic activity among other Slavs, including—one may assume—those of Rus' and possibly of the Czech lands of former Great Moravia, as still suggested a century later by Pope John XIII. In the hymn by Constantine of Preslav, the thoughtful phrasing of which can now be better evaluated thanks to Georgi Popov's discoveries, the eloquent representative of Boris's Christian power exhorted his flock with these words: "Get together, you, the Slavs throughout the land!"[27] It seems reasonable to believe that this sort of slogan would have reached the Christian land of Rus' long before Volodimer's official conversion.

It is important, at this point, to remind ourselves that no matter how well-founded they may appear, the arguments that we have used so far to support the hypothesis of the inclusion of pre-Volodimer Rus' into an early supranational community, definable as *Proto-Slavia orthodoxa*, are based, in turn, on hypotheses, hints, or indirect evidence. To look for circumstantial evidence, on the other hand, can prove useful if one aims at nothing more than getting as close as possible to the conjectural explanation of historical phenomena that, otherwise, would remain even more obscure. Even

[25] Popov, "Knižovnoto nasledstvo," p. 6.

[26] See A. Borst, *Der Turmbau von Babel*, vol. 2, pt. 1 (Stuttgart, 1958), p. 498.

[27] Popov, "Knižovnoto nasledstvo," p. 6.

if we cannot say anything precise about Christian customs in pre-Volodimer Rus', our detection of established traditional trends in early Kievan writing justifies our attempt to characterize the possible roots of such traditions on the basis of general cultural data. Besides the extremely relevant fact that Kievan writing was initiated in the same Slavonic language that acquired full dignity in Boris and Simeon's Bulgaria, there are other cultural signals that deserve our attention.

It is worth noting not only that many important Old Bulgarian works have come down to us in East Slavonic manuscripts, but also that several of them were adapted to the local needs of Rus' to the point that one can speak of thematic and ideological annexation. Perhaps the most sensational example is represented by the substitution of Tsar Simeon's name with that of the Kievan prince Svjatoslav in the *Izbornik 1073 goda*.[28]

Another interesting symptom can be detected in a textual variant of Xrabr's treatise "On the Letters." In two codices that, according to the stemma established by Alda Kossova, play an important role in the Eastern branch of the textual tradition, one finds a scribal addition after the sentence informing us that Cyril and Methodius created the Slavic alphabet at the time of Boris of Bulgaria and "Rastica" of Moravia. This addition reads: "vo knjaženie velikago knjaža Rusii Rjurika pogana sušča ne kreščena, za sto k̃ lětъ do kreščenija russkija zemli (during the reign of the Grand Prince of Rus' Rjurik, who was an unchristened pagan one hundred twenty years before the Christianization of the land of Rus')."[29] This gloss confirms our impression that for a long time the main events of the sacred Moravo-Bulgarian age were perceived as part of a common tradition to which the Christianity of pre-Volodimer Rus' also belonged.

Contrary to the opinion held in past decades by eminent scholars, an example of ideological annexation can also be found in Chapter 8 of the *Vita Constantini*, according to which the first apostle of the Slavs, when he stopped in Kherson, "found there a Gospel and Psalter written in Rus'ian letters (*rusьskymi pismeny*)." As was recently demonstrated by Harvey Goldblatt, there is a clear connection between this legendary story and the ruso-centric ideological attitude expressed by the *Skazanie o gramote Rousьtej*.[30] It is unlikely that the expression *rusьskymi pismeny* represents a

[28] *Izbornik Svjatoslava 1073 g.: Sbornik statej*, ed. B. A. Rybakov (Moscow, 1977).
[29] *Černorizec Hrabъr*, Critical Edition by Alda Giambelluca Kossova (Sofia, 1980), p. 142.
[30] H. Goldblatt, "On 'rusьskymi pismeny' in the *Vita Constantini* and Rus'ian Religious Patriotism," in *Studia Slavica Mediaevalia et Humanistica Riccardo Picchio dicata*, ed. M. Colucci, G. Dell'Agata, H. Goldblatt, vol. 1 (Rome, 1986), pp. 78–95.

scribal misreading. One has good reason to believe that it reflects the thesis, springing from East Slavic religious and political patriotism, that Constantine learned both the Slavic language and its graphic representation from a man representing what we termed here the "pre-Volodimer Christianity of Rus'." One cannot underevaluate the fact that in one of the oldest codices of the *Vita Constantini* (previously MS 19 of the Moscow Theological Academy), the readers are emphatically warned that:

Se že budi vědomo vsěmi jazyky i vsemi lju[d]mi jako rus[s]kyi jazykь ni o[t]kudu že pria věry sea s[vja]tyja, i gramota ru[s]kaa nikym že javlena, no tokmo saměmъ b[o]gomъ vъsedrъžitelemъ otc[e]mъ i s[y]nomъ i s[vja]tymъ d[u]xomъ Vladimiru d[u]xъ s[vja]tyj vъdoxnulъ věru priati, a krščenyi o[t] grekъ i pročii narjadъ crkovnyi. A gramota ru[s]kaa javilasja, b[o]gomъ dana, vъ Korsuni rusinu. O[t] neja že naučisja filoso[f] Kon'stantinъ, i o[t]kudu složivь i napisavь knigy ru[s]kymъ jadzykomъ. . .[31]

(All peoples and nations should know that the Rus'ian people did not receive this holy faith from anyone, and that the Rus'ian writing was not revealed by anyone, but solely by the Almighty Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, as the Holy Spirit inspired Volodimer to receive the Faith, and to receive baptism and other ecclesiastic regulations from the Greeks. Rus'ian writings, given by God, were revealed to a Rus'ian man in Kherson. Constantine the Philosopher learned from these writings; hence he was able to compose and write the books in the Rus'ian language).

This statement summarizes what appears to have been the dominant doctrine of East-Slavic Christianity from the time of Volodimer's conversion on. At first glance, one may get the impression that its main intent is to polemically deny any historical dependence on the Cyrillo-Methodian spiritual legacy. In reality, what deserves even more attention is the fact that the "Volodimerocentric" thesis, as it was originally proclaimed in the Primary Chronicle, is based here on a peculiar ideological annexation, which puts the achievement of Constantine the Philosopher into a different historiographic context. Since Volodimer's God-inspired decision to convert had also conferred upon him full apostolic dignity, Constantine-Cyril's providential mission could only be seen as dependent, in turn, on the God-inspired wisdom of the Christian people of Rus'.

The vitality of the ideological motive, according to which Volodimer combined the royal virtues of Boris and Simeon—the first Slavic rulers who made possible the survival and further flourishing of the Cyrillo-Methodian teaching—with the spiritual authority of the first Slavic apostles, is confirmed by what one reads in the *Life* of Volodimer (*Žitie blažennago*

[31] Kliment Oxridski, *Sъbrani sъčinenija*, p. 36.

Vladimera) by an unknown author, and in the *Memory and Eulogy* of Volodimer (*Pamjat' i poxvala Vladimiru*) by the monk Jakov.[32] After stating that "i bystь vtoryj Konstantinъ v Ruskoj zemli Volodimerъ (Volodimer was a second [emperor] Constantine in the land of Rus')," the hagiographer points out that God's grace reached the people of Rus' in spite of their sins, because "jakože prorokъ glagoletь: živu Azъ Adonai Gospod, jako ne xoščju smerti grěšnikomъ, no obratitisja imъ otъ puti vašego zlago (As the prophet says: I, the living Lord Adonai, do not want the death of sinners, but they be converted from your bad path)."[33] Once again, the words from the Bible (Ezekiel 33:11) that we already read in the *Vita Constantini*, as well as in the Primary Chronicle, play a decisive role as semantic markers of the motive of providential salvation. The same biblical reference, in terms even closer to the first lines of the *Vita Constantini*, occurs in a crucial passage of monk Jakov's hagiography: "prosvěti blagodatь Božia serdce knjazju Volodimeru, synu Svjatoslavlju i vnuku Igorevu, i vъzljubi i čelověkoljubivyj Bogъ, xotjai spasti vsjakago čelověka i v razumъ istinyi priiti" (God's grace enlightened the heart of Prince Volodimer, the son of Svjatoslav and the grandson of Igor', and he was beloved of God, who loves men and wants to save every human creature and that he reaches the intelligence of truth).[34] It seems evident that one is confronted here with an exegetical topos that can apply to either Constantine and Methodius or Volodimer, the God-inspired apostolic prince, within the semantic limits of the same rhetorical cliché.

More examples of this persistent motif could be found. Even the selected material taken into consideration up to this point seems, however, to allow for some general conclusions.

The Primary Chronicle's story of Volodimer's conversion appears to express an historiosophic motive dependent on the idea that the Kievan prince, though baptized by the Byzantines, did not follow Greek models, but allowed local traditions to inspire the newly created Slavic Church of Rus'. There are good reasons to believe that such traditions, prior to Volodimer's time, participated in the emerging supranational community of those Slavs who used (Church) Slavonic as their sacred language, in accordance with the religious policy of the Bulgarian church. Even if no direct data are available concerning the relations between that Proto-Orthodox Slavic community and Kievan Rus', the subsequent vitality of ideological

[32] E. Golubinskij, *Istorija russkoj cerkvi*, 2nd. ed., vol. 1 (Moscow, 1901), [Priloženija] pp. 224–38.

[33] Golubinskij, *Istorija russkoj cerkvi*, p. 236.

[34] Golubinskij, *Istorija russkoj cerkvi*, p. 239.

formulae connected with early Bulgarian Christianity and the Moravian legacy justifies the assumption that East Slavic–South Slavic religious relations were already deeply rooted in Kievan Rus' when the chronicle's story of Volodimer the Apostle-Prince was first put together.[35]

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[35] Several months after my presentation of this paper at the millennium conference in Ravenna, I became acquainted with the important paper submitted by Christian Hannick at the Tenth International Conference of Slavicists, "Der slavobulgarische Faktor bei der Christianisierung der Kiever Rus'," in *Slavistische Studien zum X. Internationalen Slavistenkongress in Sofia, 1988*, ed. R. Olesch and H. Rothe (Cologne and Vienna, 1988), pp. 345–55. Professor Hannick critically reconsiders the conclusions reached almost forty years ago by the Bulgarian historian Vsevolod Nikolaev, who firmly believed that Christianization had come to Kievan Rus' from Bulgaria at the time of Tsar Symeon (893–927). Even if my approach is different, it is certainly useful to remember that this is not a new problem.

The Bulgarian Contribution to the Reception of Byzantine Culture in Kievan Rus': The Myths and the Enigma

FRANCIS J. THOMSON

> Dichtet, erfindet, traͤumet,
> schreibt Romane; aber nennt
> es auch ROMANE:
> der Name der GESCHICHTE ist
> heilig, entweihet ihn nicht.
>
> August L. von Schlözer, 1768, 52.

> На свете иногда довольно, чтобы кто
> нибудь сказал не улыбаясь вопиющую
> несообразность и многие зело смышленые
> люди станут пересказывать ее
> за историческую истинну.
>
> Осип И. Сенковский, 1834, 59.

The conversion of Kievan Rus' did not lead to the introduction of Byzantine Greek culture, but to the transfer *en masse* of the results of over a century of Bulgarian efforts to receive and adapt that culture to Bulgaria's own needs. Despite the considerable study devoted to Rus'-Bulgarian relations,[1] especially cultural ones,[2] some of the most basic questions remain unanswered: how was the transfer effected? Was the Bulgarian contribution to that transfer active, a deliberate policy promoted by Bulgarian missionaries, scholars and scribes in Kievan Rus', or was it passive, a concomitant factor in a historical process whose motivating force should be sought in Rus'-Byzantine relations? It is asserted both that *Byzantine cultural influences penetrated into the Ukrainian territories often directly from Byzantium*[3] and that *direct spiritual contact with Byzantium and the Greek element was secondary to that from Bulgaria.*[4]

1 See Deržavin, **Связи**; D. Angelov, ***Руси***; Tixomirov, **Связи**; Cankova-Petkova, **Връзки**; for the earlier period see Mixajlov, **Руси**, and **Русия**.

2 See Snegarov, **Връзки**; Petkanova-Toteva, **Връзки**; B. Angelov, **Вопросу**, **Историята** and **Проникване**; Mošin, **Периодизации**; Dinekov, **Распространении**, **Мисия** and **Паралели**; Pavlova, **Връзки**; Schmücker, *Bemerkungen*; Tot (=Tóth), **Предпосылки**; Birnbaum, "Component," "Differences"; Kaliganov, **Соображений**; E. Georgiev, **Начало**; Litavrin, **Переворот**; Rogov, **Связи** (1978) and **Связи** (1982). For earlier contributions see Mixajlov, **Взаимоотношения**.

3 Ševčenko, *Roots*, 22.

4 Florovsky, *Ways*, vol. 1, 5.

The reason is not far to seek: *There is a strange discrepancy between the enormous cultural influence which Bulgaria had on Rus' . . . and the silence of the Primary Chronicle about Rus'-Bulgarian relations.*[5] This silence has led some historians to ignore all Bulgarian involvement in the transfer[6] and others, oblivious of the old dictum *a posse ad esse non valet consequentia,* to seek to explain it by hypotheses heaped upon speculative conjectures.[7] The very silence of the Primary Chronicle is itself the object of speculation about the Bulgarophobia of its allegedly Graecophile compilers,[8] to which it could be replied not only that by the time it was compiled Bulgaria was merely a province of the Byzantine Empire,[9] but also that down to the late eleventh century it shows little interest in ecclesiastical

5 Mošin, Периодизации, 50. The lack of information about the spread of Bulgarian letters in Kievan Rus' has often been commented upon, e.g. Sobolevskij, Материалы, 135; Snegarov, Връзки, 50; Tóth, Предпосылки, 50; Schmücker, *Bemerkungen,* 93.

6 E. g. Schick, *Kirchengeschichte,* vol. 4, 24–32; Zernov, *Russians,* 7–12; cf. the remark by Kawerau, *Ostkirchengeschichte,* 55: *Bis zum Jahre 1000 A.D. etwa war auch die Christianisierung der russischen Städte von Byzanz aus beendet.* The sole history of the Russian church ever published in the Soviet Union not merely fails to mention Bulgaria but asserts: *Not only all the first bishops, but all the first priests and monks as well in Kievan Rus' were Greeks,* N. Nikol'skij, *История* (1931), 43 (1983), 31; Lunt, "Interpreting," 259, thinks on the basis of the absence of evidence for the use of Slavonic that at least until Vladimir's death in 1015 the clergy were Greek and Greek was the liturgical language. See also *idem,* "Language." His view has recently been supported by Vodoff, "Questions." It is indeed true that just as the manner of the *translatio litterarum slavicarum ad Russos* remains an enigma, so too the exact time at which it began is uncertain. It is possible that initially Greek was used in the liturgy—there were undoubtedly at least some Greek clergy in Kiev, e.g. Anna's chaplains—but in view of the absence of a knowledge of Greek among native East Slavs (see note 172), this Greek period could hardly have lasted very long or put down firm roots. With regard to the absence of East Slav codices of the first half of the 11th century, it must be borne in mind that the first Slavonic manuscripts in Rus' were of Bulgarian origin and would only gradually have been replaced as the need arose. The training of East Slav scribes will also have required some time, and there is no reason to doubt that South Slav clergy recruited for Rus' copied at least some manuscripts there.

7 The kindest thing that could be said of the sole work devoted specifically to the Bulgarian contribution to the conversion of Kievan Rus', viz. V. Nikolaev, *Фактор,* is that it belongs to Schlözer's category of *Romane,* see epigraph 1. The recent attempt to resurrect this book from the oblivion to which it has so justly been consigned, see Hannick "Faktor," 345 and 355, is all the more incomprehensible in that Hannick largely deals with some of Nikolaev's errors. The idea that the principal influence on the conversion of Kiev came from Moravia, Bulgarian influence being only secondary, e.g. Popruženko, България, 27, cannot be examined here.

8 E.g. Priselkov, Очерки, 82–7; Nikol'skij, Повесть, 29; Koch, *Byzanz,* 287; Pogorelov, Русите, 153; Nikolaev, Фактор, 29–48, 159. On the Primary Chronicle's information about Bulgaria see Vaillant, "Bulgarie"; Zykov, Известия; Rajkov, Българите.

9 Mošin, Периодизации, 50; Schmücker, *Bemerkungen,* 93–4.

events[10] or relations with foreign countries.[11]

With regard to the role played in the conversion by Bulgarian clergy, it is usually assumed that the first priests in Kievan Rus' must have come from Bulgaria,[12] and their role as teachers, translators, and scribes is often stressed,[13] although there is no agreement as to whence they came: were they despatched from Macedonia by Tsar Samuel,[14] or from East Bulgaria, since 971 part of the Byzantine Empire, by Emperor Basil II,[15] or were they refugees from the Bulgaro-Byzantine conflict?[16] Or again, did they only

10 See Müller, *Problem*, 53–5. It is strange, if the chronicle is really so Graecophile, that it does not systematically mention the Greek metropolitans.

11 See Zástěrová, "Observations," 241. Thus, for instance, Olga's relations with the West are known only from Western sources.

12 E. g. Šaxmatov, **Заметки**, 52; Istrin, ***Очерк***, 1; Speranskij, **Памятники**, 529; Lužnyc'kyj, **Церква**, 48; Tal'berg, **История**, 52; Gudzij, **Литература**, 8; Vlasto, *Entry*, 262–3; L. Müller, *Taufe*, 85; B. Angelov, ***Историята***, vol. 1, 26; E. Georgiev, ***Начало***, 20; Mixajlov, ***Русия***, 70; Pogorelov, **Руситe**, 148, 153. Lixačev, **Свят**, 531, compares them to the Irish monks on the European continent. In actual fact the Primary Chronicle sub 988 makes it quite clear that the first priests to go to Kiev after Vladimir's baptism were from Cherson, not Bulgaria, see PSRL 1, 1926, col. 116. That they were Greeks can scarcely be doubted and occasional claims that they were Slavs, e.g. Kočev, "Anfänge," 507, have never been substantiated.

13 E.g. Makarij (Bulgakov), ***История***, vol. 1, 219–20; Golubinskij, **Обращение**, 190, 144–45, 191, 29–30, and *idem*, ***История***, vol. 1, pt. 1, 191; Vlasovs'kyj, ***Нарис*** vol. 1, 68; Seliščev, **Язык**, vol. 1, 82; B. Angelov, **Вопросу**, 135; Pavlova, **Връзки**, 103; Tóth, **Предпосылки**, 172; Nikolaev, **Фактор**, 143, 147; Schmücker, *Bemerkungen*, 91; Il'inskij, **Въпроса**, 243, also stresses their administrative experience. Soxan', ***Очерки***, 26, specifically claims that those who at Vladimir's command in 988 gave instruction to the children of leading families, see PSRL 1, 118–19, were Bulgarian monks.

14 Thus Mošin, **Периодизации**, 55.

15 Thus Ščepkina, **Вопросу**, 202; Poppe, **Курилоцѣ**, 334, n. 42, and *idem*, *Christianisierung*, 478, who considers that many of those sent had been taken prisoner in Basil's campaigns against Macedonia; Schmücker, *Bemerkungen*, 92, thinks that they were sent by the Patriarch of Constantinople, as does Bishop Partenij of Leucas, **Патриарси**, 71–2.

16 Thus Koch, "Ochrid," 143–49; Dvornik, *Making*, 173; Vodoff, *Naissance*, 98; Mošin, **Периодизации**, 61; Snegarov, **Връзки**, 41; Pavlova, **Връзки**, 102; Mixajlov, **Руси**, 132; Litavrin, **Переворот**, 402. Schiwaroff, "Rolle," 147, is even more precise: he suggests that the clergy went to Kiev when Svjatoslav returned from his first campaign, viz. in 968. Nikolaev, **Фактор**, 143, claims that there were bishops among them. Poppe, *Christianisierung*, 478, n. 90, rightly questions the idea of Kievan Rus' appearing a haven to Bulgarian refugees since approximately half of the Byzantine army in Bulgaria consisted of Rus' mercenaries. Similar claims that Bulgarian Christians must have fled to Kievan Rus' in 971 when East Bulgaria was incorporated into the Byzantine empire have been made, e.g. Mošin, **Периодизации**, 52; Vlasto, *Entry*, 252; Tóth, **Предпосылки**, 156–57, but again there is no evidence, although some clerics may have been sent thither as slaves, since Jaropolk was married to a Greek nun, whom Svjatoslav had sent back from his Bulgarian campaigns of 967/8 and 969–71, see PSRL 1 (1926), col. 75. The idea that Svjatoslav's campaigns were motivated by a desire to seize the Bulgarian patriarchate, thus Priselkov, **Очерки**, 15–16, is ludicrous; he was interested in the wealth of the country, as the chronicle makes clear, see PSRL 1, 67. For the assumption that these Bulgarian campaigns *must be considered as an important part of the background to the official conversion of the Rus'* see also Fine, *Balkans*, 187. Claims that the clergy serving the

arrive *en masse* as displaced persons after 1037 when the first Greek, Leo, was appointed to the archsee of Ochrid and began—or so it is alleged—a policy of replacing even the lower Bulgarian clergy by Greeks?[17] In fact the sole apparently authentic case recorded in any source of a Bulgarian cleric active in Kievan Rus' is that of Gregory *the Philosopher* who arrived with Metropolitan George from Constantinople in 1062.[18] The only other case

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church of the Prophet Elijah in Kiev, mentioned in the Primary Chronicle sub 945, see PSRL 1, 54, were Bulgarian, thus, for example, Vlasto, *Entry,* 247–48; Bishop Nestor of Smoljan, **Крещение**, 6, and that the church was a centre (**очаг**) of Slavonic liturgical and literary activity, thus Rogov, **Связи** 1978, 43, cf. *idem,* **Связи** 1987, 35, are unsupported by any evidence. Indeed the church probably never existed, see Priselkov, **Очерки**, 8.

[17] Thus Kaliganov, Проблемы, 61. In his opinion, *ibid.* pp. 58–60, before then only a few carefully screened Bulgarian clergy were despatched from conquered East Bulgaria, while East Slav ordinands were sent to Constantinople and Byzantine monasteries for training. An interesting hypothesis which—it is to be hoped—will not in future be quoted as a historical fact. On Leo see below n. 104; on the alleged replacement see below n. 162.

[18] A cycle of seven homilies for the days of the week is in most codices ascribed to a certain Gregory the Philosopher, to whose name in one fifteenth-century florilegium, viz. codex 14 in the M. Čuvanov collection, State History Museum, Moscow, is added the gloss: **в лѣто ѕфо Григориа Философа пришедшаго изъ Царѧграда съ митрополитом Георгиемъ при кн҃зи Изѧславѣ, сн҃а** (sic) **Ꙗрославлѧ, Словесъ седмь...**, see Rykov, Эпизод, 171. This information, while apparently authentic, is only contained in a codex of the third quarter of the fifteenth century (on the watermark of 1460 see *ibid*, 171, n. 11), and it is exaggerated to claim, *ibid.*, 171, that *the authenticity of the information in the title gives no cause for doubt*—it will only be absolutely certain if further confirmation is forthcoming. Kaliganov, Проблемы, 57, still asserts that not a single name of a Bulgarian working in Kievan Rus' is known, but this is probably to be interpreted as his ignorance of the tradition concerning Gregory, rather than his rejection of it.

The year 6570 covers a period from 1 March 1061 to 28 February 1063, depending upon whether the ultra-March, March or September year was used. Rykov, Эпизод, 172, would narrow this down since according to the kalendar in the 11th-12th century Mstislav evangeliary, ed. Žukovskaja, **Апракос**, 31–290, cf. 234, George's predecessor Ephraem consecrated St. Sophia's cathedral on 4 November, which they assume must have been on a Sunday, and thus could only have been in 1061, but the assumption is uncertain. They also, *ibidem,* think that the date could refer to either the date of arrival or the date of the composition of the homilies, although Turilov, **Григорий**, 187, refers it solely to Gregory's arrival, which in view of its position in the title is more probable.

The claim that Gregory came from West Bulgaria, viz. the archsee of Ochrid, whose ecclesiastical autonomy guaranteed better conditions for the development of Slav culture, thus Rykov, **Епизод**, 173, and Turilov, **Григорий**, 188, is, first, factually inaccurate, as the jurisdiction of Ochrid (see also n. 111 below) contained much of East Bulgaria, including sees at Sardica and Dorostolum, and, second, it ignores the fact of Bulgarian cultural continuity, see below nn. 165, 166, 168. Moreover their claim, *ibidem*, that the title Philosopher meant that he had studied at the school in the Magnaura Palace in Constantinople is speculative as it was applied to people who had not studied there, e.g. the Armenian Pantaleon in the tenth century, see Fuchs, *Schulen,* 22.

Six of the seven homilies have been edited from a codex in which they are ascribed to Cyril the Philosopher by Sobolevskij, **Шестоднев**, 179–202.

that has been quoted[19] is that of the monk of St. Menas' Monastery[20] who, according to the *Vita S. Theodosii abbatis Cryptensis* by Nestor, went to Constantinople, where he settled on an island that came to be known as *Bulgarian Island*. Unfortunately the earliest codex with the *vita* calls him not a Bulgarian but a boyar and the island *Boyar Island*,[21] as does a late thirteenth-century Bulgarian abridgment of the *vita*.[22] In the early fifteenth century Nestor's *vita* was incorporated into the *Patericon Cryptense* in the redaction made for Bishop Arsenius of Tver' and here too the monk remains a boyar;[23] only in the second Cassian redaction of 1462 does he become a Bulgarian and his island *Bulgarian Island*.[24]

The historicity of theories concerning Bulgarian hierarchs allegedly associated with the conversion of Kievan Rus' is no better than that concerning the aforementioned monk. The sole source specifically to link Bulgaria with the conversion of Kiev is the Joachim Chronicle, about which all that is known is what its discoverer, V. Tatiščev, relates: on 20 May 1748 his relative Melchizedek Borščov, then archimandrite of the Monastery of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross at Bizjukovo,[25] sent him three quires of an eighteenth-century codex which he had allegedly acquired from a certain monk Benjamin, who had collected material on Russian history.[26]

19 By Tóth, Предпосылки, 187. The Nicon Chronicle, PSRL 9 (1862), 68, reports that in 1004 Metropolitan Leontius incarcerated the monk Adrian for heresy, see also the *Liber graduum*, PSRL, 21, 1 (1908), 124. It has been claimed that he must have been a Bulgarian monk as in 1004 there were no Russian monks, thus Mošin, Послание, 100. However, he is traditionally assumed to have been a Bulgarian Bogomil, thus first Rudnev, Рассужденіе, 29–38, and frequently repeated since, e.g. Obolensky, *Bogomils*, 277; Bulgakov, История, vol. 1, 220–21; Golubinskij, *История*, vol.1, pt. 2, (= *ЧОИДР*, vols. 209–10, 1904), 791–92. Both claims are suppositions and, besides, the information of such a late source is suspect. The claim that the information was taken from the metropolitan ecclesiastical archives which had been transferred to Moscow, thus Zenkovsky, *Chronicle*, XXXVI, is just one more utterly unsubstantiated hypothesis.

20 Unknown except in this context. Suggestions as to its location include in or near Kiev, thus Hruševs'kyj, *Історія* vol. 3, p. 420, n. 2; Golubinskij, *История*, vol. 1, pt. 2, 746; Athos, thus Abramovič, *Патерик*, 215, n. 48; Constantinople, thus Fedotov, *Treasury*, 25, n. 11.

21 The 12th century Dormition florilegium, ed. Kotkov, Сборник, 71–135, cf. 85–6.

22 Ed. B. Angelov, *Литература*, vol. 1, 204–212, cf. 209. Although the only two known codices of this *vita* are Serbian, the language has Bulgarisms, see Speranskij, Истории, 24–5.

23 See Abramovič, *Патерик*, 35, n. 44, and 36, nn. 3 and 5. He also remains so in the first Cassian redaction of 1460, see *ibidem*.

24 *Ibid.*, 35 and 36. Clearly it is a case of confusion of болярин with болгарин.

25 On his peripatetic career see (in this order) Stroev, Списки, cols. 464, 461, 203, 183, 572, 598. Even this is incomplete as at some time he was at the Retainer's Monastery of the Dormition in Tver', see the excerpt from his letter of 20 May 1748, ed. Tatiščev, *История*, vol. 1, 107.

26 Benjamin was not a monk at Bizjukovo as he had sent Melchizedek the quires, see Tatiščev, *ibidem*.

Tatiščev's efforts to obtain more of the codex remained fruitless as Melchizedek died that September and it was not amongst his effects, neither did anyone at Bizjukovo know Benjamin. Indeed Melchizedek's steward, also called Benjamin, stated that at times Melchizedek had claimed that he had himself copied the codex in Siberia, at others that it belonged to somebody else, but in any event he had never shown it to anyone.[27]

Tatiščev published with his own commentary those passages containing information not found in other chronicles.[28] The passages begin with the assertion that Nestor had been ill-informed about events at Novgorod, but that *Bishop Joachim, well-informed,* had written about them,[29] a clear reference to Joachim the Chersonian, the first bishop of Novgorod (991–1030).[30] With regard to Bulgaro-East Slav relations the chronicler's basic thesis is that there were two Bulgarian hierarchs called Michael, one of the ninth and one of the tenth century, associated with the conversion of Kiev. In describing Askold's expedition against Constantinople the manuscript

[27] *Ibid.* 113. The quires have disappeared without trace. The fate of Tatiščev's library is unknown and the story, first reported by Greč in 1821, that it had been consumed in a fire, is apparently without foundation, see Astraxanskij, **Вопросы**, 85–94. Neither has the rest of the codex been found. An inventory of Melchizedek's effects was drawn up by his successor, Archimandrite Abraham Galickij (1748–57) and forwarded to the Synod (дело **Архива Синодальной Конторы за** 1748 г., № 412), but it lists no manuscript, see Stroganov, **Монастырь**, 56, n. 2. A special search of the monastery's archives was undertaken by N. A. Popov (whose master's dissertation on Tatiščev had been published in 1861) in an attempt to learn more about the manuscript, but it was fruitless, see Stroganov, **Монастырь**, 41, 53–4, and A. Golombiovskij's preface to the posthumous edition of the materials which Popov had collected from the archives: Popov, **Материалы**, preface p. 4; the materials ed. *ibid.*, 6–45; on the monastery's library in 1764 see *ibid.*, 23–24.

[28] As chapter 4 of vol.1, *ibid.*, 107–19, the actual quotations being on 108–13. The manuscript tradition of Tatiščev's history proves, however, that he did not hesitate to alter and expand the actual text of the chronicle, so there is no certainty as to what the precise text in the quires originally was: chapter 4 is found in but four of the manuscripts of the history, only two of which are of importance, viz. Academy of Sciences 1.5.66; Voroncov op. 1, 646. (Uvarov 151 and Sudienko VIII 117/70 are copies of Academy and Voroncov respectively.) Academy has the text of the chronicle in Tatiščev's own hand as well as alterations which he has made to it; Voroncov is basically a copy of the emended text of Academy but includes further additions, this expanded text having again been emended by Tatiščev's hand, i.e. there are no less than four versions extant of the alleged chronicle text! On them see V. Morgajlo, **Работа**, 260–64. The account of the Bulgarian connection is not, however, affected by these successive alterations to the text.

[29] Tatiščev, **История**, vol. 1, 108.

[30] Joachim is an enigmatic personage who only appears in later sources from the 15th century on. The problem of his historicity cannot be examined here. Sabev, "Millénaire," 835, claims that the language of the chronicle is Old Bulgarian and that *ergo* Joachim himself was a Bulgarian. It is a pity that Sabev does not give a linguistic analysis to prove his point! In fact, Sabev's article is based on the uncritical acceptance of unhistorical legends; for another example see below n. 119.

broke off after the words: *And returning home, he sent to Constantinople to the emperor* because two folia were missing, to continue: *but Michael gave thanks to God (and) went to Bulgaria,* on which Tatiščev comments that Michael must have been the hierarch sent by Photius who converted Askold by the miracle of an evangeliary thrown into a fire without being consumed.[31] Then in dealing with Vladimir's conversion it states that Tsar Symeon sent him *learned priests and many books,* after which Vladimir turns to Constantinople for a hierarch and is sent Michael, *a man very learned and pious, a Bulgarian; with him four bishops and many priests, deacons and cantors, Slavs by birth.*[32]

Whereas the earlier parts of the chronicle are clearly based on myths recorded in late Czech and Polish sources,[33] the events in Novgorod in the late tenth–early eleventh century are reported in the first person, and the question is whether the chronicle used a now lost early source, which is what Tatiščev believed since he made use of its information elsewhere,[34] or whether it is the chronicler's own imagination based upon logical deduction from what he knew about Russian history, *in casu* about Michael.

The tradition that the hierarch despatched to Kiev on Vladimir's conversion was called Michael can be traced back to the late thirteenth century when his name was added to the preamble to Vladimir's *Constitutio ecclesiastica,*[35] although an earlier tradition called the hierarch Leo(ntius).[36]

[31] *Ibid.*, 110. On this miracle see below.

[32] *Ibid.*, 112.

[33] A fact noted by Tatiščev himself, although his attitude was ambivalent—on the one hand he suggests that the chronicle used the later sources, *ibid.* 108, on the other the reverse, *ibid.*, 111, n. 34. For the influence of Herodotus see Gorlin, "Joachim," 45. For a recent discussion of Tatiščev's use of late sources see G. Brogi Bercoff, "Tatishchev" 373–420.

[34] *Ibid.*, vol. 2, Leningrad, 1963, 62–5. Its authenticity has been accepted by many, from the first scholar to study it in detail, Lavrovskij, **Исследование**, especially p. 83, down to the present time, e.g. Paszkiewicz, *Origin*, 367.

[35] It was in the text of a nomocanon copied in 1286, now lost but whose colophon is found in later codices, from where it has been published many times, e.g. Smokina, **Фрагмент**, 68. On this see Pavlov, **Догадка**, 25–6; Ščapov, ***Уставы***, 57, 74–5, 115–16. Poppe, "Michał," 242, would trace the tradition back to the mid-thirteenth century as the preamble with Michael's name is in the Chronicle of Perejaslavl in Suzdalia, but that part of the chronicle was compiled in Lithuania and the form of the *Constitutio* which it contains does not antedate the mid-fourteenth century, see Ščapov, ***Уставы***, 110–15. The dating of the tradition to the twelfth century by Vodoff, *Naissance*, 83, is an unsubstantiated assertion, while the dating to the sixteenth century, thus Lebedincev, **Примечания**, 32, Malyševskij, **Митрополит**, 133, is contradicted by the archaeographic evidence.

[36] His name is found in the preamble to the same *Constitutio* in a manuscript tradition going back to the archetype of the Synodal-Volhynian family of the early thirteenth or even late twelfth century, see Ščapov, **Веков**, 15, 16, 19, 21, 37 n. 22, 42, 46, 69, 76; with the name of Leo(ntius) *ibid.* 18, 22, 30, 37, 72.

The reason for the insertion of the name of Leo(ntius) cannot be examined here. The rea-

In either case his despatch is anachronistically ascribed to Patriarch Photius (858–67, 877–86).[37] In the fourteenth century the Byzantine story of a mission to the Rhos after their expedition against Constantinople in 860 and their subsequent conversion after the miracle involving the evangeliary, became known to the Slavs when an abridged translation was made in Bulgaria of John Zonaras's *Annales*.[38] In 1408 Gregory, a monk of Hilandar, made a revised version of the translation, known as the *Paralipomenon*,

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son for the insertion of the name Michael remains uncertain, the most plausible hypothesis, advanced by Pavlov, **Догадка**, 23–5, being that the interpolator had realized that the *confessio fidei* taught to Vladimir after his baptism in 988, PSRL 1, 112–14, was taken from Michael syncellus of Jerusalem's *Libellus de fide orthodoxa*, of which there are no less than three early translations, including one in the 1073 florilegium and one as the fifth appendix to the *Nomocanon XIV titulorum*. The third, as taught to Vladimir, is highly heretical, on this see Thomson, "Implications," 64. The interpolator therefore assumed Michael taught Vladimir, *ergo* he was the first metropolitan. This explanation has been accepted by many, e.g. Lebedincev, **Примечания**, 30; Poppe, "Michał," 243; Vlasto, *Entry*, 270; Vodoff, *Naissance*, 83. The hypothesis can be strengthened by a further consideration, namely the preamble with Michael's name stresses that he taught Vladimir the tenets of the faith and the history of the oecumenical councils, viz. precisely the contents of the *Libellus*.

Vernadsky, "Status," 306, advanced a less plausible theory: some codices only name Patriarch Photius (see note 37) and not the emperor, e.g. ed. Ščapov, **Веков**, 20, 30, 36, and a scribe made a marginal gloss with the emperor's name, viz. Michael (III, 842–867), which was mistaken for the metropolitan's name.

[37] His name is found in the preamble in all redactions except those which do not mention the metropolitan, ed. *ibid*, 62, 66, and that going back to the 1286 nomocanon, ed. *ibid.*, 69. No satisfactory explanation of the ascription to Photius has been suggested. Hypotheses include: **a**. Patriarch Sergius II (1001–19) was related to Photius, see John Zonaras, *Annales, XVII, 8*, ed. PG 139, 40–414; 135, 9–326, cf. 135, 161, and Photius here means his surname, thus Zacharias Kopystensky in 1621/2 in his *Palinodia iii, 2, 1*, ed. Pritsak, *Lev*, 498; so too Tatiščev, **История**, vol. 2, 234–5; **b**. Photius' name is a symbol for Orthodoxy, as opposed to Catholicism, thus Filaret (Gumilevskij) ***История***, vol.1, 50, n. 129; **c**. because of his association with the nomocanon, he was THE patriarch *par excellence*, thus Honigmann, "Studies," 90; **d**. the memory of the events of the mid-ninth century were still alive in the thirteenth, thus A. Pavlov, in Goetz, *Denkmäler*, 34; Tóth, **Предпосылки**, 153; **e**. the author of the tradition was acquainted with the Slavonic translation of Photius' encyclical of 867 with its account of the conversion of the Rhos, thus Golubinskij, **История** vol. 1, pt. 1, 279; Vodoff, *Naissance*, 83 (this is incorrect as the encyclical was not translated until the fifteenth-sixteenth century, see below n. 44); **f**. Greeks wished to ascribe the beginnings of the Rus' church to him to stress its dependence on the patriarchate of Constantinople, thus Kartašev, ***Очерки***, vol. 1, 135; **g**. a coconsecrator of the first Rus' bishops was Photius of Ephesus, who was confused with the patriarch, thus Laurent, "Origines," 286, n. 1; **h**. the *Constitutio* was drawn up for Askold at the time of Photius and the true interpolation is the name of Vladimir instead of Askold, which was done as part of a campaign by Jaroslav (1019–54) to obtain Vladimir's canonization, thus Brajčevs'kyj, **Письмо**, 34–5 (this is historical fiction at its worst, for another of his absurd theories see below n. 89).

[38] Unedited in full; the final part (324–1028) ed. Jacobs, ΖΩΝΑΡΑΣ, 106–272, cf. 211, 233–4. The old dating of the translation to 1170 proposed by Potapov, **Судьба**, 184–86, is still being repeated, e.g. by Tvorogov, ***Хронографы***, 181, although it has been established that it is of either 1332 or 1334, see Weingart, *Kroniky*, pt. 1, 117–20.

which also includes the story,[39] and by the sixteenth century this version was available in Russia.[40] In the same century the story was incorporated into Russian chronographs[41] and chronicles[42] under the reign of Basil I (867–86), while at the same time the tradition that the first metropolitan despatched by Photius was called Leo(ntius) was also incorporated into various chronicles sub 991.[43] In the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century Photius's *Encyclica epistola ad archiepiscopales thronos per Orientem obtinentes* of 867, in which he asserts that the Rhos have been converted and have accepted *a bishop and pastor,* was translated into Slavonic in "Russia."[44]

The compilers of the Nicon Chronicle in the first half of the sixteenth century knowing, on the one hand, that Rus' had been converted during the reign of Emperor Basil and sent a hierarch by Photius and, on the other, that Vladimir had been converted in the reign of Emperor Basil and sent Leontius by Photius in 991, as well as Michael at some unspecified date, simply combined all their data by asserting that Photius sent Michael in 988 on Vladimir's conversion and Leontius on Michael's death in 991.[45] The compiler of the *Liber graduum* in the second half of the century made a half-hearted attempt to eliminate the anachronism by having Photius send Michael but Patriarch Nicholas II Chrysoberges (979–91) send Leontius.[46]

[39] Ed. Bodjanskij, Паралипомен, 1–119, cf. 102–3.

[40] The Russian codex Volokolamsk 230/566 dates from the early sixteenth century, see Tvorogov, *Хронографы,* 182, n. 101.

[41] E.g. the 1512 Chronograph, PSRL 22, 1 (1911), 352–3; see also the West Russian Chronograph, PSRL 22, 2 (1914), 153–4. The compilers of the latter were careful to alter the story by stating that the miracle did not convert the Rus'.

[42] E. g. the Nicon Chronicle, PSRL 9, 13; the *Liber graduum,* PSRL 21, 1, 35–6.

[43] E.g. the First Sophia Chronicle, PSRL 5 (1851) 121; the Resurrection Chronicle, PSRL 7 (1856) 313; the 1512 Chronograph, PSRL 22, 1, 367.

[44] Cf. Bulanin, Послание, 51–2. This passage too entered the *Liber graduum,* PSRL 21, 1, 62–3, although the compilers altered the *bishop and pastor* into *bishops and their pastor, the most holy metropolitan.*

[45] PSRL 9, 57, 64. They probably considered Basil I to be the same person as Basil II (976–1025), see Lebedincev, Примечания, 32. They also add that Michael was a Syrian (Сиринъ). This has variously been explained **a.** as a corruption of syncellus (синкелъ), thus Lebedincev, *ibid.,* 33; Poppe, "Michał," 243; Vlasto, *Entry,* 270; **b.** as a corruption of Serb (Сербинъ), thus Golubinskij, История, vol.1, pt. 1, 281 n. 1; **c.** because Jerusalem, of which city he was syncellus, is in the Near East, thus Pavlov, Догадка, 24; **d.** as a deliberate alteration from Bulgarian, thus Nikolaev, Фактор, 117.

The Nicon Chronicle was compiled during the incumbency of metropolitan Daniel of Moscow (1522–39), most probably between 1526 and 1530, see Kloss, *Свод,* 43–51.

[46] PSRL 21, 1, 113. The *Liber* was compiled in 1560–63 under the direction of Metropolitan Macarius of Moscow (1542–63), probably by Andrew protopresbyter of the Cathedral of the Annunciation, Moscow, and confessor to Ivan IV. (He became a monk at the Monastery of the Miracle of Archangel Michael, Moscow, in 1562, and for a brief period, 1564–66, was

The anachronism was only fully eliminated in the seventeenth century in the Ukraine in disputes between Orthodox and Uniates when Michael was asserted to have been sent by either Nicholas II or Sergius II (1001–1019).[47]

The account given in the Joachim Chronicle is simply a fresh attempt to reconcile the conflicting anachronistic data by positing the existence of two Michaels, both of whom it links with Bulgaria. This Bulgarian connection has been accepted with varying degrees of conviction ranging from *not devoid of possibility*,[48] via *completely in agreement with the circumstances*,[49] to *the historical basis of the information itself is completely obvious*,[50] but a closer examination reveals that it is both anachronistic and in contradiction to known facts. If the first of the Michaels is the bishop despatched by Photius,[51] then he must have been in Kievan Rus' when Photius wrote his encyclical in 867 before his deposition in September, but he cannot have left for Bulgaria after converting the Rhos since from late 866 till the spring of 870 Bulgaria was under Roman jurisdiction.[52] The account of Vladimir's conversion contains the glaring anachronism that it took place during Tsar Symeon's reign (893–927) and the attempt to resolve the difficulty by arguing that the Symeon in question is Romanus, Tsar Peter's

metropolitan of Moscow, before retiring to the Miracle Monastery.) See Vasenko, Книга, 168–212.

47 In 1617 Leo Kreuza in his defence of the Union, *Obrona iednosci cerkiewney, iii, 2, 1*, stated that he was sent by Nicholas II but added a new anachronism by dating this to c1000, ed. Pritsak, *Lev*, 3–67, cf. 32 (in the original Vilnius 1617 edition p. 56); Zacharias Kopystensky in his refutation of Kreuza, his *Palinodia* of 1621/2, accepts c1000 and therefore ascribes the despatch to Patriarch Sergius II, ed. *ibid.*, 498. In his preface to the reader of his Polish translation of the *Patericon Cryptense, Paterikon abo Zywoty SS. Oycow Pieczarskich*, published in 1635, Sylvester Kossow repeats Kopystensky's information, cf. Lewin, *Writings*, 13 (in the original Kiev 1635 edition p. 9), although in the list of Kievan metropolitans appended to the translation it is cautiously stated that Michael was sent by either Sergius or Nicholas, ed. *ibid.*, 92–99, cf. 93 (p. 169 of the original edition); on later lists see Malyševskij, Митрополит, 140–6. I. Martinov in his edition of Kulczynski's *Specimen ecclesiae ruthenicae*, 310, rightly comments on the variations in dates with regard to Michael and Leontius: *tot capita, tot sensus*.

48 Bestjužev-Rjumin, История, vol. 1, 130 (second pagination).

49 Solov'ev, *История*, vol. 1, 187. A variant of this is that it *accords well with the historical situation*, thus Mixajlov, Руси, 131.

50 Mošin, Периодизации, 55, see also *idem*, Послание, 95. Recent scholars to accept the information include Levčenko, Взаимоотношения, 195; Klimenko, *Ausbreitung*, 50; Partenij, Патриарси, 71; Sabev, "Millénaire," 835; B. Angelov, Вопросу, 137. *Idem*, *Историята*, vol. 1, 36, claims that the information may be based on earlier sources. Such claims are obviously meaningless.

51 de Taube, *Rome*, vol. 1, 45, even speculates that he may have been bishop Michael of Corcyra, who attended the Eighth Oecumenical Council at Constantinople in 869–70.

52 The facts are too well known to require examination here, for a brief account see Sansterre, "Missionaires."

(927–70) second son, of whom John Scylitzes reports that he was also called Symeon after his grandfather,[53] unfortunately conflicts with both of the differing accounts of Romanus's life.

According to Scylitzes, upon the incorporation of East Bulgaria into the empire in 971, Romanus, together with his elder brother Boris II (969/70–71), was taken to Constantinople, where he was castrated.[54] At an unspecified time after John I Tzimisces' death in 976 the brothers fled to Bulgaria, Boris being accidentally killed while crossing the border.[55] Nothing further is reported until as governor of Skopje under Tsar Samuel, Romanus in ca. 1003 surrenders the city to Basil II and is rewarded with the titles of *patricius* and *praepositus* and appointed *strategus* of Abydos.[56] Another version is given by Yaḥyā of Antioch, who recounts that after the death of Boris, Romanus was proclaimed tsar[57] but captured in 991 and died in Byzantine captivity in 997.[58] If Scylitzes is correct, Romanus was never tsar; if Yaḥyā is, then Romanus was never called Symeon and Scylitzes has clearly muddled the governor of Skopje with somebody else.[59] Even if the improbable attempt to reconcile the two accounts is accepted, viz. that Peter had three sons, Tsar Boris, Tsar Romanus, and Governor Romanus-Symeon,[60] the difficulty remains that Romanus-Symeon was never tsar.

To the compiler of the Joachim Chronicle it seemed but logical to connect the conversion of Kiev with the home of Slavonic letters, and the most plausible explanation of the anachronism is simply that he placed too much trust in his memory and put Symeon instead of Samuel.[61] What seemed

53 *Synopsis historiarum,* ed. Thurn, *Ioannis,* 3–500, cf. 346. This attempt to resolve the anachronism was first proposed by Lavrovskij, **Исследование**, 148; his argument has often been accepted, e.g. Mošin, **Периодизации**, 54–55; *idem,* **Послание**, 95; Angelov, **Вопросу**, 137.

54 Ed. Thurn, *Ioannis,* 328.

55 *Ibid.,* 328–29.

56 *Ibid.,* 455. He is never mentioned again.

57 Cf. *Annales,* ed. Kratchkovsky, *Histoire,* 18, 705–833; 23, 345–520, cf. 418.

58 *Ibid.,* 431, 446.

59 The most recent scholar to identify Symeon with Romanus solves all the problems by the simple expedient of rewriting history: on the death of Boris II Romanus fled to Constantinople, where he changed his name to Symeon and began a campaign against Samuel of Macedonia, thus Kočev, *Anfänge,* 508. All good stirring stuff, even if it totally ignores all the historical sources.

60 Antoljak, ***Македонија***, vol. 1, 407–13, in an effort to reconcile the discrepancies between Scylitzes and Yaḥyā.

61 This was suggested by Zavitnevič, **Владимир**, 675, and has been accepted by some, e.g. Vlasto, *Entry,* 270 n. 117. Mixajlov, **Руси**, 133, in a far-fetched attempt to explain away the error, suggests that for the early East Slavs Symeon symbolized Bulgaria and the chronicler used his name in that sense.

logical to him would scarcely have seemed logical to a tenth-century Byzantine and the idea that a Bulgarian would have been placed at the head of a newly constituted church is highly improbable.[62] The chronicle's information on ecclesiastical affairs in general is characterized by its logical rationalism and emphasis on learning. Michael and the clergy sent to Kiev are *learned*;[63] Olga's baptism in Constantinople is recorded but not the legend of the emperor's marriage proposal, and she returns to Kiev with *wise priests* who are assiduous in teaching;[64] Vladimir's baptism is reported but not the legend of the embassies representing various faiths;[65] the forced conversion of the Novgorodians is described in a matter-of-fact way with none of the legendary and miraculous detail which in other chronicles accompanies the account of the conversion of the Kievans.[66] The chronicle is clearly no medieval compilation[67] but a typical product of the late seventeenth or first half of the eighteenth century,[68] probably the 1740s.[69] It matters little whether it was compiled at Bizjukovo,[70] possibly by its

62 On the cultural role of the Greek metropolitans in Kievan Rus' see Tachiaos, "Metropolitans." For a brief survey of their activities see Podskalsky, *Christentum*, 283–301.

63 Tatiščev, **История**, vol. 1, 112. On Tatiščev's consistent exaggeration with regard to information about learning and education see Golubinskij, **История** vol. 1, pt.1, 871–80. Uncritical acceptance of Tatiščev's information is typical of the approach to the history of education of some recent Soviet scholars, e.g. Petrov, **Воспитание**, and Babišin, **Тенденции**, (both works are *avtoreferaty*). Brogi Bercoff, "Reworking," 351, aptly comments that Metropolitan Michael's efforts on behalf of education *can be linked only with the eighteenth century Enlightenment views of the Russian historian about the necessity of disseminating culture among the people.*

64 Tatiščev, **История**, vol. 1, 111.

65 *Ibid.*, 112.

66 Cf. *ibid.*, 112–13, and PSRL 1, 116–18.

67 Supporters of its authenticity have gone to ludicrous lengths to explain away the manifest difference between its style and that of mediaeval chronicles; thus Rapov, **Церковь**, 259, invents a new genre: *the memoirs* (**мемуары**) *of a cleric*, while Janin, **День**, 17, posits the existence of a whole *body of literature which was subject to especial proscription by the church as it did not correspond to the official point of view.* Thus Joachim's account alone escaped the deadening hand of ecclesiastical censorship!

68 For similar late mythical tales see those edited by Giljarov, **Предания**, 15–31. On such fanciful chronicles see Šambinago, Летопись, 259–62, and Azbelev, Летопись, 243.

69 Gorlin, *Chronique*, 46–7, points out the strange coincidence that its information about Russian territories in Karelia is in accordance with the borders between Sweden and Russia fixed by the treaties of Nystad (1721) and Åbo (1743). Those who would date it to the seventeenth century, e.g. Tixomirov, ***Летописание***, 81, ignore Gorlin's arguments.

70 Gorlin, *Chronique*, 50–51, sees its compilation as part of the monastery's struggle to maintain its stauropegial independence against the claims of the see of Smolensk. On its relations with the see, cf. Stroganov, **Монастырь**.

archimandrite Joachim,[71] by Benjamin who owned the codex,[72] by an unknown person at the instigation of Joachim Savelov when archbishop of Novgorod (22 Dec. 1672–26 July 1674),[73] or even by Tatiščev himself;[74] it has no value as a historical source. Recent attempts to rehabilitate its authenticity by appealing to archaeological evidence are totally misguided,[75]

71 Thus Grigorovič, Протоколы, lxiv-lxv. He says Joachim *floruit* 1730, but Stroev, Списки, 598, gives *floruit* 1712/3.

72 Thus Russov, Carax, 100; although already Tatiščev himself, История, vol. 1, 107 n. 1, considered Benjamin to be a mythical personage invented by Melchizedek. This was Tatiščev's second opinion, since in the first version of the note he stated baldly that Benjamin was the compiler of the chronicle, see Morgajlo, Работа, 265–66.

73 This was suggested by Šambinago, Летопись, 267, although the link with the Third Novgorod Chronicle which he posited, *ibid.*, 263–66, cannot be upheld, see Azbelev, Летопись, 243–48.

74 This was held by Karamzin, *История*, vol. 1, xxvii, n. 3 (see also ed. 1842^5, xv, n. 3; it is omitted in P. Polevoj's edition of 1892); so too Golubinskij, Летописи, 632, although *ibid.*, 633, he allowed that Tatiščev may only have revised it. Nikolaev on one of his many flights of fancy claims, Фактор, 86–8, that originally the chronicle only knew one Michael, a disciple of St. Clement, and that Tatiščev deliberately altered its information.

In view of Tatiščev's treatment of sources (see Peštič, Дополнение, 215–22) as exemplified by his many alterations to the text of the Joachim Chronicle itself, see above note 28, Tatiščev is the most likely author. Attempts to exonerate him, e.g. Kuz'min, Основе, are unconvincing. For a brief account of his information about Bulgaria see Rajkov, Българите, 89–102.

75 According to the Joachim Chronicle, Vladimir's troops, led by the commanders Putjata and Dobrynja, arrived on the left bank of the Volxov, where they remained for two days in a fruitless effort to persuade the Novgorodians to be converted. After the latter had sacked Dobrynja's house and property on the right bank, Putjata at night crossed the river by boat to the north of the town with five hundred troops and entered it unawares. A fight ensued during which some citizens sacked (*грабляху*) Christians' houses and destroyed (*разметаша*) the church of the Transfiguration, whereupon Dobrynja crossed the Volxov and ordered the houses on the river bank to be fired. The citizens, alarmed, broke off the fight to quench the fire and then sued for peace. The Chronicle ends the account with the words: *For this reason people mock the Novgorodians: Putjata baptized (them) by the sword, and Dobrynja by fire*, see Tatiščev, *История*, vol. 1, 112–13.

Excavations have shown that new pavements and houses were built in the area of High, Serf, and Cosmas and Damian Streets in the Nerev District in 989–90 to replace those destroyed in a fire, while for the same reason similar rebuilding took place in 991 on the bank of the Volxov in the Ljudin District. For a brief account of the dendrochronological evidence see Thompson, *Novgorod*, 23–34 (the level concerned is 26, see *ibid.*, 32). Janin, День, 17–8, and *idem*, Новгородцев, 31, considered that the fire in the Nerev District was caused by the destruction of the church of the Transfiguration and the Christians' houses, while that in the Ljudin District was the result of Dobrynja's firing some houses, and thus the conversion took place in 989. See also *idem*, Крещение, 62. On the other hand Rapov, Церковь, 262–63, denied that the fire in the Nerev District was connected with the conversion since the Christians' houses were sacked and the church destroyed, not burned down. Hence only the fire in the Ljudin District reflects the conversion, which consequently took place not in 989 but in 990.

This idea that this archeological evidence provides *a completely factual (реальную) basis*, thus Janin, Новгородцев, 31, cf. *idem*, Крещение, 62, for the account of the conversion in the Joachim Chronicle is already being repeated by some scholars, e.g. Litavrin, Принятие, 66;

and historians who have recourse to it paint a false picture of events.[76]

Recently another attempt has been made to link Michael with Bulgaria by claiming that when Basil II reneged on his promise to give Vladimir his sister Anne in marriage, Vladimir—who had already fulfilled the precondition of baptism—concluded an alliance against Byzantium with Samuel of Macedonia, who despatched Michael, but that when in 991 relations with Constantinople were restored and the first Greek metropolitan Leo arrived with Anne, Michael resigned and lived on in Kiev in retirement.[77] It is true that Basil II was prevented by the outbreak of Bardas Phocas's revolt on 15 August 987[78] from avenging the defeat of his army on 17 August 986 while retreating from an abortive siege of Sardica,[79] and also that Samuel took

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Kuz'min, **Крещение**, 321. Before it becomes yet another unchallenged apodeictic axiom, let it be said that the passage *and he* (sc. Dobrynja) *ordered some houses on the bank to be fired, as a result of which the people, greatly alarmed, ran to douse the fire* is a marginal gloss added to the original Academy codex of Tatiščev's history (see above, n. 28), see Tatiščev, ***История***, vol. 1, 113, n. 17, and there is no certainty that it was in Benjamin's codex (if the latter ever existed). In the second place, conquest *by fire and the sword* is a *topos* found in both Slavonic translated literature, e.g. Isaiah lxvi, 16, cf. Judges i, 8, and original East Slav literature, e.g. the First Novgorod Chronicle *sub* 1328, ed. Nasonov, Летопись, 287. Thirdly, the identification of the traces of a particular fire (or particular fires) with the alleged burning of *some (**некие**) houses* is utterly arbitrary, and, finally, as already pointed out, the style of the account of the conversion of Novgorod contrasts starkly with that of other mediaeval accounts of conversion in that the religious aspect is completely overshadowed by the political.

76 Peštič, **Историография**, 237, points out that historians only have recourse to it when it suits their theories and calls those who rely on it, *ibid.*, 227, *credulous*. Perhaps a better term would be *Boltinian*, cf. the statement by Boltin, ***Ответ***, 14: *Joachim's narrative* (**повествование**) *is more probable than Nestor's*. Scholars such as V. Petrov and Babišin (see note 63) are Boltinians.

77 Mošin, Послание, 94–6. This last detail he based on the fact that Michael's relics were preserved in Kiev. It is true that the tablet beside them claimed that they were those of Michael, who had died in 992, had been buried in the Tithe Church of the Deipara and then translated to the Antonine Caves in the Kievan Caves Laura in 1103, see Evgenij (Bolxovitinov), ***Лавры***, 115, but even uncritical Kartašev, **Очерки**, vol. 1, 137, has to admit that the claim is unhistorical. Even Michael's *panagia* was supposed to have survived, see N. Petrov, Панагію, 114–16. The relics were more probably those of Michael II (1131–45), thus Lebedincev, Вопросу, 13–14. It is not necessary here to deal with late legends concerning Michael's alleged activities while metropolitan, one of the most persistent of which being that he founded St. Michael's monastery with the Golden Dome at Kiev, still occasionally asserted even in the 20th century, e.g. Pavlovskij, ***Путеводитель***, 280. The monastery was demolished by modern barbarians in 1935.

78 Scylitzes, ed. Thurn, *Ioannis*, 332. Yaḥyā dates it to 14 September 987, ed. Kratchkovsky, *Histoire*, 421.

79 Leo diaconus, *Historia, x, 8*, ed. PG 117, 656–926, cf. 901–05. For the date see Yaḥyā, ed. Kratchkovsky, *Histoire*, 419.

advantage of the ensuing civil war to capture Berrhoia at the same time as Vladimir took Cherson, viz. in 988 or 989,[80] but the sources know nothing of any alliance between Samuel and Vladimir. Indeed it has been suggested that Cherson was in rebel hands and that Vladimir's capture of Cherson was part of his agreement with Basil II.[81] The suggestion that the embassy of Moslem Bulgars to Kiev in 986 to persuade Vladimir to accept their faith and his return embassy in 987 to ascertain how they worship[82] in reality reflect Kievan contacts with Macedonia about possible conversion[83] is unacceptable because, if there is any historical truth behind the story of the examination of the faiths, the Moslem Bulgars can only be those of the Volga-Kama region, since the Primary Chronicle has already reported the baptism of the Danubian Bulgarians *sub* 869.[84] The theory that Michael came from Samuel's Macedonia thus belongs to the realm of pure fancy.

The contradictory nature of the data concerning Michael and Leo(ntius) as the first two metropolitans of Russia has long been the subject of comment.[85] One attempt to reconcile the data has been to posit that Michael was the first hierarch sent in 988, but that Leontius was the first metropolitan as

[80] Leo diaconus, *Historia, x, 10,* ed. PG 117, 908–09, talks of fiery columns in the northern sky indicating the fall of Cherson and, *ibid.*, 917–21, a comet foretelling the earthquake on the eve of St. Demetrius, viz. October 25, while Yaḥyā, ed. Kratchkovsky, *Histoire*, 432–33, reports that in 989 after a storm on April 7 the sky was dark and full of dust and a fiery column was seen, while on July 27 a comet appeared. Rozen (= W. von Rosen), **Император**, 214, identified Leo's columns with Yaḥyā's column, which has usually been accepted, with the consequential deduction that Cherson and Berrhoia fell between April 7 and July 27, 989. Recently Rapov, **Дате**, 37, has pointed out that an aurora borealis can only be seen in a clear sky, while Yaḥyā's description fits a volcanic eruption; Bogdanova, **Времени**, 45–6, further argues that the passage in Leo does not mean that the phenomena foretold subsequent events, but indicated prior events. Indeed, the aorist participle can mean either contemporaneous or antecedent action depending on the meaning of the finite verb and that, παραδηλόω, is ambiguous, cf. οὗτοι τήν τε συμβᾶσαν πρὸς τῶν Ταυροσκυθῶν τῆς Χερσῶνος ἅλωσιν παρεδήλουν, translated by Vasil'evskij, **Отрывки**, 156: *they foretold the subsequent* (**последовавшее**) *capture of Cherson by the Tauroscythians*, but by Bogdanova, **Времени**, 46: *they indicated the prior* (**совершившийся**) *seizure of Cherson by the Tauroscythians.*

[81] Thus Poppe, "Background," 211–24. This has been accepted by some, e.g. Müller, *Taufe,* 109–113, and *idem,* "Chronik-Erzählung," 436 n. 17; Pančenko, **Аспекты**, 53, and Stökl, "Christianisierung," 157.

[82] PSRL 1, 84–5, 107.

[83] Thus, e.g., Rozen, **Император**, 219, n. 1; Zavitnevič, **Владимир**, 429; Antoljak, **Македонија**, vol. 1, 398.

[84] PSRL 1, 22. Ibn Faḍlān's report of his journey to the Volga Bulgars in 921–22 shows that Islam had already begun to spread among them by then, ed. Togan, *Reisebericht,* app. 1–45, cf. 30 (German trans. 1–104, cf. 67–8).

[85] See Karamzin, **История**, vol. 1 (ed. 1892), 151, n. 474.

only under him were other sees established,[86] although the thesis that Michael was the Photian hierarch has found greater favour.[87] In fact the legend about Michael is the product of some thirteenth century *scholar*[88] and it is time it was laid to rest.[89]

Another legend linking an early Kievan hierarch with Bulgaria is that of Alexius. In 1748 Karol Orłowski, archdeacon of the cathedral of the Roman Catholic diocese of Kiev at Żytomyr, published a defence of the claims of the see in which he asserted that the Rusian author Nicanor writing in 1240, as reported by another Rusian author Cassian, stated that after defeating Jaroslav of Kiev (1019–54) in 1018, Boleslas I of Poland (966/7–1025) had him erect the cathedral of St. Sophia at Kiev and in 1021 petition Pope Benedict VIII (1012–24) for a bishop. A Bulgarian, Alexius, was sent but he could not resist the machinations of the Greek clergy, adherents of Patriarch Michael I Cerularius (1043–58), and left the country.[90] This information was repeated in embellished form by the evangelical church historian Christian Gottlieb Friese in his history of the see of Kiev published in 1763.[91]

86 Suggested by Platon (Levšin), *История*, vol. 1, 39; it has been accepted by some historians, e.g Evgenij, *Собора*, 64; Lebedincev, Поводу, 351; Bulgakov, История, vol. 1, 31.

87 E.g. Lebedincev, Начале, 269, 272; Šaxmatov, Легенда, 1100; Stokes, "Status," 436; Golubinskij, История, vol. 1, pt. 1, 278–81; some of those who are not sure whether he ever existed think that if he did, he was the Photian hierarch, e.g. Polon'ska-Vasylenko, *Підвалини*, 19; Priselkov, Очерки, 39–40; Vlasovs'kyj, Нарис, vol. 1, 20; Vlasto, *Entry*, 270.

Ščepkina, Просвещении, 200, advances a variant of this theory: Michael was indeed the Photian hierarch but was a Greek consecrated to fill a see at Cherson newly created by Photius. This ignores the fact that a see had existed at Cherson since at least the late fourth century: its bishop, Aetherius, signed the *acta* of the Second Oecumenical Council at Constantinople in 381, see Mansi, *Conciliorum*, vol. 3, 572. (The presence of a bishop of Cherson, Philipp, at the first Oecumenical Council at Nicaea in 325 is uncertain since his name is only found in a late Arabic list, ed. Gelzer *et al.*, *Nomina*, 144–180, cf. 160, and in a late Greek list probably translated from the Arabic, ed. Beneševič, Список, 285–306, cf. 295.

88 See Poppe, *Michał*, 243.

89 Even now it is still being claimed that he was the first metropolitan, see Kuev, Съдбата, 15; Mixajlov, Русия, 70; Bishop Nestor, Крещение, 5; D. Angelov, *България*, 52; Schiwaroff, "Rolle," 148, and Bakalov, "Politique," p. 399.

One last theory relating to Tatiščev's information about Michael should be mentioned. According to a chronicle from which A. Xruščov supplied excerpts for Tatiščev, Photius wrote to Vladimir and Michael in 991 to warn them against Roman errors, recounting *inter alia* the story of Pope Joan, see Tatiščev, История, vol. 2, 64. Brajčevs'kyj, Письмо, 35–8, claims the epistle was written by Photius to Askold in 863 and proves that Joan was pope (855–57). This is some more of his historical fiction, see above n. 37.

90 Orłowski, *Defensa*, 41–8.

91 Friese, *Episcopatu*, 6–7, 27–8. The book referred to in Friese's title is Szymon Okolski's *Chioviensium et Czernichoviensium episcoporum sanctae et catholicae Ecclesiae Romanae*

Those historians who accept the veracity of this information interpret it in varying ways: it was a papal initiative to diminish Byzantine influence;[92] it was Jaroslav's initiative either for the same reason,[93] or because the Greek metropolitan had compromised himself by welcoming Boleslas to Kiev in 1018;[94] it was Boleslas's initiative to strengthen his position in Kiev;[95] Alexius was a papal legate despatched to the consecration of St. Sophia's built in 1017.[96] However, the Rusian authors Nicanor and Cassian are unknown and the information is anachronistic: Michael Cerularius only became patriarch of Constantinople on 25 March 1043, whereas already in 1039 the metropolitan in Kiev was Theopemptus.[97] The tendentious nature of the information to underpin Roman Catholic claims in Kiev is obvious, which is not to say that the story is an entire fabrication by Orłowski since at least one other legend linking the origins of the see of Kiev with an Alexius was current in the seventeenth century. Patriarch Macarius of Antioch (1647–72), who visited Russia and Ukraine in 1653–56 and again in 1666–67, compiled in Arabic not so much a church history as a collection of accounts of various events in ecclesiastical history in fifty-four chapters. Chapter 50, devoted to Emperors Michael III (842–67) and Basil I (867–86), contains a garbled account of early Russian history including the story of the hierarch who converted the Rhos by the miracle of the evangeliary, except that here he is called Alexius.[98] Macarius too claims that he had found his information *in the books of the Rūs*,[99] and there can be no doubt that Orłowski's account, in so far as it has a source, is but a

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ordo et numerus descriptus, Lviv, 1646. Okolski (1580–1653) was Dominican provincial in Russia. Friese (1717–1795) is most famous for his two-volume history of the Polish Church published at Breslau in 1786.

92 Thus Winter, *Russland*, vol. 1, 29.

93 Verdière, "Origines," 222; Kumor, "Problem," 47. Koncevičius' statement, *Attitude*, 32, that Jaroslav was an *orthodox Catholic* is ambiguous, besides there was no schism in 1021.

94 Thus Laurent, *Origines*, 292. This is based on Thietmar of Merseburg's report that in 1018 the archbishop of Kiev greeted Boleslas on his entry into Kiev, *Chronicon, viii, 32*, ed. Trillmich, *Thietmar*, 2–476, cf. 474.

95 Dobszewicz, *Wiadomość*, 108–11.

96 Lužnyc'kyj, **Церква**, 54. Some historians merely report the story without comment, e.g. Karamzin, **История**, vol. 1, n. 162; Ramm, *Папство*, 50.

97 PSRL 1, 153.

98 His collection, which has no title, remains unedited, but this section on early Russian history in chapter 50 has been edited by Rozen, **Император**, 221–2; Russian translation, *ibid.*, 222–4, cf. 224. This information, despite being completely unhistorical, has occasionally been accepted at face value, e.g. Ivanov, ***Македония***, 69; E. Georgiev, **Начало**, 18.

99 Rozen, **Император**, 224.

reflection of some late legend with no historical foundation.[100]

The third and most recent attempt to link the early Kievan hierarchy with Bulgaria is M. Priselkov's theory that originally the see of Kiev depended upon that of Ochrid. After the incorporation of East Bulgaria into the Byzantine Empire and the deposition of the patriarch Damian in 971, the patriarchal see was moved several times,[101] until under Patriarch Philip (ca. 1000–ca. 1015)[102] it was finally located at Ochrid.[103] The last patriarch negotiated the surrender of Maria, widow of Tsar John-Vladislav (1015–18) to Basil II near Strumica in 1018.[104] With the incorporation of

[100] Okolski, Orłow and Friese were all uncritical historians who tended to collate all the material which they found without evaluating the sources and this information has been correctly dismissed as unhistorical by Pelesz, *Geschichte*, vol. 1, 145; Abraham, *Powstanie*, 15, n. 1.

[101] See Vojnov, **Преслав**, *passim*. On the question of the organization of the church in the eastern part of Bulgaria incorporated into the Empire see P. Georgiev, "Eglise," and "Organisation."

[102] On him see Prokić, "Postanak," 225; Snegarov, ***История***, vol. 1, 26; Antoljak, **Македонија**, vol. 1, 680, 683; Vojnov, **Преслав**, 75; Sâbev, **Църква**, 262.

[103] See the *Notitia archiepiscoporum Achridanorum* drawn up at the time of Archbishop John Comnenus of Ohrid (1142–c1157), ed. FHB 14 (1968), 109–11, cf. 109.

[104] There is some controversy as to who he was. All codices, except one, of John Scylitzes' *Synopsis historiarum* call the hierarch David, ed. Thurn, *Ioannis*, 357, the exception being the 13th-14th century *codex Vindobonensis hist. graec. LXXIV*, copied from a manuscript written in 1118 by bishop Michael of Deabolis, who was especially interested in Bulgarian history and made many additions and alterations, see Prokić, *Zusätze*. This codex calls the hierarch John, ed. Thurn, *Ioannis*, 357, n. 77. Since in the *Notitia* there is no mention of any David, Philip being followed immediately by John, ed. FHB 14, 109–110, and since in his first charter for the newly established autocephalous archsee of Ochrid of 1019 Basil II *confirms* John as archbishop, ed. FHB 11 (1965) 40–44, cf. 41, it has been concluded that the last patriarch, John, was confirmed in office with the reduced rank of archbishop, thus B. Prokić, *Zusätze*, 48, and *idem*, "Arhiepiskop," 270–76, 279–85; Priselkov, **Очерки**, 43; Litavrin, **Переворот**, 396. In this case David would either have been a suffragan of John's or else Scylitzes was ill-informed. The idea that there had been two hierarchs, David in the part of Bulgaria already conquered by Byzantium, perhaps at Dorostolum or Preslav, and John at Ochrid in hitherto independent Macedonia, who was confirmed in office, thus Zachariae von Lingenthal, "Beiträge," 10, 17, is contradicted not only by the fact that it was David, not John, who was at Ochrid before the surrender, but also by the fact that it was John, not David, who became the first occupant of the new archsee.

The idea that John was confirmed *in* office is, however, a misreading of the charter of 1019, which makes it quite clear that John, a monk, was being confirmed *to* his office, viz. it bestows imperial sanction upon his canonical election: τὸν εὐλαβέστατον μοναχὸν Ἰωάννην ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Βουλγαρίας ἐκυρώσαμεν εἶναι, ed. FHB 11, 41. See Zlatarski, **Архиепископ**, 464–72. That David was the last patriarch (c1015–18) and John the first archbishop (1019–1036/7) is further borne out both by the fact that John Zonaras, *Annales*, xvii, 9, ed. PG 135, 165, also calls the last occupant of the see before the conquest David, and by the fact that the Vienna codex of Scylitzes' *Synopsis* states that among the captive Bulgarians paraded in Basil II's triumphal entry into Constantinople in 1019 was *the hierarch of the Bulgarians*, ed. Thurn *Ioannis*, 365. Zlatarski, ***Архиепископ***, 472, arbitrarily dismisses this latter fact as a later addition by the copyist of the codex (and not by Michael of Deabolis) on the specious grounds

Macedonia into the empire the patriarchal status of the see was reduced to that of an autocephalous archbishopric, the last patriarch[105] deposed, and a new archbishop appointed, John (1019–1036/7).

The evidence concerning the hierarchs at the head of the church in Kievan Rus' prior to 1039 when the Primary Chronicle mentions Metropolitan Theopemptus[106] is very sparse: Thietmar of Merseburg records that in 1018 an archbishop, whom he does not name, greeted Boleslas in Kiev.[107] Both *vitae* of Boris and Gleb mention a hierarch John, who presided at the translation of their relics on 24 July,[108] and according to the Ochrid theory he is to be identified as the homonymous archbishop of Ochrid, to whom Kiev remained subordinated until his death in 1036–37, when a metropolitan see was established and Theopemptus appointed.[109] Not merely does the theory rest solely upon the coincidence of names, about which one reviewer aptly remarked: *It is curious that the simple thought did not occur to the historian that the name John occurs no less seldom in the lists of the ecclesiastical hierarchy than the name Ivan Ivanovich in ordinary Russian onomatology,* and called the theory *an edifice on sand,*[110] it also conflicts

that a hierarch could not have been subjected to such an humiliation—history knows many cases of the humiliating treatment of hierarchs, a classical example being that of John Chrysostom, patriarch of Constantinople, at Easter in 404.

The new archbishop, John, came from Deura and had been abbot of the monastery of the Deipara at Agnoandike, see the *Notitia*, FBH 14, 110. He was succeeded in 1037 by Leo, former chartophylax of St. Sophia, the first of many Greeks to occupy the see, *Notitia, ibidem.*

105 See previous note.

106 PSRL 1, 153.

107 See above, n. 94.

108 The anonymous *Narratio de passione et laudatio SS. martyrum Borisi et Glebi,* ed. Abramovič, Памятники, 27–66, cf. 53, 54, and Nestor's *Lectio de vita et interitu SS. martyrum Borisi et Glebi,* ed. *ibid.,* 1–26, cf. 18–19. They both refer to him as *metropolitan* and as *archbishop.* Šaxmatov, Разыскания, 58, n. 1, considered that since two subsequent translations took place on a Sunday, viz. 20 May 1072 and 2 May 1115, this one also did and was thus in either 1020 or 1026; Priselkov, Очерки, 71–2, favored 1026, as Gleb's body was only found a year after Svjatopolk's death in 1019. However, as Müller, *Problem,* 12, n. 2, has pointed out, 24 July is their feast and thus there is no compulsion to consider that it was also a Sunday.

109 Advanced by Priselkov, Очерки, 38–46, the theory has been accepted by many, e.g. Tschiżewskij, *Geschichte,* 99; Nazarko, Володимир, 111–114; Kovalevsky, "Eglise," 478–79; Hoffman, "Początki", 72–5; Koch, "Byzanz," *passim*; *idem,* "Ochrid," *passim*; Kartašev, Очерки, vol. 1, 160–65; Lužnyc'kyj, Церква, 54; Ščepkina, Просвещении, 202; Tóth, Предпосылки, 161; and most recently Despodova and Slaveva, Ракописи, 16.

110 Zavitnevič, Review of Priselkov, Очерки, 646, 650. That the theory is based solely on the onomastic coincidence has often been pointed out, e.g. Levčenko, *Очерки,* 22, 373–74; Šaxmatov, Заметки, 56. Other evidence adduced in its favour is mere special pleading, e.g. Priselkov, Очерки, 37–8, considers the Christian names of Boris and Gleb, viz. Romanus and David, were given in honour of Tsar Peter's second son and Tsar Samuel's elder brother. Even if true, it is irrelevant to questions of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The Primary Chronicle, PSRL

with known historical facts: Basil II's three charters for the archsee of Ochrid of 1019, 1020 and ca. 1025 specify the jurisdiction of the see in great detail but make no mention of Kiev;[111] moreover, John of Kiev's Greek seal has been discovered and it gives his title as *Metropolitan of Russia.*[112] Had Kiev been subordinated to the archsee of Ochrid, it would certainly have had a diocesan bishop and not been dependent upon visits from distant Ochrid;[113] moreover, for Vladimir to subordinate his church to Macedonia, then in conflict with Byzantium, would imply that he had quarrelled with Basil II, for which there is no evidence after his marriage to Basil's sister Anne.

1, 80, reports that their mother was Bulgarian; assuming that this means Danubian and not Volgan (which is by no means certain), what would be more natural than for her to give her sons Christian names associated with Bulgarian rulers?

She too has been the object of fanciful theory: Pogorelov, **Русите**, 151–53, claims that she persuaded Vladimir to be baptized, which ceremony was carried out by her chaplain, one of the Bulgarian clergymen in Kiev, a theory found by Nikolaev, **Фактор**, 12, *convincing*. Partenij, **Патриарси**, 71, suggests that Metropolitan Michael of Kiev was none other than this chaplain, who was despatched to Constantinople for consecration. A strange example of historiographic *monoprosopomania* involving two fictional characters! The Primary Chronicle, PSRL 1, 80, also reports that he had two Czech wives, but as Ammann, "Wladimir," 194–95, remarked, nobody claims that they converted him to Latin christianity. It is true that history knows cases of mothers, sisters and wives, *mulieres suadentes,* who have played a role in the conversion of princes, but since nothing is known about the influence of Vladimir's wives the remarks by Dvornik, *Making,* 93; Čubatyj, *Історія,* 215; Mošin, **Периодизации**, 43, remain idle speculation, as does Pogorelov's theory, **Русите**, 151, that Boris and Gleb owed their exceptional piety to their Bulgarian mother's influence. On *mulieres suadentes* see Labunka, "Centers," 189–93.

111 Ed. *FHB* 11, 40–44, 44–47, 47. In all they list 31 sees subordinated to it and it clearly had a jurisdiction at least as large as the former Bulgarian empire. The metropolitan sees of Naupactus, Dyrrachium, Larissa and Thessalonica all had to cede part of their jurisdiction, see Granić, "Glossen," 399–400; Konidares, "Entstehung," 7–10. The three charters are found in a chrysobull of 1272 of Emperor Michael VIII (1259–1282) and Priselkov, **Очерки**, 75–6, explains the absence of Kiev in them as due to the fact that by 1272 Kiev was no longer under Ochrid, but then neither were some other sees which they do list, see Snegarov, **Връзки**, 25. Because of the fact that they are only found in the chrysobull, their authenticity has been questioned, most recently by Antoljak, **Македонија**, vol. 1, 688–93, 698–708, but their general import is confirmed by other sources, see Krâstanov, **Грамоти**, *passim.* The charters have most recently been published by Tachiaos, Πηγὲς, vol. 1, pp. 68–69, 69–73, 73.

112 Laurent, *Corpus,* vol. 5, pt. 1, no. 781, pp. 600–01; see also Soloviev, "Sceau," *passim*; Vlasto, *Entry,* 178; Vodoff, *Naissance,* 85.

113 Koch, *Byzanz,* 274 and *Ochrid,* 151, claims that the *vitae* of Boris and Gleb make it clear that John was not residing in Kiev, and it is true that according to Nestor's *Lectio* Jaroslav *summoned* John, who *came* and afterwards *departed,* Abramovič, **Жития**, 17, 19, but these terms in no way imply a journey from Ochrid to Kiev and the plain sense of the *vitae* is that the metropolitan was residing in Kiev.

Those who reject the Ochrid theory include Tixomirov, **Связи**, 155–56; Dvornik, *Making,* 177; Honigmann, "Studies," 131; Mošin, **Послание**, 93; Vernadsky, "Status," 295; Snegarov, **Връзки**, 24–6; Čubatyj, **Історія**, vol. 1, 253–56; Antoljak, **Македонија**, vol. 1, 398, n. 408a.

Perhaps the most bizarre attempts to link the spread of Christianity in Kievan Rus' with Bulgaria are those relating to Princess Olga and the priest Gregory who was present at her two imperial receptions in Constantinople. The Primary Chronicle does not state where Olga was born but simply reports that a wife called Olga was brought for Igor from *Pleskov*,[114] and according to the Russian redaction of her synaxarium *vita* of the second half of the thirteenth century she was a *Pskovian*.[115] However, a fragmentary chronicle of the late fifteenth–early sixteenth century claims that she was a Bulgarian[116] and its discoverer, Leonid Kavelin, concluded that Pleskov should be identified with Pliska in Bulgaria.[117] Although he later abandoned this theory,[118] it has occasionally been resuscitated,[119] despite its glaring contradiction of the fact that for most of her life she was a pagan.[120]

One of those attending Olga's two imperial receptions at Constantinople

[114] *PSRL* 1, 29. The variants are <отъ> Пльскова, Плескова, Пьскова, see Scheffer, *Apparat*, 83.

[115] Ed. Serebrjanskij, Жития, app. 7–8, cf. 7. On the dating, *ibid.*, 24–32. The South Slav redaction, ed. *ibid.*, app. 6–7, which is closer to the lost original Rusian version than the surviving Rusian redaction and is perhaps, *ibid.*, 14, of the mid–12th century, does not specify her origins. Since later *vitae* record the legend that she predicted the foundation of Pskov, they place her birth elsewhere, viz. in the nearby village of Vybuto, thus the 16th century *vita*, ed. *ibid.*, app. 8–12, cf. 8, 10, or Vybutts(k)aja, thus the *vita* of the *Liber graduum*, PSRL 21, 1, 6–31, cf. 6, 22. For a bibliography of the legends linking Olga to Pskov, see Ikonnikov, Опыт, vol. 2, pt. 1, 851, 854.

[116] Ed. Leonid (Kavelin), Отрывок, 295–99, cf. 296. The fragmentary chronicle covers the period 862–1174, but begins with a princely genealogy in which the last named prince is Dmitrij Ivanovich (1483–1509), grandson of Ivan III of Muscovy (1440–1505), ed. *ibid.*, 296. It is found in the 16th-century codex Uvarov 206 and has also been edited by Pavlova, Летописец, 8–11, cf. 9.

[117] Leonid (Kavelin), Родом, 217, 219. Cf. Leo diaconus, *Historia, vii, 8*, PG 117, 857: Πλίσκουβα; Anna Comnena, *Alexias, vii, 3*, ed. PG 131, 80–1212, cf. 541: Πλισκόβα.

[118] For a yet more fantastic one: on the basis of the assertion in a short chronicle in the 17th century codex Pogodin 1578 that Olga was the daughter of Tmutarakhan, a Cuman prince, see Byčkov, Описание, vol. 1, 153–54; Kavelin, Замечаний, vii-viii, considered that she was a Black Bulgar.

[119] E. g. Ilovajskij, Заметки, 4; Nikolaev, Фактор, 99–101; Sabev, "Millénaire," 836. Tixomirov, Связи, 139, found it probable, although elsewhere he accepts her Pskovian origins, *idem*, Русь, 299.

[120] As pointed by Malyševskij, Происхождение, 332. Soxan', *Очерки*, 21–22, seeks to obviate this difficulty by positing that the chronicle account of her conversion is a later distortion by scheming Russian ecclesiastics who wished to suppress the fact that the first saint of the Russian church was a Bulgarian. Malyševskij, Происхождение, 23–26, proposed the far-fetched theory that the idea of her Bulgarian origins had been inspired by a gloss in the Slavonic translation of Constantine Manasses' *Breviarium historiae metricum* which mentions the capture of Pliska, ed. Bogdan, *Cronica*, 1–222, cf. 201. For a detailed refutation of her allegedly Bulgarian origin, see Mixajlov, Руси, 134–37.

in 946 or 957[121] was the priest Gregory.[122] Speculations have made him variously a Greek,[123] a priest of the Latin rite,[124] a Bulgarian,[125] and more specifically the Bulgarian hieromonk who was considered to have compiled the *Chronographus Judaicus*, a world history based mainly on the Old Testament and John Malalas' *Chronographia*, which contains between the end of Ruth and the beginning of book V of Malalas a gloss to the effect that Gregory, *presbyter and monk of all the Bulgarian churches*, at the command of Symeon of Bulgaria translated книгы ꙁавѣта бжїа ветха<г> сказающє ѡбразы новаго завѣта истинн ѹсоущѹ[126] Originally it was considered that Gregory had translated the entire chronograph,[127] but since it has been established that it was compiled from existing Slavonic translations in the thirteenth century,[128] the gloss must refer either to Malalas or to the Old Testament. The claim that it refers to the former since no cleric

121 They are described by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae, ii, 15*, ed. PG 112, 73–1445, cf. 1108–1112. Since he dates them Wednesday, 9 September, and Sunday, 18 October, and during his reign (944–59) these dates fell on those days only in 946 and 957, Olga's visit has traditionally been dated to 957 because the Primary Chronicle dates it to 6463, viz. 954–955, PSRL 1, 60, e.g. M. Obolenskij, *Слов*, 42–4; Laehr, *Anfänge*, 103; Levčenko, Очерки, 222; Vlasto, *Entry*, 250. Recently Litavrin, Датировке, *passim*, has argued for 946 for several reasons, the principal one being that the description of the receptions forms the final section of a chapter recounting the reception of three embassies to Constantinople in May, August and September-October, and the first was definitely in May 946. However, Pritsak, "Ol'ga," 13–14, thinks the reception of 9 September was in 946 and that of 18 October in 957. On the receptions see also Litavrin, Путешествие, and *idem*, Связи. His dating to 946 has been accepted by some, e.g. Tinnefeld, "Olga," but not all, e.g. D. Obolensky, "Baptism," 161; and *idem*, "Ol'ga's." The question of the date must be considered open, see the remarks of Poppe, "Christianisierung," 460, 464, and D. Obolensky, "Rus'," 41.

122 PG 112, 1112.

123 Thus Laehr, *Anfänge*, 52; Vodoff, *Naissance*, 51; Arin'on (= Arrignon), Отношения, 119, considers him a Byzantine diplomat who had been sent to Kiev for diplomatic negociations.

124 Thus Jugie, "Origines," 258, and *idem., Schisme*, 174; Stökl, *Geschichte*, 56; Čubatyj, Історія, vol. 1, 178.

125 Nikolaev, Фактор, 103; Pavlova, Връзки, 103; Mixajlov, Русия, 69. Gregory and the assistant interpreters received the same amount at each reception, viz. 8 and 12 miliaresia respectively. That he received less has been taken by Nikolaev and Mixajlov, *ibidem*, to be a typical instance of Byzantine Bulgarophobia.

126 The chronograph remains unedited, but the gloss has often been edited, e.g. Kalajdovič, Иоанн, 99, 178; Evseev, Григорий, 356–7; B. Angelov, Въпроса, 50; Obolenskij, Летописец, xiii. The considerable literature on the chronograph cannot be given here, for a résumé see Tvorogov, Хронографы, 16–18, 23–25.

127 Thus Kalajdovič, Иоанн, 15; Obolenskij, Летописец, xiv, xxix; Golubinskij, История, vol. 1, pt. 1, 900; it has even been repeated recently by E. Georgiev, Разцветът, 303.

128 See Istrin, Области, 185–6; Tvorogov, Хронографы, 16. An earlier dating to the 10th century, argued by Šaxmatov, Энциклопедия, 15–16, 33–34, cannot be maintained, see Weingart, *Kroniky*, pt. 1, 33–35.

would feel obliged to assert that the Bible contains the truth,[129] is unconvincing in view of the fact that the phrase *divine old testament* can hardly refer to Malalas' *Chronographia*; moreover, the gloss follows Ruth, the last book of the Octateuch, which contains the old convenant, the prototype of the new, to which the gloss clearly refers.[130]

The identification of Symeon's Gregory with Olga's was first suggested by M. Obolenskij, who claimed that after Symeon's death in 927 he went to Russia, where he compiled an account of Olga's embassy to Constantinople, as well as of other events, which was later used in the compilation of the Primary Chronicle.[131] This was then further elaborated into the theory that he had gone to Constantinople, whence he was sent to Kiev to prepare Olga for baptism,[132] and finally reached its apotheosis in the idea that he in c960 left Kiev to return to Bulgaria where he became bishop at Ochrid and died in c1012.[133] In fact, of course, all that is known of Symeon's Gregory is what is stated in the gloss and to identify him with Olga's is another instance of arbitrary monoprosopomania. As for Olga's Gregory, ALL that is known about him is that he attended the two receptions, and it is not even

[129] Thus Istrin, **Александрия**, 355; in order to substantitate his theory, he had to posit that **a.** the information about Gregory was taken from the title of the Slavonic translation of Malalas; **b.** the phrase **книгы** ... соущ ȣwas the title which the 13th century compiler of the chronograph wished to give to his work, but **c.** he was unable (**не сумел**) to keep his own title from being contaminated by the translation title (!) and anyway **d.** *old testament* only means events B.C. as opposed to events A.D., *ibid*, 356–58. All of this can scarcely be termed convincing.

[130] Thus Evseev, **Григорий**, 362–4; Weingart, *Kroniky*, pt. 1, 38–9. The view that it refers solely to Ruth, thus Sobolevskij, **Литературы**, 266, is highly improbable since that book alone is hardly the prototype of the entire new covenant.

[131] M. Obolenskij, **Исследования**, 202–7, 220; *idem*, **Слов**, 87–8; this was accepted by Leonid (Kavelin), **Рукопись**, 17–18.

[132] Lebedincev, **Начале**, 282. This was accepted by Barac, **Составителях**, 75–81, who added sundry equally speculative theories of his own, e.g. that he is to be identified with the monk Gregory who compiled the Greek *Vita S. Basilii iunioris ascetae Constantinopolitani*! According to Soxan', ***Очерки***, 22, at Olga's court he *in all probability became her main adviser, not only in questions of Christianity but in others concerning internal politics and external state relations.*

[133] Kavelin, ***Описание***, vol 1, 669, vol. 3, 9–11, 361–62; *idem*, Родом, 219–22. The identification of him as the bishop of Ochrid is based on a partly illegible and totally obscure inscription on the church of St. Sophia, Ochrid, discovered by Grigorovič, ***Очерк***, 100: ГРΗΓΟΡΙΟΥ ... ΣΚΗΝΗΝ ΕΓΕΙΡΑΣ ... ΤΩΝ ΘΕΟΓΡΑΦΩΝ ΝΟΜΩΝ ΕΘΝΗ ΤΑ ΜΥΣΩΝ ΕΚΔΙΔΑΣΚΕΙ ΠΑΝΣΟΘΩΣ ... with a date that could be either σφκ (1012) or σωκ (1312). Gregory could equally well be the person to whom the church was dedicated, thus Filaret, ***Святые***, 7, rather than the person who built the church and/or taught the Moesians, while the date could be equally that of Gregory's death, thus Filaret, *ibid*, 8, or that of the construction of the church, thus Sobolevskij, **Литературы**, 267, n. 2. The identification of the two Gregories was first tentatively proposed by Biljarskij, **Состав**, 122–3. For Kavelin it was a fact — both omitted to mention that the date of the inscription is dubious.

certain that he ever visited Kiev.[134]

If the sources are silent about the active contribution of Bulgarians of any degree to the conversion of Kievan Rus', they are no more revealing about the material transfer thither of literary works. The sole source to mention the removal of codices to Kiev is the *vita ordinaria* of Vladimir, which states that the booty which he carried off from Cherson included books,[135] but even if the statement of this *vita,* which is not prior to the late thirteenth century,[136] is to be credited, it scarcely refers to Slavonic codices.[137] This absence of evidence has only fueled speculation,[138] the principal suggestions being that Olga took books back after her visit to Constantinople in the mid-tenth century;[139] manuscripts arrived as booty carried off in Svjatoslav's Bulgarian campaigns of 967/8 and 969–971;[140] brought by refugees from Byzantine oppression;[141] booty carried off to Constantinople and there sold on the market or sent as imperial gifts to Kiev;[142] booty given to Rus' troops who aided Basil II in his conquest of

134 The fact that Gregory and the assistant interpreters received fixed amounts, see above n. 116, whereas the others present received varying amounts at the two receptions, would perhaps indicate that they were Byzantine officials, while the others received gifts, thus Ajnalov, **Очерки**, 299; Parxomenko, ***Начало***, 126–7, suggests that he may have been Olga's guide in Constantinople. At all events the usual assertion that he was a member of Olga's suite, e.g. Poppe, "Christianisierung," 463, remains an unproven assumption.

135 Ed. Serebrjanskij, **Жития**, app. 17–21, cf. 21.

136 Serebrjanskij, *ibid.*, 59–62, who calls it the *летописно-проложное житие*, dates it to the 14th century; Sobolevskij, **Памятники**, 11, who calls it the ***обычное житие***, to the late 13th century; see also Šaxmatov, Легенда, 1052–57.

137 As Angelov, **Вопросу**, 137, would have it, cf. *idem,* **Историята**, vol. 1, 37. So also Xaburgaev, **Становление**, 17; Kočev, "Anfänge," 507.

138 Typical is the reply given by Lunt, "Interpreting," 260, to his own question: *How did they* (sc. the exemplars for East Slavic codices) *come into the hands of the Rus'? We can only speculate*. He then suggests three ways, but—unlike many scholars—he specifies that it is speculation, not fact. His conjecture that some may have come directly from Bohemia and Moravia requires more detailed study.

139 Thus Xaburgaev, **Становление**, 16.

140 E.g. Žukovskaja, **Изборник**, 12; Rybakov, ***Изборник***, 12; Angelov, **Вопросу**, 134; Kuev, **Съдбата**, 14; Schmücker, "Bemerkungen," 92; Litavrin, Переворот, 402.

141 E.g. Mošin, **Периодизации**, 52; Kuev, **Съдбата**, 15; Vodoff, *Naissance,* 98; Mixajlov, **Руси**, 132; Rogov, **Связи** (1978) 44.

142 E.g. Sobolevskij, **Материалы**, 136; Gudzij, **Литература**, 35; Ščepkina, **Вопросу**, 203–4; Pavlova, **Връзки**, 103. It has even been suggested that perhaps *the entire* (Bulgarian) *Imperial library* (die gesamte Zarenbibliothek) was carried off in the sack of Preslav and presented by the Byzantine emperor to Vladimir on the occasion of his baptism, thus Kronsteiner, "Literatursprache," 10–11 (who has forgotten that at the time of Vladimir's baptism there were coemperors on the Byzantine throne) and Ščepkina, **Изучению**, 233, who estimates its size as being between 200 and 300 books. On what this estimate is based remains a mystery. Schiwaroff, "Rolle," thinks that the Byzantines sent only a part of the Bulgarian imperial library, but fails to say what they did with the rest.

Bulgaria.[143] There has even been speculation about individual codices[144] and exemplars,[145] not to mention conjecture about the arrival of the Greek codex used for an allegedly East Slav translation.[146] In fact the actual

143 Thus Poppe, Курилоцѣ, 334, n. 44; Vodoff, *Naissance*, 105; Lunt, "Interpreting," 260. The participation of Rus' troops in the conquest is reported by Scylitzes, ed. Thurn, *Ioannis*, 355. Schiwaroff, "Rolle," 149, talks vaguely of a transfer of books after Basil II's conquest of Bulgaria, but it is not clear whether he means as booty or as a Byzantine gift.

144 Mošin, "Listići," 7–64, has suggested that the 11th century Novgorod (or Kuprijanov) folia represent the remains of an evangeliary presented to Vladimir of Kiev by Samuel of Macedonia. Even if the South Slav origin of the two folia, usually considered to be East Slav, was correct, the rest of Mošin's theory would remain an utterly unsubstantiated hypothesis. On the folia see Šmidt (=Schmidt), *Каталог*, no. 12.

145 Thus the arrival of the exemplar of the 1073 florilegium has been associated with **a.** booty from Svjatoslav's Bulgarian campaigns, thus Vlasto, *Entry*, 252, note b; **b.** the dowry of Princess Anne (it had been taken from the Bulgarian imperial library in Preslav and kept in the library of St. Sophia, Constantinople), thus Ščepkina, **Вопросу**, 202–3; **c.** property taken to Rus' by Bulgarian refugees fleeing Byzantine oppression in the early 11th century, thus Žukovskaja, **Изборник**, 12; **d.** booty given to troops sent by Vladimir to assist Basil II in his conquest of Bulgaria, thus Vodov, *Naissance*, 105.

These views rest on the assumption that the extant 1073 codex is a faithful reproduction of an equally sumptuous Bulgarian codex, a view that has been forcefully challenged by Whitman, "Izbornik," 252–67, and again by Lunt, "Izbornik," 359–76. They contend that the imported exemplar probably consisted of two modest, unadorned octavo volumes.

146 Viz. George Hamartolus' *Chronicon breve*, allegedly translated in Jaroslav's day (1019–1054). The argument provides an excellent example of a conjecture based upon a hypothesis deduced from a theory and goes as follows: Weitzmann, "Illustration," *passim*, on the basis of miniatures in a ninth-century manuscript of Gregory of Nazianzus' homilies, viz. Paris, *codex graecus 510*, postulated that illuminated codices of the histories of Sozomenus, Theodoret and Malalas once existed and, *ibid.*, 129–30, dated their origin to Justinian's day, viz. 527–65. He further pointed out, *ibid*, 130–31, that only three illuminated codices of Byzantine histories exist, one Greek, viz. *codex Matritensis vitr. 16–2*, of about the late 13th century (the date is disputed) containing John Scylitzes' *Synopsis historiarum* with 574 miniatures, and two Slavonic, viz. the 14th-century Bulgarian *codex Vaticanus slavicus 2* containing Constantine Manasses' *Breviarium historiae metricum* with 69 miniatures, and the 13th–14th-century East Slav Moscow Theological Academy codex 100 containing George Hamartolus' *Chronicon breve* with 129 miniatures. Wilson, "Scylitzes," 218–18, proposed the theory that the exemplar of the Madrid Scylitzes belonged to *a very small and special class* of illuminated codices kept in the imperial library at Constantinople and sent as diplomatic gifts on special occasions, and that the Slavonic translations were made from two such codices.

Franklin, **Времени**, 327–28, has now suggested suitable occasions upon which the Greek illuminated codex of George Hamartolus' *Chronicon breve* might have been despatched to Kiev: Vladimir's conversion; the arrival of Greek *metropolitans* (sic, a metropolitan?); the *consecration* (sic) of St. Sophia's at Kiev (presumably he means its foundation in 1037 as it was not consecrated until the 1060's); the marriage of Vsevolod Jaroslavič to a Byzantine princess (viz. 1046).

Before some Boltinian historian (see note 76) seizes upon one of these as THE most suitable occasion, it should be pointed out that **a.** Weitzmann's postulate remains a theory; **b.** even Wilson, "Scylitzes," 217, admitted that his notion of "diplomatic" illuminated codices based upon Weitzmann's theory was a *hypothesis*; **c.** the two Slavonic codices both contain miniatures definitely not copied from any Byzantine codex, for Manasses see Dujčev, *Miniatures*, 127; for George see Popov, ***Заметки***, 131–41, and Vzdornov, ***Иллюстрации***, 220–22, and

circumstances in which a particular surviving Bulgarian codex arrived in Russia are first known from the time of Arsenius Suxanov's third mission to the East in 1653/4–1655/6.[147]

Until now few early East Slav codices have been examined in sufficient detail to determine whether they were copied from a Bulgarian exemplar,[148] and in even fewer cases is there agreement as to the provenance of the latter: East Bulgaria in the case of the Ostromir evangeliary of 1056–57,[149] the eleventh century Čudov Psalter,[150] and the eleventh-twelfth century Viktorov fragment of Antiochus's *Pandectes*;[151] West Bulgaria in the case

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thus neither is a simply copy of an alleged Byzantine archetype; **d.** indeed, no illuminated Byzantine codex of either Manasses or George has been traced; **e.** disagreement about the dating of the hypothetical Byzantine archetypes means that in neither case is the postulate of a diplomatic codex either necessary or certain.

In the case of Manasses, the archetype is usually considered to have been contemporary to the author, viz. 12th century, see e.g. Dujčev, *Miniatures,* 127; Božkov, ***Миниатюри***, 88, but some scholars, e.g. Grabar, "Illustrations," 194; Džurova, *Catalogo,* 43, consider the miniatures Palaeologan in style, viz. contemporary to the 14th-century Slavonic codex, in which case there is clearly no need to posit the existence of a prior Greek codex.

In the case of George Hamartolus, the Byzantine archetype is also usually considered to have been contemporary to the author, viz. 9th century, see, e.g. Weitzmann, "Illustration," 131; Pobedova, ***Отражение***, 380, or a little later, i.e. of the late 9th or 10th century, thus, e.g. Vzdornov, ***Иллюстрации***, 212. Others, however, see 11th-century characteristics in the miniatures, e.g. Franklin, ***Времени***, 327; Božkov, ***Миниатюри***, 95 (who considers them similar to those in the Scylitzes codex, viz. they could not antedate the late 11th century), while Ajnalov, ***Миниатюри***, 22–3, and *Летопись*, 132, sees in the depiction of the armour and weapons Latin influences due to the crusades and the establishment of the Latin empire, i.e. the archetype could not antedate the 12th century. Protasov, *Черты*, *passim,* detects Bulgarian influences and considers that the miniatures only go back to the Byzantine archetype via a 13th-century Bulgarian codex. Clearly any dating later than the mid-eleventh century would negate the idea of a "diplomatic" illuminated codex used for the translation.

Finally, last—but by no means least—**f.** the alleged East Slav origin of the translation of George Hamartolus' *Chronicon breve* is itself an unproven hypothesis, cf. Thomson, "Russia," no. 50.

147 For the transfer of Bulgarian manuscripts to Russia from then on see Kuev, **Сьдбата**, 41–46.

148 Kuev, **Сьдбата**, 15–30, lists 29 instances, but several are dubious and at least one incorrect; he claims, *ibid.,* 28, that the 1144 Halyč tetrevangelium was copied from a Bulgarian protograph as its kalendar includes the feast of St. John of Rila. In fact the kalendar is on ff. 242v–256r and ff. 229–260 are a 14th-century addition to the codex, on which see Šmidt, **Каталог**, no. 53.

149 Šmidt, **Каталог**, no. 3. The recent claim by Despodova, **Ракописи**, 16, that the exemplar was Macedonian is based not on linguistic evidence but on acceptance, *ibid.,* 62, of the theory that the Ostromir codex was copied from the Novgorod (or Kuprijanov) folia, the sole surviving fragment of a codex which had belonged to Samuel of Macedonia. On this unsubstantiated theory see above n. 144.

150 Šmidt, **Каталог**, no. 31.

151 Šmidt, **Каталог**, no. 201.

of the eleventh-century Eugenius fragments of a psalter[152] and the eleventh–twelfth century Tolstoj psalter,[153] while the presence of Glagolitic letters in a few early East Slav codices[154] may indicate links with West Bulgaria, where Glagolitic remained longer in use.[155]

The first instance in which the circumstances of the arrival of a particular exemplar are known postdates the Kievan period: most East Slav codices of the Serbian nomocanon have interpolated between the preface to and text of the canons of Carthage the colophon of a codex copied in Bulgaria at the request of the Despot James Svjatoslav (?–1275) for Metropolitan Cyril of Kiev (1242/3–1280/1), probably in 1262, and an epistle from James to Cyril, which reveals that the latter had requested a copy of the nomocanon, which James had obtained from the patriarch and had had copied for Cyril.[156]

It is sometimes asserted that until the incorporation of East Bulgaria into the Byzantine Empire most codices went to Kievan Rus' from there and that afterwards until the fall of Macedonia in 1018 most went from West Bulgaria, and then the flow ended.[157] This is, however, based upon the premise that the Byzantine authorities in Bulgaria pursued a policy of *pitiless Graecization*[158] and *systematic Hellenization*[159] and that the period until 1185, when the uprising began which led to the establishment of the second Bulgarian Empire, was *an epoch of Romanization*.[160] This premise not only presupposes a nationalistic Hellenic self-consciousness foreign to the multinational Byzantine Empire at the time,[161] but is contradicted by the evidence. Clearly Greek became the official language of administration and

152 Šmidt, **Каталог**, nos. 29–30

153 Šmidt, **Каталог**, no. 47.

154 For brief surveys see Karskij, ***Палеография***, 212–13, and Il'inskij, **Листки**, 101–2. The claim, thus Shevelov, *Elemente*, 74, repeated by Issatschenko, *Geschichte*, vol. 1, 35–6, that the vast majority of these codices come from Novgorod and indicate links with Moravia rather than Macedonia, is unproven with regard to their northwest Russian origin and purely speculative with regard to the theory of their Moravian provenance. See also Birnbaum, "Novgorod," and de Vincenz, "Elements."

155 Thus Durnovo, **Введение**, 36, n. 6; Speranskij, **Памятники**, 531–32; Tschiżewskij, *Geschichte*, 99–100.

156 Both colophon and epistle have often been edited, e.g. B. Angelov, **Литература**, vol. 2, 142–47. There are various corrupt readings of the date, the main ones being **sѱ҃ѯи єдних, sѱ҃ѯ и є҃ индих, sѱ҃ѯи єдиних**, *ibid.*, 143–45; for other variants see Ščapov, **Наследие**, 148–49. It was thus either 1262 or 1270, but only the former coincides with the 5th indiction.

157 See, for example, Speranskij, **Памятники**, 528–530; Mošin, **Периодизации**, 58–9; Tóth, **Предпосылки**, 192.

158 Thus Speranskij, **Памятники**, 533.

159 Thus Mošin, **Периодизации**, 60.

160 Thus Zlatarski, **История**, vol. 2, 167.

161 See Browning, *Byzantium*, 77–8; B. Angelov, ***Страници***, 86–7.

the ecclesiastical hierarchy was Graecized, but claims that there was *a mass replacement of the higher and even lower Bulgarian clergy down to priests and subdeacons by Greeks,*[162] that Greek ousted Slavonic as the liturgical language,[163] and that Slavonic manuscripts were systematically destroyed[164] are belied by the existence of eleventh- and twelfth-century Bulgarian manuscripts,[165] as well as by continuing translation work.[166] It would be exaggerated to claim[167] that the Greek hierarchy patronized Slavonic letters and liturgy, and undoubtedly the period was one of relative stagnation as a natural consequence of the relegation of Slavonic to second-rate status, but of cultural continuity there can be no doubt.[168]

How Byzantine culture in its Slavonic form as received in Bulgaria was transferred to Kievan Rus' remains thus for lack of evidence in the sources an enigma. Their silence is perhaps not surprising as it did not involve great events, but was a continuing unspectacular process which may have been initially more intense but never halted. The centers of transfer undoubtedly included Athos, where there was an East Slav monastery from the mid-twelfth century on,[169] and perhaps to a lesser degree Constan-

162 Thus, Kaliganov, Проблемы, 61. To support this view he refers to Litavrin, *Болгария*, 367–68. However, the latter only talks of a *partial* replacement. In fact, although some of the urban clergy were replaced by Greeks (in part no doubt necessitated by the growth in the Greek-speaking population), there is no evidence either that this was done on a large scale, or that it affected the country clergy.

163 Thus Mošin, Периодизации, 69.

164 Thus Zlatarskij, История, vol. 2, 265.

165 The list given by Dinekov in Dinekov *et al.*, *История*, vol.1, 246, is unreliable as it includes West Bulgarian manuscripts of the early 11th century which could have been copied before 1018 and late 12th century ones which could postdate 1185.

166 See Thomson, "Continuity," to appear.

167 As does Dostál, "Relations," 173–4. Litavrin, Болгария, 351–52, with some justification, however, argues that the initial settlement of 1019 with the establishment of an autocephalous archsee headed by the Bulgarian hierarch John did indeed favour the privileges of the Bulgarian clergy. At all events there is no evidence for a process of Graecization before the appointment of his Greek successor, Leo, in 1037.

168 See D. Angelov, "Länder," 151–166; Dujčev, Идеята, 5–19; Andreev, Идеята, 17–37; Mečev, Иван.

169 The claim that there was a *Rusian,* viz. East Slav, monastery there as early as 1016, thus Mošin, Русские (ix), 63; Dujčev, Центры, 123, and *Mont,* 128; Mamalakes, Ὄρος, 73, cf. 673; Lemerle, *Acts de Saint-Pantéléèmôn,* 5, *et al.*, is based on the arbitrary identification of two separate monasteries as one. An act, dated only February of the 14th indiction, but which must be of 1016 since it was signed by Nicephorus, Protos of Athos (1010–1019) and Theodoretus, Superior of the Laura (1010–before 1018), see the table of indictions in Grumel, *Chronologie,* 254, bears the signature of one Gerasimus of the monastery του Pôς (sic), ed. Lemerle, *Actes de Lavra,* vol. 1, no. 19, pp. 154–55, cf. 155. The only other reference to this monastery is in an act of 1081 to which the illiterate monk Cyriacus του Ρως (sic) added his sign and which the scribe signed with the words δηα Κυριακοῦ του Ρους (sic), ed. Bompaire, *Actes,* no. 6, pp. 60–64, cf. 63–4.

tinople, Jerusalem, and Sinai, but the process nevertheless remained essentially Bulgarian.[170] The claim that Byzantium used *every means to prevent the development of cultural links between its restless Slav subjects and the independent Slav lands to the north*[171] is unfounded. There is no evidence for a wide-spread knowledge of Greek in Kievan Rus',[172] nor yet for much

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In the mid-twelfth century we may assume that the monastery of Xylourgou—that is, the Dormition monastery of Our Lady of the Carpenter, ἡ κοίμησις τῆς Θεοτόκου τοῦ Ξυλουργοῦ—was inhabited by East Slav monks since its inventory of 1142 lists a number of βιβλία ρούσικα (sic) ed. Lemerle, *Actes de Saint-Pantéléèmôn,* no. 7, pp. 73–76, cf. 74, while the monastery is referred to in an act of 1169 as Xylourgou ἤτοι τῶν 'Ρουσῶν (sic), ed. *ibid.,* no. 8, pp. 82–86, cf. 83. (In the confirmations of this act of 1188 and 1194 the monastery is referred to as being that τῶν 'Ρως (sic) and τῶν ιερομονάχων τῶν 'Ρῶς (sic) respectively, ed. *ibid.,* 86.) Xylourgou is first mentioned in an act of 1030, ed. *ibid.,* no. 1, p. 30, and in two other eleventh-century acts, 1048, ed. *ibid.,* no. 4, pp. 48–50, and 1070, ed. *ibid.,* no. 6, pp. 63–64, but nowhere is there any mention of a *Rusian* connection and it clearly only came into East Slav hands in the course of the twelfth century.

To identify the monastery του Pôς with Xylourgou, whose *Rusian* connection are attested only some one hundred and twelve years later is completely arbitrary. The monastery του Pôς is just another of the many eleventh-century foundations which disappeared, only their names being preserved in contemporary documents. For other instances see, for example, the lists of signatories to an act dated 19 April 1015, ed. Dölger, *Schatzkammern,* vol. 1, no. 103, pp. 273–75, cf. 275, and to the second Athonite typicon of 1045–46, ed. Meyer, *Haupturkunden,* 151–62, cf. 162. The suggestion that the singular form of its name indicates its founder, viz. *of the Rusian,* as opposed to its inhabitants, viz. *of the Rus',* thus Mošin, **Русские**, (ix), 61–2, and Lemerle, *Actes de Saint-Pantéléèmôn,* 4, is unlikely, but in either case the most obvious interpretation is that it refers to Norsemen, very large numbers of whom served in the armies of Basil II (976–1025), see Blöndal, *Varangians,* 42–53; Davidson, *Road,* 179–80, 239–42.

Very little is known about East Slav–Athonite relations in the early period. The picture painted by Mošin, **Русские**, was correctly judged by Dölger in his review, 180: *Das Bild, das M. entwirft, ist, wie die häufigen "Vielleicht" schon äusserlich anzeigen, stark subjektiv und bedient sich nicht selten der "Tradition", um Lücken spärlicher Quellenüberlieferung zu überbrücken.* That Athos did play a role in the transfer of Byzantine culture to the East Slavs in the eleventh century is undoubted, but that it was the main source for that, thus, Birnbaum, *Rus'* 4, is an instance of what Dölger in his review of Mošin, **Русские**, 209, called *unbegründete Vermutungen.* For a bibliography of Rus'-Athonite relations see Prosvirnin, "**Афон**," *passim.*

170 Litavrin, **Переворот**, 397, 400, would limit official contacts between the Rus' and Bulgarian churches to the period after the end of Bulgaro-Byzantine hostilities in 1018 and before the appointment of the first Greek, Leo, to the archsee of Ochrid in 1037; otherwise contacts were unofficial. However, this division of contacts into official and unofficial is a pure hypothesis, unsubstantiated by any historical evidence, and his whole article teems with phrases such as: *It is, in my opinion, impossible to exclude the possibility...* (p. 398); *it seems possible at this stage (naturally only hypothetically) to draw two main conclusions...* (p. 399); *I consider thus the supposition very probable that...* (p. 402).

171 Mošin, **Периодизации**, 49.

172 See Hösch, "Griechischkentnisse," 250–60; Thomson, "Quotations," and "Implications," *passim.* Recent claims to the contrary either ignore or are ignorant of these studies of the level of a knowledge of Greek in Rus', e.g.: *It may be assumed* (**Можно полагать**) *that at a certain level of education Church Slavonic–Greek bilingualism* (**двуязычие**) *was generally presupposed* (**предполагалось**), thus Uspenskij, ***История***, 32. This is not merely unsubstan-

if any translation work being undertaken there,[173] and the reception of the literary aspects of Byzantine culture[174] in Kievan Rus' passed through an essentially Bulgarian prism. Early Bulgarian literature was the intermediary between Constantinople and Kiev,[175] not merely in the sense of being a passive vehicle for the transfer, but as an active agent in revising Byzantine culture to meet Bulgarian requirements and in the process creating that *corpus paradigmatum,*[176] the structural prototypes, which lasted until the dawn of the modern era. That is Bulgaria's lasting contribution to the reception of Byzantine culture in Kievan Rus',[177] and Boltinian histori-

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tiated — it borders on the ridiculous. Certainly Uspenskij's own grasp of Greek leaves much to be desired: he, *ibid.,* 35, thinks that жьзлъ is a translation for ἄνθος and claims that the latter word is feminine in gender.

173 See Thomson, "Implications," *passim,* and *idem,* "Made in Russia," to appear. What Schmücker, "Bemerkungen," 91, means when he asserts that much of the literature available in Bulgaria was not taken to Kiev in Slavonic but was translated in Rus' from Greek by Bulgarians is unclear — this would involve dual translations of the same works, of which he gives no instances. Uspenskij's claim, История, 30, that *a large corpus of texts very diversified in content and genre* was translated in Kievan Rus' is merely the umpteenth repetition of an unproven assertion. Some of this scholar's statements about translated literature give rise to doubts about his understanding of the nature of mediaeval culture; e.g. the idea that the world chronicles of John Malalas and George Hamartolus *could not possibly have any practical interest for the Russian reader* and were only *of interest to Russians as part of Byzantine culture, ibid.,* 30, ignores the patently obvious fact that for medieval man all history was *Heilgeschichte,* all events either presage or fulfil the divine will. It is precisely in these two Byzantine chronicles that Byzantine history is viewed from this standpoint as the prolongation of Old and New Testament history. No matter how great the stylistic difference, the Primary Chronicle has an absolutely identical view of history, which Uspenskij describes, *ibid.* 65–6, by citing Eremin, *Литература,* 64, 70–71; Uspenskij omits to point out that Eremin, *ibid.* 66, 68, 69, specifically refers to Greek sources, including Hamartolus, in dealing with what he calls, *ibid.* 64, the Chronicle's *philosophy of history.* On the notion of divine providence in the Chronicle see Sielicki, "Opatrzność," *passim.*

174 The artistic aspects were largely assimilated directly, see Birnbaum, "Component," 12, although what he means, *idem,* "Rus'," 9, by the statement that the Bulgarian impact did not include the *very essence of the Orthodox faith, its liturgical manifestation and the carefully selected knowledge that went with it* is unclear — the liturgy certainly passed through the Bulgarian prism, where it was enriched by original hymns, see G. Popov, *Произведения, passim.*

175 Lixačev, Литературы, 12–21, and *Развитие,* 23–44, greatly overestimates the supranational aspects of Slavonic literature as the intermediary; see the reactions to the former article by Graševa, Литератури, 62–71; Dujčev, Проблеми, 8–23; Dinekov, Литература, 51–72.

176 Pikio (=Picchio), Мястото, 114; see also *idem,* "Impact," 262.

177 Uspenskij is prone to making assertions such as *the South Slavs played an auxiliary, intermediary role, not an independent one: the orientation was Greek, the written language* (письменность) *Bulgarian, История,* 25, and *Russian literature (written language, education) was at the initial stage nothing more than a copy* (сколок) *made from Byzantine literature, ibid.,* 30. See also his remarks at a round-table held on 24 February 1988, in Kavko, Стол, 30–31. This approach largely ignores Bulgaria's active role in the transmission and hence gives a distorted view of the process.

ans[178] who, abhorring a historical vacuum, seek to fill the silence of the sources by their own unsubstantiated hypothesizing or by recourse to mystifications such as the Joachim Chronicle merely obscure that achievement.

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[178] On this term see note 76.

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West Slavic Elements in the Literary Language of Kievan Rus'

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West Slavic elements in the literary language of Kievan Rus' are usually defined as those lexical items that can be found in East Slavic manuscripts of Czech, strictly speaking Bohemian, derivation written originally in the "Late Old Church Slavonic of Bohemian redaction," as opposed to the "Old Church Slavonic of Moravian redaction." Considered to belong to these are all those lexical items that have a correspondence (or are supposed to have a correspondence) either in (Old) Czech manuscripts or in other manuscripts considered as Late OCS of Bohemian redaction, but not in other texts.

There is another set of lexical elements that have been called Western (rather than West Slavic, but since they are considered "Moravian," then both terms are here identical). These elements are usually designated as "pre-Cyrillo-Methodian" and, as Auty and others[1] showed for several of them, they are certainly loanwords or calques from Old High German or, in some cases, from Latin. Auty named loanwords such as: *mĭša, papežĭ, oplatŭ, poganĭskŭ, prěfacija, rovaniję, vŭsǫdŭ*, and calques such as *neprijaznĭ, vĭsemogŭi, zakonĭnikŭ*, but the number can be easily increased, cf. the loanwords *mŭnixŭ, krĭstiti, olŭtarĭ, popŭ* and the calques *blagosloviti, milosrĭdŭ, věra, věrovati, věrĭnikŭ*, etc.[2]

Some of the words appear in one or more OCS manuscripts, but seem to have been avoided in texts written on the territory of Kievan Rus'; others seem to have disappeared later, since they can be found in East Slavic manuscripts from the same period.

A few examples must suffice: *mŭnixŭ* 'monk' (vs. *monaxŭ*) is current in Old Czech (*mních*) and Old Polish and is well attested in the early literary language of Rus', in the Primary Chronicle and so on. It is very poorly attested in "classical" Old Church Slavonic, since it appears only in the *Euchologium Sinaiticum*, a manuscript containing texts of clearly Western ("Pannonian" or "Moravian") origin. A different case seems to be

[1] Auty 1963, but cf. already Jagić 1913.
[2] Cf. Vincenz 1988.

poganŭ vs. *jazyčĭnikŭ*: the former disappears in the sense of "heathen" and develops a new meaning "bad, etc." This could be due to rivalry between the two synonyms and a subsequent semantic differentiation.[3] We see that a full-scale lexicological study of all these terms would be needed in order to determine more clearly where they came from and what the reasons were for their disappearance.

As far as I could ascertain, the generally accepted opinion is that all these lexical items are "Pannonian" (or "Moravian") terms that came to Kiev from Bulgaria. I have not been able to find any consensus about the reason for their disappearance. Is it certain, however, that all of them came from Bulgaria?

Out of a body of some thirty manuscripts variously (and often quite tentatively) attributed to the Bohemian school, about ten are believed by the followers of the Bohemian theory to have been quite certainly composed (i.e., for the most part translated from the Latin) in Bohemia between the end of the ninth and the end of the eleventh century.[4] Some of the manuscripts in question are believed to have been written in the "Slavic" monastery of Sázava, founded about 1032 and suppressed in 1097. The manuscripts are known exclusively from later transcripts, mostly of East Slavic origin. There are no extant manuscripts of this group written in Sázava or in any other place in Bohemia, either before or after 1032,[5] and the monastery is known only from later Latin sources. The only mention of the supposed Slavic manuscripts in Sázava is contained in the relation about the expulsion of the "Slavic" monks in 1097 and the destruction of their books.

Since there are no contemporary sources and no direct evidence—at any rate none universally accepted—the current opinion appears to be based upon the following assumptions:

(1) The existence of a Cyrillo-Methodian mission to Bohemia and the conversion of the Bohemians (or of some Bohemians) by such a mission.

(2) The existence of Cyrillo-Methodian Christianity, i.e., of the liturgy in OCS in Bohemia between the end of the ninth century and 1032.

(3) The existence of OCS manuscripts written in Bohemia at that time (needless to say, no such manuscripts are extant).

As far as the monastery of Sázava (1032–1097) is concerned, direct evidence is also lacking:

[3] On synonymic rivalry and semantic differentiation, see Ullmann 1959: 112sqq.

[4] Mareš 1974. Cf. also Mareš 1963 and 1979.

[5] Králík 1961; cf. also Večerka 1967.

(1) There are no extant OCS (or Late OCS) manuscripts written in Sázava.
(2) There is no explicit proof of such manuscripts having been written or copied in Sázava.[6]
(3) There is no direct evidence for contacts between Sázava and any monastery on the territory of the Kievan state (the attested cult of SS. Boris and Glěb/Hlib is only indirect evidence).[7]

The followers of the "Bohemian theory" are thus forced to have recourse to indirect evidence in order to prove, above all, the continuity of "Cyrillo-Methodian" Christianity in Bohemia between the fall of Moravia and 1032.

There is a further assumption for the continuity theory, which seems to be taken for granted by most scholars concerned and therefore rarely mentioned, and that is the existence of the Cyrillo-Methodian mission in Moravia. Curiously enough, there is no direct evidence for the stay of this mission in Moravia, if we define Moravia as a country north of the Danube.

This lack of evidence has caused some scholars to reject the continuity of the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition in Bohemia, including the conversion of the country by a Cyrillo-Methodian mission at the end of the ninth century.[8] Other scholars reject also the very existence of the Cyrillo-Methodian mission in Moravia (at least in the usual sense of the latter word) and place Rastislav's and Svętopŭlk's duchy and with it the mission south of the Danube, on the southern Morava river, in the immediate neighborhood of Method's archiepiscopal see, the city of Sirmium in Pannonia.[9]

This question, which is of course of crucial importance for the origin of Old Church Slavonic, has no direct relevance to Kiev and to our problem. So I am going to keep to the accepted opinion on this point and to reject the two other assumptions: the conversion of Bohemia by a Cyrillo-Methodian mission, and a Cyrillo-Methodian continuity there before 1032. This

[6] The *existence* of Slavic manuscripts in Sázava is explicitly confirmed by the later chronicle, which mentions the expulsion of the "Slavic" monks and the dispersion of their books before 1097.

[7] But this is not necessarily evidence for direct contacts, for the cult could have come, for instance, from a Hungarian "Slavic" monastery. Such a monastery existed at that time and we know that the Sázava monks, after their first expulsion, spent a few years in a monastery in Hungary.

[8] See Graus 1966 and the discussion in Večerka 1967.

[9] Boba 1971, Kronsteiner 1982. Rejecting the Moravian assumption of course puts more stringent demands on the alternative theory, since it must provide an alternative explanation for those features of the Kievan Fragments (KF) and the Prague Fragment (PF) which are undoubtedly of West Slavic origin.

working hypothesis should allow us to test the "Bohemian theory" on its own merits.

Let us then have a look at the evidence that has been put forward for the theory, to see whether it forces us to admit the continuity and the Bohemian origin of the manuscripts. We have already said that there is no direct evidence. The indirect evidence invoked by the supporters of the theory is of a double character, linguistic and literary, or this is how the leading exponents of the theory see it.[10]

According to them, the religious (Christian) vocabulary of Czech since the Middle Ages has been "identical" (if we overlook the phonological change) with the OCS religious vocabulary. As Večerka put it in 1967:[11]

> It is literary Czech that gives the linguist the [positive] answer to our question, even though it was not written before the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century, i.e., two centuries after the disparition of the OCS literature in Bohemia. Even after this long interval of time there remained (and there remains today) in literary Czech a clear trace of the old linguistic situation on our territory in the form of an extraordinarily clear unity between the Christian religious terms of Czech and OCS. These are, on the one hand, native terms or terms derived from native stems, such as *blahoslaviti, div, duch (svatý), dušě, Hospodin, hřiech, (po)káti sě, licoměrný, milosrdie, milosrdný, milostivý, modliti sě, modlitva, mučeník, naděje, nebe, nebeský, otpustiti, spas, spásti, svatý, smilovati sě, trojicě, tvořec, (s)tvořiti, učeník, viera, všemohúcí, zpověd', zpoviedati sě, zpovědník, zvoleník* and others, and, on the other hand, terms borrowed from foreign languages, and adapted to Slavic environment such as *póst, postiti sě, pop, sobota, kmotr, kolada, křest, křstíti, křstitel, kříž, mnich, mše, oltář, papež, pohan, prorok* [sic!], and so on. This very striking coincidence between the religious terms of Czech and OCS evidently originated in this way: on the one hand, OCS was partly enriched from the living source [the spoken language?—AV] in the Czech environment (for instance through words taken over from German or through certain borrowings from Latin); on the other hand, however, the Czech religious terms reflect without any possible doubt the OCS terms. Here it is not only the extraordinarily high percentage of terms of the second kind in Czech that matters, but above all their preponderance in the semantic field of religious ideas (whereas the terms of Latin-German origin were used rather in the field of church organization).[. . .] The fact that since the very beginnings of written Czech in the thirteenth century and again in the fourteenth century such a set of elaborate and stable terms appeared proves beyond any doubt that this whole OCS [lexical] stratum had entered spoken Czech as a religious vocabulary and of course in a milieu where this spoken language was to become the basis for the elaboration of written Czech beginning with the end of the thirteenth century: such conditions prevailed only in the very center of written Czech, which was unquestionably in Bohemia and not at all, for instance, in Moravia.

10 Cf. Večerka 1963 and 1967 and Mareš 1974.

11 Večerka 1967: 424–425 (in my own translation).

To sum up the arguments in favor of the "Bohemian theory" as explicitly as possible: the correspondence between the religious vocabulary of Czech and of OCS is proof of the priority of OCS in Bohemia. The only possible explanation of this coincidence is the pre-existence of this vocabulary in Bohemia between its baptism—i.e., the end of the ninth century—and the appearance of written Czech in the thirteenth to fourteenth century.

The convincing part of the argument is the insistence on the fact that the basic religious vocabulary—some one hundred terms altogether, I think[12] —must have been introduced as a whole in what was a well-planned missionary undertaking. The rest is, of course, a *petitio principii* as long as there is no direct evidence for such an undertaking having been carrried out by a Cyrillo-Methodian mission. It is sufficient to try a simple mental experiment—i.e., to replace "OCS" in Večerka's text by "Western Church Slavonic" or something equivalent—to turn his arguments into so many arguments against the Cyrillo-Methodian theory.

But rejecting the conversion of Bohemia by a Cyrillo-Methodian mission is not only a mental experiment, or an argument for argument's sake. Denying the Cyrillo-Methodian influence in Bohemia does not mean that we have to invent an alternative theory relying on late legends and questionable sources, on non-existent manuscripts, missions, and monasteries.

If we reject the continuity theory and the conversion of Bohemia by a Cyrillo-Methodian mission, we find ourselves at once on more solid ground, since we know pretty much, from more or less contemporary evidence, about Western—i.e., Roman missions—among the Slavs. This knowledge starts about 757 A.D., when the Irish bishop of Salzburg, St. Virgil, sent a missionary bishop, St. Modest, as the first historically attested missionary to the Carantanian Slavs. The names of Modest's companions are also attested. We know also the names of the monasteries that were founded before 850 in Carantania and Pannonia, with the explicit task of converting the Slavs. We have direct contemporary evidence for large-scale well-planned Carolingian missionary activity among the Slavs immediately after the victory over the Avars in 796. In that very year a meeting "Ad Ripam Danubii," participants in which were the patriarch of Aquileia, the bishop of Salzburg, and Charlemagne's son Pippin as the king's representative, elaborated a detailed program for converting the recently liberated Slavic and Germanic tribes.[13] The mission to Bohemia was entrusted to the bishop of Regensburg, that to Pannonia to Salzburg and Passau. Although we are

12 See a tentative list in Vincenz 1988: 290–292.

13 The best recent account (with bibliography) appears in Zagiba 1971; cf. also Dvorník 1968 (chapter 3: Western Missions).

much better informed about the Christianization of Pannonia,[14] we do have some direct contemporary evidence about Bohemia as well. In 845 the *Annales Fuldenses* recorded the baptism of fourteen Czech dukes with their retinue in Regensburg[15] (according to the instructions of 796, baptism could be administered only to persons who had been taught the basic truths of the Christian faith in their own language; this baptism presupposes, therefore, a knowledge of the basic Christian vocabulary). Bohemian dukes again appear in Regensburg in 895. This time they are clearly Christians. The whole of Bohemia belonged to the diocese of Regensburg until 972/73. The last two facts are contemporary evidence, but of course indirect evidence only insofar as the earliest mission(s) to Bohemia are concerned.

As for the vocabulary of the Western, Carolingian, missions among the Slavs, we have two other independent witnesses. One of them, the Freising Fragments, consists of three short confessional formulae, written in Latin letters in a manuscript that has been dated at the end of the tenth century or the beginning of the eleventh. These texts are written in something that we might call Western Church Slavonic or Western Old Church Slavonic (WOCS), and they are translations of corresponding Old High German formulae, used by Carolingian missions since about 800 A.D. The Freising Fragments contain about forty out of some one hundred items of the basic Christian vocabulary common to Czech and OCS.

The other independent witness is of a quite different character, but it is just as important. It is the religious vocabulary of the now extinct Polabian or Dravano-Polabian language, recorded in a very fragmentary way during the eighteenth century.[16] Some twenty items are here common with OCS. Here I insist on a fact that deserves to be explicitly stated: such terms as *svęti, grěxŭ, grěšĭnikŭ, nedělja* (and the other names of the week) could not be "invented" independently in two separate places and by two different missions. These twenty terms suffice to prove that the whole of the basic religious vocabulary was introduced here by the Carolingian mission that evangelized this region before 829 A.D.[17] A Cyrillo-Methodian mission at that time and place is out of the question.

If we agree that the basic religious vocabulary was introduced as a whole by the first mission that succeeded in converting an area, then it was Old Church Slavonic that took over the already existing basic Christian terms on

14 This is due to the *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* (cf. Kos 1936, Wolfram 1979).
15 Graus 1969: 7–8.
16 Cf. Olesch 1976.
17 Cf. Vincenz 1988.

arriving in Moravia. This also corresponds to more or less contemporary evidence: the so-called Pannonian legends say quite clearly that the Cyrillo-Methodian mission in Moravia found there a people that was already converted and baptized.

Under the heading "literary evidence" the followers of the Bohemian theory subsume facts that have to do with medieval manuscripts claimed to be of Bohemian origin. These facts might be divided into three categories:
(1) Textual criticism. This has to do as a rule not with content but with linguistic aspects of texts.
(2) Ecclesiastical history, including all sorts of related disciplines such as hagiography, liturgics, etc.
(3) History proper.

There is no need to say anything about historical and ecclesiastical arguments, since some Czech historians have rejected them and proposed different hypotheses to explain the facts. Yet I will quote one example: one of the earliest East Slavic manuscripts considered to belong to the Czech (Bohemian) recension is the so-called first Life of St. Wenceslaus. Now Saint Wenceslaus was of course a Czech (Bohemian) duke and a Czech saint, and information about his life and his martyrdom quite certainly had to come from Bohemia. This does not necessarily mean that the Latin legend of St. Wenceslaus had to be written in the country. In fact, the oldest Latin legend of St. Wenceslaus has been attributed convincingly to St. Emmeram's Abbey in Regensburg,[18] and we know quite positively that the so-called second legend, that by Gumpold, was written in Mantua.

The problem of textual criticism is slightly more complicated. The ordinary use of textual criticism is recovering the original of a text that is extant in later transcripts. A more special use consists in attributing a text whose author is unknown to an author whose text or texts are known. The latter operation demands a comparison of style, syntax, and above all lexical items. The lexical items compared are those that carry the lowest semantic load—preferably particles, conjunctions, and the like—that can be represented statistically in a significant way. Rare items are avoided, for these can be easily borrowed and have no statistical significance. The first condition is, however, to compare one complete text with another, or with a set of complete texts.[19]

This is not the way texts have been used to prove the Czech origin of the East Slavic manuscripts in question. As a rule, isolated words from an East Slavic manuscript have been matched with one or more isolated words from

[18] By Staber 1970.
[19] Cf. Postgate 1949. The Czech term (*textologie*) seems to have broader meaning.

a manuscript of a related content or, most of the time, with isolated words taken from Old Czech manuscripts, dating from the fourteenth or the fifteenth century, and thus younger by some four to five centuries than the supposed age of the original text.

This sort of fortuitous coincidence does not prove anything. The fact that, for instance, an East Slavic manuscript from the fourteenth to fifteenth century, seemingly at least in part of Western origin,[20] contains three or four lexical items, which cannot be found in Sreznevskij but are found in fifteenth century or later Czech does not prove that the text is of Czech origin. Two examples must suffice. The text has *otčenaš pojušče v nedospěx*, translating *et cum intentione (injectione) dicat Pater noster*. The author observes that (later) Church Slavonic has *dospěx* only in the meaning *scutum* (Miklosich) or *vooruženije* (Sreznevskij). He translates *vnedospěx* 'nespěšně' ("without haste"), which may be the meaning in more or less modern Czech, but finds no support in Old Czech, where *nedospěch* means "hesitation," etc., and is, by the way, poorly attested.[21] Another example,[22] from the same text: *ašte kto rečetĭ doždĭ idet, da poklon 100*. The author observes that *déšč jde, déšč jdieše, šel jest déšč* is frequently attested in Old Czech. In such cases it might be useful also to have some knowledge of modern Ukrainian or Russian, independently from a syntagma's attestation or non-attestation in Sreznevskij's dictionary. These two examples and one case of *toli* 'and', considered to be Czech, because it is frequent in the "Old Slavonic" translation of Gumpold,[23] are deemed sufficient evidence for the text having been translated by a Czech in the tenth or eleventh century.

20 Vašica, 1960, cf. pp. 37–39 (*v nedospěx*), 39 (*spovědati*, which is not a case of lexical influence; the prefix *s-* might be considered a phonological or a morphological influence, but *spovidaty* is also Ukrainian, and *spavjadac'*, Belorussian; *grěsi glavnii* need not be of Bohemian origin (since it is a literal translation of *peccata capitalia*), and so on.

21 Gebauer s.v. *nedospěch* (one quotation only). Sreznevskij (s.v. *dospěx*) has, however, one quotation for *dospěx* from the Novgorod I Chronicle, which does not seem to have the meaning "armor." Vašica (38–39) observes that Linde's *Słownik języka polskiego* (1807: I, 503) has only one example for *niedośpiech*, which "penetrated there unquestionably from Czech," and himself quotes two examples from Jungmann's *Slowník česko-německý* (1835: I, 438). One of these is from Hanka, the other's source is given as L. Opp. A look at Jungmann's list of abbreviations permits us to resolve *Opp.* as *oppositum* (*nedospěch* <—> *dospěch*) and L. as Linde. This sort of philological accuracy speaks for itself. The most surprising thing, however, is that Linde's quotation comes from the Polish translation of the *Statut Litewski*, a text written in sixteenth-century Church Slavonic of Belorussian redaction, which might mean, after all, that *nedospěx*, whatever its meaning, was known in East Slavic.

22 Vašica 1960: 42–43.

23 Sreznevskij notes five examples for *toli* 'and, and then' (*potom, i, da, a*) from manuscripts of the eleventh to thirteenth century.

What I mean is that texts written in Old Church Slavonic or in later Church Slavonic may contain lexical items that were at that time common to all Slavic languages (in the sense in which Lunt speaks of Late Common Slavic), but are not necessarily attested everywhere at that time. The later development may have led to different meanings in different languages (or branches of languages), and the old common meaning may be preserved in one of them only. This is, of course, a principle that is well known to anybody who has had to do with historical lexicology. It means, however, that comparing isolated lexical items does not prove anything.

There are two types of *systematic* correspondence between some East Slavic manuscripts of supposedly Bohemian origin and Czech texts from the fourteenth to fifteenth century. One of them has to do with the fact that both sets of texts were translated from Latin. A word like Latin *vicus*, which has two meanings ("street"; "township or village"), can also be translated by a synomym for the second meaning in a context that clearly indicates it.[24] This does not prove that, for instance, *ulica* ever had the meaning "township" in Czech. It proves that the translator knew that *ulica* was the Czech (Croatian, etc., or generally "Late Common Slavic") equivalent of *vicus* and that he used that equivalent whatever the context.[25]

The other type of correspondence consists of lexical items that are common to Old Czech and to OCS, like *papež, mnix*, and the like. This proves only that the text was translated somewhere where WOCS was known, or perhaps, more cautiously still, where such items were known.

We can conclude that there is neither direct nor indirect evidence for the existence of any OCS (Late OCS) writing in Bohemia[26] between the fall of Moravia and the founding of the monastery in Sázava.

One great shortcoming of the continuity theory, and the real *coup de grâce* for the theory of the Bohemian origin of the "Western" manuscripts in the Kievan State, is, however, something different: this is the lack of any plausible motive for the "export" of those manuscripts to Kiev. As far as I can see, no representative of the Bohemian theory has ever put forth the question of the motives for this "export." The generally accepted opinion

24 Cf. Reinhart 1980: 77.

25 A persistent use of a lexical item X in a context Y. . .Y can, of course, result, in the long run, in the development of a second meaning, and this might be one way in which loan-translations come into being. Cf. Betz 1957: 50–52 for an interesting example of this in ninth-century German translations from Latin.

26 The two OCS or Late OCS texts that show clear traces of West Slavic origin (KF and PF) cannot be dated with certainty after the end of the Moravian period (KF) or before 1032 (PF). If we reject the third assumption, the question might be different, but this need not concern us here.

offers clear and unquestionable motives for the supposed export of Bulgarian manuscripts to Kiev. There are equally clear motives for Croatian manuscripts (and indeed, Croatian monks) coming to Prague in the fourteenth century. If we accept the supposition (for it is hardly anything more) that St. Procop founded the monastery in Sázava after a stay in an East Slavic monastery (e.g., in Kiev), then this would explain the "import" of the cult of SS. Boris and Glěb/Hlib to Sázava at the end of the eleventh century, but hardly the "export" of Western "goods" to Kiev.[27]

The choice of Sázava by the followers of the Bohemian theory seems to have been dictated in part by the necessity of finding at least one fixed point in a sea of indirect evidence and pure conjecture. But this fixed point has been looked for in a curiously nineteenth- and twentieth-century perspective as far as the cultural, ecclesiastical, and linguistic landscape of Central Europe is concerned. Between, let us say, 950 and 1032 there are other areas where the combination of Roman Church presence and Slavic linguistic surroundings is not only possible, but actually attested, i.e., where the Roman rite was combined with para-liturgical activity in what might be called (a Western dialect of) Late Common Slavic. After 796 the most important centers of this para-liturgical activity were certainly Salzburg and Regensburg. As late as 968 we know that the Regensburg monk Boso, described as having written down God's word in "Slavonic," was ordained bishop of Merseburg.

It is also difficult to admit that Magdeburg, elevated in the same year to an archbishop's see with the explicit task of converting the Western Slavs east of the Elbe, should not have been equipped with a Slavonic scriptorium. Magdeburg took over some dioceses that had been dependent on Mayence until then. Its first archbishop, Adalbert, came from the West, and had been ordained in Mayence.[28] He had, moreover, led a legation to Kiev in 961. We see that there are enough candidates for the place where a Latin life of St. Wenceslaus could have been composed and translated. I am not going to speculate about these, although it might be added that another possible candidate is Croatia.[29]

27 An Eastern-rite monastery in Bohemia in 1032 might have been less shocking to Western clergy than some adherents of the Bohemian theory seem to think. On the relations between the Eastern and Western church in the tenth and the first half of the eleventh century, see below.

28 About Mayence and the Western mission among the Slavs, cf. Vincenz 1988: 283–284 and Vincenz forthcoming.

29 Thomson 1983 adds two more: Bulgaria and the Slavic monasteries of Mount Athos. I thank W. Veder, Nijmegen, for having drawn my attention to this study.

The crucial question is, however: what was the purpose of translating those texts? Who was their addressee? Could they have been translated for purely homiletic purposes, to be used by missionaries while preaching to the not-yet-converted Transelbian Slavs? The adherents of the Bohemian theory have never put this question explicitly. Their implicit suggestion seems to be that this was done out of Slavic sympathy or out of a feeling of Slavic unity, which is a respectable (or at any rate acceptable) reason for the second half of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century, but not exactly in the tenth. The only serious explanation seems, in my view, to be that the translation was done for missionary purposes (and, after all, there *were* some Western missions in Kiev).

Let me add a word about a claim that has played a certain role in the argument about the Cyrillo-Methodian continuity of Sázava and about its being founded without any precedent—i.e., without any predecessors—in 1032. Večerka[30] stresses the fact that the survival of a Slavonic liturgy in Bohemian is easier to conceive than its sudden introduction in the eleventh century during a period of tensions between East and West. But these tensions should not be exaggerated. Slavonic (WOCS) was admitted as a para-liturgical language, since it was indispensable for the conversion of the heathen.[31] On the other hand, as Francis Dvorník has shown, even in 1054 nobody considered the break to be final. The years between 972 and 988, or 1002, witnessed an influx of Greek monks into all the important centers of the Holy Roman Empire, from Rome to Aix-la-Chapelle, Trier, etc. This was, after all, the epoch of Otto II, whose wife was Theophano, and of Otto III, whose mother Theophano was (as well as regent during his minority).

That there was no principal opposition against para-liturgical texts in Slavonic is shown by the existence of the manuscript of the Freising Fragments, copied at the very end of the tenth century in Bavaria. At any rate, an explanation pointing in this direction seems to me to be based on a greater number of facts and a lesser amount of weak circumstantial evidence than the continuity theory and the Bohemian theory of the origin of those texts.

What I have attempted to say is that linguistic evidence forces us to admit the Western origin of the basic religious vocabulary, common to the *Slavia Orthodoxa* and the Slavic-speaking "Latins." There is simply no other possibility to account for those twenty items of the religious vocabu-

30 Večerka 1963: 230.
31 Cf. W. Swoboda, *SSS*. vol. 7, s.v. "Chrystianizacja Słowian."

lary of Dravano-Polabian.[32] I must leave it to historians to analyze the sources and to find the place where such texts were or could have been translated into OCS or, if this should not be possible, to give us at least a convincing picture of the surroundings in which the Western missions to the Slavs worked. A genius equal to Father Dvorník's is needed to do that. Father Dvorník was a Roman Catholic, so perhaps one day an Orthodox scholar might give us a book on the Western missions among the Slavs.

To conclude, let me pose a few questions concerning the OCS vocabulary of Western origin in the literary language of Kievan Rus' and especially the role of such words as *mŭnixŭ, mĭša, poganĭskŭ* (Auty), some of which, at least, also appear in later Kievan manuscripts.

The important questions, then, are:

(1) Did they really come through OCS manuscripts from the Balkans?

(2) If they were eliminated consciously in Bulgaria, as they seem to have been, why and how were they received in Kiev?

(3) What caused their elimination in Kiev afterwards?

(4) Or was all this purely accidental, because nobody cared what the origin of a sacred text might be as long as it was (more or less) sacred?

Answering such questions might help to clarify the problem of the origin of the texts or the lexical items (and *vice versa*, perhaps). In either case, it might serve as a preliminary to a final question: What were the relations between Western (Slavic) elements in the language, the Western manuscripts, and the Western missions in Kiev before and after Volodimer's baptism?

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32 See Vincenz 1988 for a short discussion of these items.

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TRANSMISSION OF THE LITERARY LANGUAGE AND CULTURE: II

The Language of Rus' in the Eleventh Century: Some Observations about Facts and Theories

HORACE G. LUNT

For a celebration of events of the year 988, one might hope for a discussion of the language of Kiev and other centers of Rus' in the tenth century. However, it is well known that the oldest manuscripts and graffiti date from the eleventh century. More specifically, the oldest dated Slavic manuscript from any region is the Ostromir Gospel, produced — probably in Kiev — in 1056–57 for the governor (посадьникъ) of Novgorod. Our reasonably solid basis for discussing the language of old Rus' starts, therefore, in the mid-eleventh century.[1]

History entails change. *A priori*, one expects the language of one century to differ somewhat from that of the preceding and following centuries. Examination of the real texts (taking into account the dates our manuscripts were written down) reveals precisely what we expect: there is continual change. Surely the initial period, up to c1150 or c1200,[2] shows a language with full-fledged syllabic jers (ъ/ь) and therefore still a Late Common Slavic dialect.[3] Yet the morphemic restructuring aptly termed the jer-

[1] In this paper I present my assumptions and conclusions with only minimal attention to more traditional views, for I am summarizing points I have discussed in detail elsewhere (as will be indicated in notes). To highlight some major issues, I have attempted in Appendix 4 to formulate specific points of view that are widespread in the literature, and juxtapose alternate proposals I find more satisfactory. The order of items, and the suggested division into hypotheses and corollaries, is only one of many possibilities. The list and the precise wording of each item are intended only as stimuli to focus discussion around crucial points of controversy.

[2] Here, and in Appendix 4, I am purposely giving over-precise dates in order to focus the discussion; I urge readers not to take the dating too literally, but at the same time to think seriously about how we can meaningfully delimit periods that *should* be delimited.

[3] Late ComSl is assumed to encompass the divergent development of Middle ComSl **tj/*dj*, the "liquid diphthongs," and some less pervasive features, developments of the 8th-10th centuries. MCoS is the conventional stage ordinarily written in etymological dictionaries, and I date it after c650. Early ComSl (which need not concern us here) I put in the 6th century (cf.

shift[4] and agreed by many scholars to be the final phonological change common to all Slavic dialects, affected the vernaculars of Rus' during this period;[5] on its completion the language of Rus' definitively begins a life separate from South or West Slavic.[6] During the twelfth century, dialect features begin to appear,[7] but the split into three languages (Ukrainian, Belorussian, Russian) that can be discerned after c1500 is slow to develop. Unfortunately, historians of Russian culture tend to see everything before 1700 as belonging to one era.[8] This inevitably leads to anachronisms and other types of confusion because scholars jumble elements of one system incoherently with elements of other systems.

Lunt 1985 "Slavs," 1984–5 "Comm. Sl."). Phonological changes c750–c950 were gradual and had relatively minor effects on the total system.

4 This is Alexander Issatschenko's term for the traditional *loss of the jers*.

5 Unlike the previous (and some contemporary) changes, the jer-shift radically affected the phonological, and in important ways also the morphological, system of all dialects. The significant local restructuring determined in large part the divergent developments in different regions and the emergence of new languages.

6 The adjective *Rusian* will be used (as an equivalent of *древнерусский*) to refer to the language and culture of early Rus'. The jer-shift allows us to posit *Early Rusian*, still LCoSl, and then *later Rusian* (cf. Zaliznjak's terms раннедревнерусский and позднедревнерусский, 100), when the stage is set, so to speak, for the subsequent elaboration of new local systems. Whatever terminology one uses, it is important to subdivide the initial period of the history of Russian to allow for the fundamental differences that are discernable between the stage implied by the earliest evidence c1050 and what can be observed for c1300. Failure to provide a subdivision here is, I maintain, a major flaw in many histories of Russian, including Uspenskij 1987.

7 An exception is the peripheral northern dialect of Novgorod with its special combination of archaism (e.g. no effects of second regressive palatalization) and innovation (e.g. 'cokanie'), now more clearly visible in the late 11th-century birchbark documents (Zaliznjak) and early graffiti (Medynceva 1987).

8 Hence, for example, the lamentable mingling of historically heterogeneous materials in the *Словарь русского языка XI-XVII в.*, cf. my reviews, 1976, 1979. Many of the authors cited in this article illustrate their hypotheses by examples taken indiscriminately from various centuries. Thus Alekseev (5–10) presents, on absolutely equal footing, citations from the *Stoglav* (16th c.), a text of c1165 in a 13th-c. copy, a gramota of 1392, citations from the Повесть временных лет s.a. 1071 (in the 1377 copy), Ludolf (1696), the Ukrainian Zizanij (1627; this example is labelled "запоздалый"), and allusions to 988 and Aleksej Mixajlovič (with the admission that the 17th century marks the breakdown of the "Old Russian situation"). Equally dangerous is disregard of region (as Shevelov cautions), a methodological fault that is particularly frequent when 15th-17th-century texts are discussed. For example, Uspenskij 64 cites the Ukrainian Ivan Vyšens'kyj, who is discussing questions of dealing with vernacular Ukrainian and the local varieties of Slavonic c1610, as though the problems are identical with those of Rusian stylistics before 1400. The terms "древнерусский" or (as, e.g., with Alekseev and Uspenskij) even "русский," are used when, for linguistic as well as geographical reasons, "староукраинский" or "среднеукраинский"—or even the old neutral term "западнорусский"—would be more appropriate.

Returning to the evidence, we may speculate that certain manuscripts and some inscriptions from Kiev's St. Sophia cathedral may be slightly older than the Ostromir Gospel, and yet there is little reason to believe that the Slavs of Rus' made systematic use of writing before the middle of the eleventh century. Perhaps it is best to put the significant spread of written culture slightly earlier, taking the year 1037 as the symbolic date. 1037 was selected by the chronicler as the appropriate annalistic entry for lauding the piety, learning, and generosity of the Great Prince Jaroslav Volodimerovič, "the Wise." We are not, of course, to assume that before 1037 there was no cultural activity under Jaroslav, but rather to understand that the chroniclers of the 1070s and subsequent decades knew only a tradition that associated the beginning of formal schooling and the spread of the Slavonic rite[9] with Jaroslav's church-building and general philanthropic activity in the peaceful period starting in 1037 (cf. Lunt 1988 "1037"). I submit that the surviving evidence fits this chronology very nicely. If we assume that 1037 marks the beginning of large-scale Christian cultural activity, the details of the language of the Ostromir Gospel and all other written sources can be put into a plausible framework with what preceded and what followed; it relates them on the one hand to the Old Church Slavonic culture that began in Constantinople and/or Central Europe in 863 and continued through the Bulgarian Empire in the tenth century, and on the other hand to the subsequent development of East Slavic writings in the twelfth century and later. But what about language and writing in the tenth century?

Many scholars have simply taken for granted that the existence of Old Church Slavonic before 900 inevitably meant that some form of written Slavic must have been in use among East Slavs long before Volodimer's official baptism in 988. Thus, the texts of the treaties between Oleg and the Byzantines recorded in the PVL under the years 911 and 912 have been cited to prove that Oleg's envoys were literate, with the implication that writing must have been known even earlier. The more detailed treaty of 945 between Prince Igor' and Emperor Romanus (Lav., col. 54, Hyp., col. 42) mentions "Christian Rus'" among Igor's Varjags and even a cathedral church (сборная црки) in Kiev. Christianity requires books; therefore, the argument runs, the books of the Christian Rus' must have been Slavic (presumably Old Church Slavonic). In any case, Slavic Christian writing must have been used after the conversion of Princess Olga, which the

[9] The term *Slavonic* is used here to refer (1) to the written language of Orthodox culture that goes back to the Old Church Slavonic whose establishment is attributed to the Moravian Mission of Constantine-Cyril and his brother Methodius, 863–885, and (2) to the culture associated with that language and its immediate descendants.

chronicle puts in 955. Two of Volodimer's wives were Czechs; surely they were Christians of the Slavonic rite and would have brought some Slavonic books with them to Rus'.[10]

With this background, traditional scholarship has gone on to assume that Volodimer's enforcement of baptism and the official installation of Christianity through the Land of Rus' unquestionably meant the establishment of the Slavonic rite, using books presumably imported from Bulgaria. The children of noble families were torn from their mothers, who lamented for them as though they had died, to be sent to study the scriptures (**на ученье книжное**, Lav. col. 118–19, Hyp. col. 103). If Volodimer indeed established schools[11] and these schools taught Slavic, and if the many churches established by Volodimer used the Slavonic rite, as is stated or implied by most standard textbooks, why is it that we have no texts that can plausibly be dated within the half-century immediately after 988?[12]

The answer, surely, is that Volodimer's conversion was strictly supervised by Greeks, and that the churches in Rus' remained firmly under Greek ecclesiastical direction and control. It is perfectly possible that some parishes used Slavonic (and probable that some used Latin and perhaps Armenian and other languages with venerable traditions), but no evidence has survived. The treaties possibly reflect the activities of Bulgarian scribe-translators, but the matter is unclear. For practical purposes, the official introduction of a Slavic written language came with Jaroslav's initiative sometime about 1037.

Some Soviet scholars continue to argue that Slavic writing was widely used in Rus' before 988.[13] The pitifully meager evidence has been much discussed.[14] Thus the notorious amphora unearthed in a Gnezdovo barrow

[10] The "Bulgarian" mother of Boris and Gleb might have been a Christian from the Balkans, but it seems more likely from the general context of Volodimer's reign that she came from the Volga Bulgars; there is no evidence either way. See F. Thomson, 1988/1989, note 110.

[11] The parallel tale from the Syriac chronicler John of Ephesus (cf. Ševčenko, note 59) allows us to suspect that the schools are one of the details added by the chronicler to pad out his unsatisfactorily thin information about the events.

[12] The arguments for dating the *Putjata Menaion* to the first half of the eleventh century (Roždestvenskaja 1987 40, Osipov 56) are extraordinarily weak; it is a conservative manuscript from close to 1100.

[13] Fedot P. Filin industriously propagated these views in the 1970s in a series of works—rich in imaginative assertions, but poor in evidence—that are frequently cited by Soviet scholars, e.g. by Rusanivs'kyj and Nimčuk, and Rusinov.

[14] As Simon Franklin remarks in his perceptive survey of recent works, the "preoccupation with 'prebaptismal' literacy is symbolic rather than essential," for in fact nobody has really "imagined that Vladimir's conversion was absolutely the first and only stimulus for the appearance of writing" in Rus', 1987 416. Litavrin, in an otherwise stimulating proposal that serious literacy came to Rus' only after the defeat of Samuel's armies in Bulgaria, i.e. 1018–37, unquestioningly accepts all the enthusiastic claims for the *necessity* of writing starting in the

in 1949 with its cryptic Cyrillic inscription has spawned a small library of speculative hypotheses and hasty generalizations. The burial with which the amphora was associated was first dated to the beginning of the tenth century, then revised to about 950, and then again put back to the early estimate (cf. Medynceva 1984 50) — the dating cannot be regarded as fully reliable.[15] As to the meaning, one general line of reading is to construct some sort of form signifying 'mustard' (to fit the OCS adjectival form гороушьно/горюшьно, which twice is spelled гороущьно in the Archangelsk Gospel of 1092), but the letter-shapes cannot be tortured into any plausible equivalents of a reasonable phonetic word — and it is unclear whether mustard was carried or stored in such amphoras. A second kind of guess is a participle or adjective related to *gorěti* 'to burn' which would mean 'flammable' and denote 'oil (for lamps)'; the modern горючее 'fuel' has no parallel before 1550 in East Slavic, and again it is unclear whether oil was transported in this kind of amphora.[16] Most probable is Roman Jakobson's reading, гороуňа, a possessive adjective from the name Гороунъ, thus 'belonging to Gorun' and referring to a probable кърчага 'amphora'.[17] This reading takes care of all and only the marks that constitute the inscription, and it requires only that we allow the "softness diacritic" on the letter N to have a shape that is not attested elsewhere.[18] Whatever its meaning, this inscription cannot be accepted as proof of general use of written Slavic in the Smolensk region before 950.

The relatively frequent finds of objects identified as styluses (писала in medieval East Slavic sources) in ninth- to eleventh-century-sites has given rise to broad claims for East Slavic literacy before 988, but Medynceva

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early 900s, claims convincingly countered by Franklin's data and reasoning.

15 Thus Xaburgaev 1988b 16 puts the inscription into the 980s: the "10th century (the epoch of the official baptism)".

16 Avdusin, the original discoverer of the amphora, is vague about the question of where such a vessel may have been made (apparently favoring some Black Sea region—where, however, no Slavs are to be expected; 1970 113), and about the storage or transportation of mustard seed, but he argues against oil (1970 112).

17 Gorun may have been the owner of the amphora or the potter who made it. Jakobson's succinct but comprehensive treatment of all pertinent aspects of this inscription (especially the parallels in 1952/71 fn. 6) remains unknown to Soviet readers, though his reading is occasionally mentioned. The archeologist Avdusin, for example, dismisses Jakobson simply by stating his preference for a 'mustard' reading (1970 111); his off-hand paragraph obviously did not encourage readers like Medynceva to investigation Jakobson's idea further.

18 Medynceva's suggestion (1983 94; 1984 50) that the inscription represents an example of the archaic Slavic "неустроенное письмо" amounts to allowing that anything was possible. Whether this vessel was a local product or imported seems to be unclear; its presence in the barrow in a necropolis at a crossways of trade routes does not, *pace* Medynceva 1983 93, tie it to a *local* Slavic population. She is correct in emphasizing the uniqueness of this inscription; no parallels at all have come to light.

(1983) commendably points out that such instruments (apparently for incising wax tablets) cannot be connected with Slavic, as opposed to runic or other kinds of writing systems, and that indeed archeologists are not sure whether some of the objects did not have some quite different function.

Far more convincing are the fragmentary inscriptions on five of seven hollow wooden cylinders unearthed in Novgorod between 1951 and 1980. Janin has identified the cylinders as devices for sealing bags of furs or other valuables to ensure that they will reach their destination intact. Not all of the short inscriptions are satisfactorily deciphered, but it is plausible to assume that they indicate the owner and value of the materials sealed with the help of the cylinders. Yet even if we accept the dating of two of the objects to the decade before 988, this still does not mean that the use of Cyrillic writing was widespread during Volodimer's lifetime, and it is far from affirming systematic writing in diplomacy and trade (*pace* Medynceva 1984 59).

Another venerable argument is the Cyrillic inscriptions on coins issued by Volodimer and his son Svjatopolk. These coins show that these rulers wished to demonstrate their power in the economic as well as the political sphere, but the inscriptions are no proof at all that the language was the official medium of administration.[19] After all, Mieszko I of Poland issued coins with Hebrew inscriptions in the tenth century, but no one claims that the Piasts ever used Hebrew for any other purpose.[20]

A major factor in our speculations about early Rus' and its culture must be the extraordinarily rapid growth and change which began somewhat after 850. New excavations and careful reassessments of old finds show without doubt that the Kiev region at that moment was a borderland zone, with no real center and no definitely princely site, inhabited by fewer than two hundred people. Yet toward the end of the century, in the span of a couple of generations, there was tremendous change in economic, social, and political terms, so that toward the middle of the tenth century a completely new

[19] The seal of Svjatoslav Igorevič (†972) adds nothing to our knowledge of writing in prebaptismal Rus'. *Pace* Uspenskij 24 there is no reason to posit a princely chancellery until Jaroslav's time at the earliest, much less official scribes who wrote Slavonic.

[20] It seems plausible to attribute to the pre-Christian king (963–992) the coins with Hebrew inscriptions, *Mieszko, king of Poland* or *Mieszko, duke* (mška krl polski משקא קרל פולסקי; mška dukus משקא דוכוס, Zakrzewski 75), but some scholars argue for Mieszko III (1173–1202), cf. Baron 218–19 with n. 58, pp. 388–89; Gumowski 17. As for the Cyrillic inscription болеславъ on coins attributed to Bolesław the Brave (992–1025), though it tells us nothing about an official state language during the reign of this powerful prince, it might affirm a token knowledge of Cyrillic in Rus' from c1018 (probably in the western zone of "Red Rus'"), cf. Kiersnowski. On the other hand, perhaps they were minted for this same area by Bolesław II in the 1070s: the question is open.

framework of human society developed.[21] Not long after 900 the population was already to be numbered in the thousands, and a brisk trade was being conducted with the East, the Volga Bulgars, and especially Byzantium. By about 950 there was a complex new social milieu, with a clearly polyethnic society, a princely class, architects, master builders, craftsmen of many types, and probably even clergymen. The rate of growth continued or even increased, so that at the time of Volodimer's conversion Kiev presented an assemblage of monumental architecture unparalleled in Eastern Europe north of Cherson. Although it continued to attract craftsmen and merchants from elsewhere (e.g. the declining towns of the former Khazar dominions), Kiev by 1000 was less obviously a polyethnic center; the newcomers of a generation or two before were losing their most salient ethnic characteristics. From the beginning, the majority was apparently Slavic, and it would seem that other groups assimilated to increase the Slavic component of the populace as a whole.[22]

Similarly, in 900 Novgorod hardly existed at all, but by 950 it was a flourishing urban trade center whose polyethnic society continued its rapid improvement for the next century. There too we may assume a large Slavic component from the beginning, and the absorption of many members of other ethnic groups as the city and its influence grew.[23]

These tumultuous changes culminated finally in the polities of the early twelfth century, which had taken on forms familiar from Byzantium, although of course with local variants. In attempting to reconstruct the various stages of development, we must allow that in the earlier periods the society was one which had little use for writing. Then, gradually, the need was felt for keeping accounts in some fashion, and the cylindrical seals and

[21] The belief that Kiev was a city, the "center of the land of Rus'," as early as c500 (e.g. Rusanivs'kyj and Nimčuk; Trubačev, 259) is not supported by archeological evidence; see Callmer 1981, Mezentsev, Mocja 1979, Mühle, and in particular Callmer 1988.

[22] The polyethnic multilingual society was probably served by at least two lingua francas, one Scandinavian and one East Slavic, and very likely also a third, Turkic. The triumph of Slavic, finally assured by the eventual establishment of written Slavonic, was so complete that it obliterated virtually all traces of the hypothetical non-Slavic languages.

[23] Assimilation of speakers of other languages fosters the development of an urban koiné, as a rule, favoring the leveling of dialect variations in the speech of the dominant group—here the East Slavs. Continual movement of populations and individuals to and from not only centers like Kiev and Novgorod but outlying settlements is attested in our written sources and confirmed in detail by archeology. Thus, for example, an outpost on the southern frontier, near modern Žovnyno (on the Sula a few miles north of the Dnepr), was inhabited in the early 1100s by newcomers from among the Balts, Sever, Radmiči, Kriviči, and the Poljane, see Mocja 1983. This kind of multiethnic settlement is precisely the sort of community where a compromise dialect is likely to emerge within a couple of generations (cf. Lunt 1985 "Slavs").

the coins show that writing with the Cyrillic alphabet could be used.[24] Yet this still does not mean that even the official installation of Christianity in Rus' brought about the immediate introduction of systematic written communications and records for administrative or state purposes.[25] The results of the spectacular expansion of learning can be observed by c1120, but it is methodologically wrong to project them back to c1020. If we assume that the efforts to use writing beyond the narrow sphere of church books and perhaps administration began in the 1050s, then the kind of standardized language used for all sorts of purposes about 1100 is entirely explicable. It was Christianity in the garb of the Slavonic rite, with books imported from the former territory of the Bulgarian Empire, and also surely from Bohemia and possibly from Croatia, that formed the basis of the new written culture of Rus'.

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Scholarly tradition for two hundred years has taken it for granted that Slavonic and Russian are, and always have been, different languages. The fact that texts regularly employ forms whose shape is flawless OCS (**градъ** or **брѣгъ** or **хощєтє**) side by side with forms displaying certain East Slavic features (**городъ, берегъ, хоѵєтє**), and that in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the former were defined specifically as Slavonic[26] and/or solemn, elevated style, has *invariably been interpreted* as a linguistic dualism imposed on Rus' from the moment OCS books were brought by Christians, whether before or after 988. Ordinarily two quite distant systems are posited, (a) South Slavic, ecclesiastical, foreign book-language, versus (b) East Slavic, all-purpose native vernacular mother-tongue. Yet scholars who have become familiar with the texts of early Rus' inevitably sense a unity of language that somehow transcends the obvious variation. Many of the studies about Rusian literature before c1400 or Russian and Ukrainian literature c1400–c1750 are attempts to reconcile the aprioristic two-language dogma with the holistic insight that medieval writers were not bothered by the apparently contradictory elements. In the face of the evidence

[24] We may also assume that runic writing was used by some Scandinavians (and perhaps Turkic speakers), Hebrew by Jewish (and/or Khazar) traders, and Arabic or Persian by still other merchants.

[25] Xaburgaev 1988b is commendably sober about pre-988 evidence for writing.

[26] *Old (Church) Slavonic* refers specifically to the language of a small group of texts (whose make-up varies somewhat; my list is more restrictive than that of some other scholars, cf. Lunt 1974) and to hypothetical texts written before about 1025 in the Bulgarian Empire or in Moravia and Bohemia. Linguistically modified copies of these old texts are termed simply *Slavonic*, with appropriate modifiers as needed; thus the early East Slavic copies (and original works imitating this language) are Rusian Slavonic, while copies and texts of later centuries may be called Muscovite Slavonic, south Ukrainian Slavonic, and the like.

traditionally interpreted as implying that literate East Slavs must—by definition—have been bilingual, Russian scholars have nonetheless shied away from the label *bilingualism.*

Since 1950, the availability of tape recorders has allowed linguists to record real language as used in real situations. Massive studies of linguistic communities in Asia and Africa (as well as Europe and America) have revealed incredibly complex variations of bilingualism (and multilingualism). Moreover, as communities that had hitherto been without literacy (or had used some foreign system) have demanded their own written languages, practical considerations about alphabets and standardization have pushed investigators to work out refined theoretical models for classifying the new facts—in particular to define kinds and degrees of bilinguism. One result was a new concept: *diglossia.*

The major features of diglossia are (1) the concurrent use of two related but objectively different linguistic systems within a single speech community, and (2) the perception of speakers that this complex code is a single system, a single "language." A usual concomitant is that the variants are perceived as "good/pure" = *high* and "bad/undesirable" = *low*; written forms of language ordinarily approximate the high variant and the vernacular forms the low.[27] This framework seemed tailor-made for the linguistic situation in Rus', and in 1973 Boris A. Uspenskij suggested how it might be applied.[28] A decade later he presented a far more elaborate scheme (1983) that was approved by a few (e.g. Hüttl-Folter, Seeman, Straxov) but rejected by many. Indeed, two slim volumes, one produced in Moscow (Žukovskaja) and one in Leningrad (Kolesov), were largely devoted to objections.[29] As Worth remarked about earlier literature on the origins of

[27] The religious factor is paramount in the case of Arabic and Greek diglossia; the written usage holds to centuries-old traditions, while the spoken common language (which varies regionally) has changed in fundamental ways and constitutes a new system or systems. In Czech, the gap between speech and writing was created when the linguistic legislators c1800 consciously reached back to the literature of the 16th century, thus establishing patterns that had gone out of use in Bohemia in the 1700s. For modern Czech, however, the dichotomy is "high/correct" versus "low/inappropriate"; the average educated person does not perceive most of the choices as involving archaism versus relatively new features.

[28] The notion was accepted with enthusiasm by Alexander Issatschenko, Gerta Hüttl (-Worth)-Folter, and K. D. Seeman, among others; for the literature to 1978, see Worth. Of these, only Worth paid attention to the considerations mentioned in the previous note; he concluded that *diglossia* in Ferguson's original complex definition is not suitable for the situation in medieval Russia.

[29] For hyperpatriotic Russians, who insist that from the beginning a "Russian literary langage" existed, in opposition to the borrowed Slavonic, the proposal that early Rus' was diglossic is particularly repugnant, since the borrowed, sacred Slavonic must be defined as high style, while the native vernacular dialects occupy the status of low style. That anything "Russian" could possibly be "low" is, in this view, unthinkable.

the Russian "literary" language, "some of this is amusing, some is sad, but all in all very little is new" (1978 371); most of it is sterile theorizing.[30]

The chief obstacle to progress is the sheer weight of tradition. The long lists of quotations from earlier scholarship (e.g. in Gorškov and Rusinov) lead at best to slight modifications of old definitions, but certain key assumptions are monotonously reiterated: (1) OCS and eleventh-century East Slavic are genetically related but fundamentally different languages; (2) the East Slavs had a long tradition of oral "literary texts"—some of these must have been written down as soon as systematic writing became available; (3) topics and therefore written genres were necessarily *either* religious *or* secular; (4) early East Slavic writing must have included pure native language texts in clear distinction to pure OCS texts, with an intermediate spectrum of mixed language. These propositions are untenable.

First, all the evidence, I maintain, is strongly against (1): the dialects of Bulgaria and Rus' were obviously different but linguistically very close. The southern dialect features were no hinderance to easy communication, and some of the most striking ones were quite acceptable to the East Slavs for purposes of writing. Samenesses at every structural level—phonological, morphological, syntactic, lexical—overwhelmingly outnumber differences. *OCS and early Rusian were variant forms of a single language.*[31] To assume that they were two languages is anachronistic, for it

[30] Perhaps most amusing and at the same time sad is the accusation (Rusinov 47–8, fn. 25) that Uspenskij and Hüttl-Folter continue the political and ideological traditions of the ninth-century "trilingual heretics" (треязычники) who persecuted Cyril and Methodius. Rusinov's terminology for judging contemporary scholars is thus religious: why?

[31] The French term *vieux slave* is accurate: Vaillant's *Manuel* is a grammar of Late Common Slavic, and it accounts for Rusian of the period to c1200 virtually completely. For a detailed discussion of the relationship of OCS to Early Rusian, see Lunt 1987. Appendix 1, below, provides an abridged account of the phonological system, Appendix 2 is an excursus on the verbal system, while Appendix 3 lists potential OCS/Early Rusian contrasts, with the conventional choices of the 11th-12th-century Rusian standard written language. For the more general background and typological discussion see Lunt 1984, 1985 "Slavs," 1984–85 "ComSl," and also 1988 "Kiev." — My conclusions are based on my own analysis of the evidence, but I merely confirmed to my own satisfaction that Durnovo and Trubetzkoy were right, while the majority of Slavists were mistaken. (For a brief survey of Trubetzkoy's ideas of the '20s, largely unknown in the USSR, see N. I. Tolstoj 220–36.) Independent affirmation of this position is explicit in Ruben Ivanovič Avanesov's 1973 paper for the International Congress of Slavists. His statements of the hypotheses that best fit all of the evidence are excellent (esp. pp. 6–12); it is a flaw in my 1987 paper that I failed to cite Avanesov. None of the more recent literature from the Soviet Union attempts to refute Avanesov—his wise words are simply ignored (an outstanding exception is Xaburgaev 1984, 1988b). The same conclusion, reached via a quite different approach, with citation of different evidence, is elaborated by George Shevelov, in his graceful and gracious discussion of Uspenskij's 1983 book. — Some linguists still manage to get tangled up in the terminology. Thus, for example, Kronsteiner believes he has solved all problems by translating the adjective словѣньскъ of the early texts as *altbulgar-*

projects later differences back into the eleventh century.

Second, religion in the pre-modern world was all-embracing; everything was seen in terms of God (or gods and/or demons or the like), though of course certain events and topics were relatively remote from the church. To posit a religious/secular dichotomy for Rusian culture is anachronistic.[32] Therefore, there is no reason to expect a linguistic reflection of this putative distinctive feature. No "pure" Rusian oral texts have been preserved, and efforts to delimit genres in early works remain highly subjective.[33]

Third, cultural change requires time. The East Slavs of c800 were exposed to long-distance trade, to tax-gathering, to city-building, but not until c950 did they acquire the skills to participate in these activities. As they gained experience, they learned to act for themselves, and looked farther afield for models. Volodimer and his sons strove to imitate the Byzantines, and here they were surely aided in vital ways by their cousins who had followed the same road a century earlier in the Bulgarian state. The Slavobulgarians had provided the cultural preliminaries in building an imposing library of written works—nearly all, to be sure, translated, but still an impressive achievement for two or three generations of effort. They did not manage to assimilate all of Byzantine practice, but in some respects followed the ways of the older types of administration. The officials of Rus' cannot be expected to have learned all the new attitudes and procedures in a single generation. Even though we may speculate that Symeon and his successors in tenth-century Bulgaria had carried their imitation of Byzantine practices to the extent of writing treaties, grants, wills, and similar documents in Old Church Slavonic—an assumption with no concrete basis of tangible evidence whatsoever—it is unlikely that the Rusian administrators during the reigns of Volodimer and Svjatopolk could immediately follow these hypothetical models.[34] It would take more time to gain the necessary knowledge and experience to use writing in the way that was obviously

isch. A more thoughtful view is presented by Kristophson.

32 Although *dvoeverie* was un-Christian or even anti-Christian, it was not secular.

33 Thus, for example, Seeman 1986 adduces no convincing linguistic evidence to justify his elaborate scheme of genres; his arguments rest squarely on assumptions that have no factual basis and are therefore to be rejected.

34 The presupposition that Rusian documents may have been based on Bulgarian OCS models, in turn based on Byzantine customs, is universal (cf., e.g., Shevelov). Given the manifest effort of Symeon to emulate the Greeks in every possible way, along with the obvious destruction of eastern Bulgarian cultural monuments of every sort at various stages between c980 and 1700, it is an entirely plausible assumption. For the moment, however, I recommend that we take the stronger position that the absence of evidence means at the least that we must be cautious in assuming just what those putative Bulgarian wills, deeds of gift, and other administrative documents looked like. The Rusian evidence is, after all, sparse and relatively late.

normal under the very different circumstances that obtained three or four generations later, say during the reign of Volodimer Monomax (1113–25). In the absence of hard evidence, it seems appropriate to assume that writing was not an important tool in the practical affairs of commerce and civil administration;[35] the Bulgarian state did not have time to follow the Byzantine model, and it would seem that official written documents in Rus' did not appear before the twelfth century (see Franklin 1985).

Much effort has been expended to show that the concept of diglossia is (1) inapplicable because usage in early Rus' does not fit Ferguson's specifications for a diglossic situation, and/or (2) the term itself is imprecise.[36] I maintain that most of the discussion is simply beside the point because it fails to start from the verifiable data. Authors present the definition or model—whether some vague kind of bilingualism or diglossia—and then declare, on the basis of impressionistically selected data, that the definition or model has been proved right or wrong.[37] Yet the

[35] The written guarantee (**клятва**) deposited by Volodimer in the Church of the Tithes (PVL s.a. 996, Lav 124) follows established ecclesiastical traditions; the passage tells us nothing about language or about secular documentation.

[36] Both of these strictures are valid (cf. n. 27 above); in fact, the vast and burgeoning discussions have rendered the term almost meaningless. For the purposes of this paper I reject the extention of 'diglossia' to concurrent use of clearly different languages (such as Slovene and Italian in the Trieste area, or Guaraní and Spanish in Paraguay), holding that the core of the notion is that each 'language' is reserved for special domains of communication. For early Rus' the evidence of truly complementary distribution of 'Russian' and 'Slavonic' is at best tenuous. I am willing to admit the possibility of this sort of diglossia after c1300 (and more likely after c1400), a period beyond the scope of this paper.

[37] The sociolinguistic notion of *diglossia* was originally conceived by Charles Ferguson as he faced the problem of teaching Arabic to Harvard students. (The term itself, as he informs me in a recent letter, he adapted from the French *diglossie*, used by W. Marçais in discussions of the Arabic situation.) He wanted to start with spoken language and practical texts such as might be found in newspapers, but the native speakers who were to develop the teaching materials for daily classes were quite reluctant to offer their own speech habits as models. His definition of diglossia is based on the rather different situations of Arabic, Greek, Swiss German, and the French Creole of Haiti. What is important, however, is not to fit the data of an observable system to Ferguson's original specifications, but to modify the definition—where it is necessary, and with suitable warning to readers—to encompass the behavior of the speakers and writers who use the complex system and insist that it is "one language." Alekseev correctly notes that many objections to the term and to specific applications have been raised; he does not, however, clearly state that the crucial question to ask in every instance is *how* the objectively disparate *elements are used* by the speakers: only then can one formulate a suitable modification of the general terms *diglossia* (or *bilingualism* or *bidialectism*) to see just how this particular language community fits into the general range known from other regions. Straxov, Straxova, and Gippius offer a series of thoughtful observations and suggestions that in effect redefine *diglossia* to fit Rus', but, it seems to me, they exaggerate the distance between the two dialect systems—apparently because of the weight of scholarly tradition. Uspenskij's recent summary (14–18) refines the definition and applies it to selected data from the 11th to the 17th centuries; his approach, however, is too theoretical and the details he does provide are

facts of the early manuscripts allow us to identify linguistic patterns that can be defined by relationships to Common Slavic systems and verified by actual scribal usage. Thus we take as "normal" that words with **tj* will be spelled with "щ" (свѣща 'candle'), while those with **dj* will have "ж" (межа 'border');[38] **tort*/**tert* will be written with "ra/rě" (or "re," App. 3, item 7a), and so on. For the first generation of Rusian pupils (which may include the scribes of the Ostromir Gospel), the "щ" and "градъ/брѣгъ [брегъ]" spellings may have been particularly novel, but for succeeding generations each of these details was simply a part of the task of learning to write acceptably, to the satisfaction of the teachers and supervisors.[39] Diglossia is inappropriate as a label for this situation because the number of variable elements is rather small and the linguistic distance between the two systems, conceived as maximally contrasting, is remarkably short; we are dealing with two weakly differentiated dialects. Eleventh-century Rus' offers simply one more instance of the efforts—known from old and new languages all over the world—to reconcile strikingly obvious dialect differences in a standardized system; it comes rather under the heading of standardization or language planning.

A large part of the authority of tradition lies in the very terminology. "*East* versus *South* Slavic" calls to mind the thousands of square miles of Rumanian and Hungarian linguistic territory that now separate Ukrainians from Yugoslavs and Bulgarians. The modern contrasts such as R город, берег versus Bg/Mac/SC град, бряг/брег/бриjег/бриг are automatically associated with whole linguistic systems that differ on every level; indeed they call to mind a series of varying social arrangements, political organizations, and contrasting cultures. It takes real mental effort to set aside all of

insufficient to illustrate the distance (or lack of it) between what he firmly calls two languages.

38 In this paper quotation marks enclose *letters*, as opposed to phonetic or phonemic elements.

39 *Why* these particular features were acceptable is ultimately, I suspect, unknowable. Yet, even though we have NO direct evidence for Slavic linguistic boundaries between Rus' and Bulgaria in the 9th-11th centuries, we can look for plausibilities. Linguists know very well that isoglosses (geographical boundaries for individual features) change with time and sociolinguistic conditions. Universally—but tacitly!—the isoglosses separating northern features (such as *č/ž, teret/torot*) from their relatively southern counterparts (*šč/žǯ* or *št/žd, trět/trat*) are put somewhere south of the Prut at an early period. Why must we accept this hoary conjecture? Why not propose, rather, that some of these isoglosses were located much farther to the northeast as late as 1050? I suggest, then, that it is possible that some of these southern features were native, in the 11th century, to Slavs from southern regions of the Land of Rus'. — A more traditional plausibility (still, of course, speculative) is that South Slavic speakers—teachers, perhaps a large number of craftsmen and traders—had come to Rus' as conditions in Bulgaria worsened during the 10th century and then with the disasters of the early 11th century. For a survey of possibilities that have been suggested, see Straxov.

these associations and look at all and only the discernable differences between classical OCS and East Slavic vernacular for c1050. I maintain that a sober assessment of the full range of evidence shows that these linguistic differences are insignificant in terms of the shared agreement.[40]

Certain systematic usages were demonstrably normal by 1100; it makes no sense to label them as OCS or native phonological elements in a text copied during the twelfth century.[41] Declarations that this passage is "Russian" and that one is "Slavonic" are not helpful. We know that the major source for early East Slavic education was Old Church Slavonic, and we know that OCS had its own historical development so that by 1020 it displayed a rich and varied arsenal of lexical and syntactic devices that had been built up during several generations in diverse regions. The bookmen of eleventh-century Rus' were faced with the problem of mastering this varied material, first to understand it passively, and then to learn to use it actively by making their own selection from competing words and

[40] Let me repeat that much of the literature on these topics is beside the point. Most of the discussion, both in the tradition that goes back to Sobolevskij and earlier and in the newer controversy about diglossia, defines first and looks at data afterwards, usually superficially. In particular, Uspenskij's essays and those of his vociferous opponents and allies are engrossed in the elaboration of abstract terminology, fanatically defined, redefined, and explicated in benumbing, hairsplitting detail. What is missing is the sense that the authors of these intricate abstractions have had extended experience with real communication in a bilingual or multilingual or multidialectal or diglossic community and are attempting to match the observed facts of early East Slavic written materials with known behavior of speakers in known linguistically complex communities in the real world. Surely it is better to look at the facts first and then work out suitable definitions whose complexities will match the observable complications that can be demonstrated from the texts.

[41] For example, Dmitrenko provides a desultory discussion of eight folia of the *Troickij sbornik* (recently published by Popovski et al.), that shows inadequate philological training and irresponsible editing. The author provides an impressionistic list to illustrate several items of my App. 3, but omits items 13a-b (Gsf в[о]жиѣ, Ар кроупьницѣ, моужѣ), 14 (не мога), and 15 (ѥдѧше). The text is clearly an originally Bulgarian OCS translation that has been thoroughly adapted to Rusian norms, with deviations toward local vernacular. Dmitrenko's remarks show confusion of *sound* (language) and *letter* (spelling) and an insufficient knowledge of OCS. It makes little sense to discuss this passage without the context of the full manuscript, or at least the full text copied by scribe A. — As for the rest of Dmitrenko's article, supposedly dealing with the whole Uspenskij sbornik, it is methodologically weak (e.g. it fails to distinguish the originally Rusian compositions from items inherited from the South or West), hopelessly superficial, and contains such obvious errors as claiming намѣѵеноуоумоу (a misprint from the edition's glossary) and мѧѵить сѧ 'weaken' as examples of **tj* spelled *č*. Some prepublication reader of Dmitrenko's essay should have known that no verb *-měti-* existed until c1450 and that no verbal root *mät-* with a suitable meaning is known at all. (Similar strictures apply to Iordanidi, who is remarkably careless in identifying grammatical forms and therefore reaches false conclusions.) It is discouraging that the level of knowledge of early Slavic among "specialists" remains so poor (cf. my reviews of earlier publications, 1969, 1975–79, 1984a, 1984b). What are the responsibilities of the *otvetstvennyj redaktor* of a publication of the Soviet Academy's *Institut russkogo jazyka*?

constructions. The recurrent statement that the East Slavs dealt with OCS as their own property is quite correct,[42] but it should be emphasized that earlier Slavs had behaved in the same way—precisely because the language first committed to writing by Constantine and his collaborators WAS indeed for Slavs of Moravia, Pannonia, Bohemia, Bulgaria, Macedonia (and any other region) the same language and therefore ''their own property.'' It is anachronistic to assume for the early centuries the xenophobic purism that grew up in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[43]

Most of the investigators who insist on the duality in early Rusian texts—whether two languages, two styles, or two dialects—ignore lessons learned from the study of other written languages. If one is to look at twelfth-century East Slavic texts as a mosaic of polarized elements, then these principles should be applied to other texts. For example, the first two sentences of Alekseev's article in the Leningrad *sbornik* contain (omitting the name C. Ferguson) 19 and 26 words, respectively, of which 11/20 are Russian, 7/3 are Latin, and 1/3 are Slavonic. The first sentence is thus 5% Slavonic, the second 11.5%; otherwise Latin 37%/11.5%, and Russian 58%/77.4%. The two together are then 69% Russian, 22% Latin, and 8% Slavonic. Of course this is absurd,[44] but it is no more absurd than the

42 ''Уже в XI в. русские люди обращаются с церковнославянским языком как со своим достоянием, как с «собственностью всенародной»,'' V. V. Vinogradov, cited by Xaburgaev 1984 16, fn. 26.

43 The volumes edited by Kolesov and Žukovskaja reflect a contemporary scholarly parochialism (reflected even in the title of Gorškov's article) that on the whole ignores foreign scholarship. Hüttl-Folter, Issatschenko, and Worth are mentioned briefly but usually negatively, but otherwise non-Soviet Slavists scarcely exist. A particularly sad example of parochialism is Barankova, from whose work one would not know that the entire *Hexameron* was published by Aitzetmüller in a seven-volume critical edition that includes full photoreproductions of some East Slavic copies, Greek parallels, and a word-index; many of the points in her article can easily be made from Aitzetmüller's apparatus. Her discussion would be far more illuminating if she built on the solid foundations laid by Aitzetmüller. Soviet Russists seem to be poorly trained in other Slavic languages and traditions, including the grammar and texts of OCS.

44 The countless objections this list should, I hope, serve to stimulate readers to think about the complexities of analyzing standard languages, old or new. My procedures here are perhaps too crude, but they are not unlike Filin's (approvingly cited by Klimenko 13). As Latin I have included диглоссия (which of course is etymologically Greek but a 20th-c. internationalism) along with концепция, сформулированный, американский, интерес, история, литературный; Slavonic are среди, священо, работ. In the first sentence, ''[the concept] вызывает большой интерес среди лиц, занятых историей русского литературного языка,'' one might decree that среди лиц is a clear Hellenism, because only πρόσωπον means primarily 'face' and by extension 'person'. Or one might replace занятых with занимающихся to make the clause more Slavonic; alternatively the substitution of *у* for среди might make it more native. Or среди ... занятых might become у занимающихся; or perhaps у специалистов по истории? What effect do these alternative expressions have on the style or register of this sentence? (The difference between *origins* of elements and their *functions* in a system is an obvious fact that, alas, is rarely noted in this ''Old Russian'' context!)

analyses of early Rusian passages offered by Soviet (and some other) scholars in recent years.[45] Criteria for decisions are often unclear.[46] The striking *torot/trat* doublets have understandably attracted the most attention, but most studies are anecdotal. There is still no authoritative list of examples from eleventh-twelfth-century manuscripts, giving the exact relationship in each manuscript (let alone the work of each scribe). Ordinarily samples are given from the *Povest' vremennyx let*, usually with complete disregard of the fact that the copies present serious philological problems.[47] Ustjugova now ventures a fuller analysis of the entry for 997 (Lav 127.10–129.12). Suffice it to say that Lav has гладъ въ городѣ 'famine in the town' but Hyp has голодъ въ градѣ; this is but the beginning of the variation revealed by juxtaposition of the five or six manuscripts believed to reflect the oldest layer of the chronicle.[48] She is justifiably baffled by the lack of clear patterns of variation, and has no space to go beyond rather vague suggestions that each scribe had a sense of context that determined choice of forms with or without polnoglasie.[49] I believe that we can safely say that for the early twelfth century, "trat/trět" spellings were normal for most lexemes, with a range of permissible "torot/teret" variants that differed from place to place and from scribe to scribe. Further, I maintain that we must recognize that

45 Citing a 67–word passage written c1168 (from a copy of c1280), Alekseev 1986 6 says the author "пользуется русским языком." Now, forms like оже, оли, аче and молвяче do indeed utilize ESl phonological features that are normally avoided, but in this short text одна потирь is bad because (1) the phrase is accusative and (2) a second copy of this text provides ѥдинъ: how do we know which variants were actually written by Archbishop Il'ja in the 12th c.? Is this really "Russian"? In Alekseev's second sample passage, 52 words from a gramota of 1392, I see nothing "Russian" but the subject-matter. Both passages are, I maintain, well within the bounds of the codified variation permitted in the standard language.

46 Issatschenko specified his belief that the East Slavs had lost aorist, imperfect, and active participles by the 11th century; this allows one at least to understand his decisions, even if one must disagree (cf. Lunt 1984 "Writing" 310, 308; see also App. 2, below and 1990, App.). Issatschenko would surely have agreed with Alekseev's assertion that the 45–word PVL passage s.a. 1071 (Lav. 176.27–177.5, Alekseev 1986 7) is Slavonic, but I cannot. Alekseev offers no criteria. As I see it, these sentences are stylistically (and of course linguistically) neutral; the only possible candidate for a distinctive element is the noun мовница (*мъвьница) 'bath-house', very probably a native ESl word.

47 Hüttl-Folter's meticulous analysis makes no distinction between the 1377 material and the Radziwill passages (copied c1485) traditionally used in modern editions to fill textual lacunae. She accounts for every example as a component in a flawless structure—but no such structure ever existed. Her sophisticated definitions do not handle other copies of the PVL, cf. Lunt 1985 "Problems."

48 Ustjugova's table (94) and discussion give many, but not all, of the *torot/trat* items.

49 Apparently she would like to hold to the authority of the Laurentian copy as a criterion of original usage, but the facts compel her to equivocate. This brief article is not well focused and it rests on a series of unlikely assumptions, but Ustjugova is to be congratulated for attempting to look really closely at the concrete data.

we have no possible criteria for determining the "original" distribution.[50]

My thesis is simple: in the tenth and eleventh centuries there was still only a single Slavic language.[51] The dialects of the East Slavs were still so close to the dialects of the Slavs in the lands that had belonged to the Bulgarian Empire in the tenth century that Old Church Slavonic, though unfamiliar in certain details—and bearing messages that were culturally new and therefore required extended study—was perceived as "our own," **свои**. Objectively, the greater part of the linguistic system coincided, and many of the differences were systematic and easily learned.[52] The bookmen of Rus' did not accept OCS uncritically. Although the scribes of 1056 generally tried to copy texts without change, as early as 1076 new norms are visible.[53] The OCS vowel system was adapted to Rusian pronunciation, but the consonantal system was taken over with only minor modifications. The developing standard is, to be sure, heterogeneous, but it does not involve

50 The assumption that medieval writers—and copyists—weighed every word, clause, and sentence for stylistic effect is, I submit, highly dubious, as it is for most modern writers. And if we do accept a milder assumption that writers tried to write "well," we surely must allow for the human frailties and fallibility that are so frequently mentioned in texts and colophons. That humility is culturally an obligatory attitude does not mean that Rusian writers and copyists were all perfect.

51 Let us emphasize that this complements the assumption that the *beginning* of Common Slavic is to be put no earlier than the sixth century (cf. n. 3 above), whereby both the date and the definition of just what *Common Slavic* means are purely speculative. – For an archeological view, cf. Váňa's conclusions, stated after a meticulous, cautious, and realistic assessment of the evidence: "the Slavs as a cultural and ethnic unit, in the form known from the sixth century A.D., did not exist in antiquity" (25); "they appear on the scene after the middle of the first millennium A.D." (26). The Polish archeologist Godłowski, who takes demographic factors into account, agrees. The Soviet etymologist Trubačev's 1983 scheme of linguistic stages of "Slavic" back to the third millenium B.C.E. relies on outdated archeological speculation; on the linguistic plane, much of what he says is valuable, but the hypothetical language-stages should be called "Pre-Slavic" or something else altogether.

52 The North Russian data (cf. n. 7 above) hint at deeper dialect divisions that have been submerged because of later cultural factors. The crucially significant materials from the western zone (Pskov and the "Krivichian" dialect, cf. Nikolaev) are unfortunately not clearly matched by early attestations, but even the idiosyncratic features they witness fit in with the notion that as late as 1100 these subdialects were part of one language with the rest of Rus' and perhaps broader sectors of Slavdom. The Novgorod peculiarities emerge more clearly; however, I should like to emphasize that even they demonstrate only weak differentiation of this system as opposed both to Late Common Slavic (where Novgorod shares the retention of a stop in **tl*/**dl* with West Slavic but against other East and South Slavic dialects, and has its unique archaic lack of the second regressive palatalization, **kěl-* 'whole', **rěkě* 'river (Ls)' vs. *cěl-, rěcě* of the rest of Slavdom), and to other East Slavic (chiefly morphological innovations, such as Nsm *-e* for the -ъ of all other dialects) after c1050.

53 Lacking evidence, we can only guess about the process of education. Surely there were some Bulgarians available as teachers, and surely individuals—Ilarion is a brilliant (but unfortunately the only) example—spent time among educated Slavs on Athos, or elsewhere outside Rus'.

either bilingualism or diglossia. The disparate elements in competition for acceptibility are of a sort that is quite normal wherever closely related dialects are being integrated into a common standard.[54] In such cases the new standard is then recognized as a codified variant of the native language.[55] The problems that faced the East Slavs of Rus' from c1050 to c1250 in becoming actively literate were of the order that is, and has long been, commonplace for children in most of Europe. The home language is not entirely acceptable to the teacher, but the task of learning to write properly involves primarily the long process of learning new facts and ideas (along with the words required to express them) and acquiring skill at organizing one's thoughts in ways more complex than those of everyday speech.[56] The language situation in early Rus' represents a normal stage in the development of the linguistic component of a society that is rapidly growing in economic and political might and continually modifying social arrangements of all sorts. Of course the specific details come together to produce a system of codified variation of linguistic elements that is unique to the time and place, but there is no need to assume that language in old Rus' constituted a social factor without parallels elsewhere.

As to the question of the level of culture in eleventh-century Rus', we must keep in mind that active literary creation also requires education and experience with written language. It is not surprising that on the whole the early bookmen merely copied the heritage of translations received from Bulgaria (and Bohemia or Moravia). Ilarion at mid-century is exceptional both in his literary skill and his demonstrable knowledge of Greek. Otherwise it is another generation until we may assume a fair number of securely educated men; we may posit the beginning of Nestor's literary activities in the 1070s. Yet, as Francis Thomson shows, there is no evidence of an effec-

54 In terms of N. I. Tolstoj's sensible list of traits for classifying standard languages (17), Rusian was based on two weakly-differentiated dialect bases that were close, as far as we can discern, to the "народно-поэтическое койне."

55 Compare, for early Rusian, Xaburgaev (1984 12), who is paraphrasing Avanesov, cf. note 28 above; see also Xaburgaev 1988b. Please note that throughout this discussion it is taken for granted that "norms" and "standards" are much looser for epochs before the widespread use of printing than they are for modern times.

56 Mastery of syntactic complexity is acquired from teachers and experience in reading, and the precise constructions that are learned are of course those to which one is exposed. Complex syntax is characteristic of many kinds of style in many languages in virtually all periods. What by one set of criteria is contrived, artificial, and regrettable may well be, by another set of criteria, skillful, artistic, and praiseworthy. Even though many Hellenistic sentences of OCS strike us as non-Slavic, there is no reason to suppose that these models could not be internalized by Slavic students and then zealously emulated; indeed there is pervasive evidence that this is precisely what happened, both in Bulgaria and in Rus'.

tive knowledge of Greek at this time,[57] despite the continued presence of Greek clergymen; broad claims that East Slavs translated many works in the eleventh century (e.g. Uspenskij 30) are not supported by surviving texts.[58] The PVL entry for 1037 is too obscure a basis for speculation about translation (Lunt 1988). Despite extravagant claims by older Russian scholars, now repeated monotonously by Soviet scholars without a shadow of supporting evidence,[59] no eleventh-century Rusian translations have been affirmed. The available material fits a general pattern: the basic skills of writing and copying must come first—they were mastered by the mid-1050s;[60] only then they can be put to use—in the 1070s Rusians ventured to write their own compositions and to record items from their own history. Competent translation from Greek lay in the future. The chronicler's eulogy of Jaroslav is fully appropriate. His metaphor of Volodimer as the plowman who softens the soil, Jaroslav as the sower who plants the seed, and "we"—presumably the bookmen of the 1070s—who "reap the harvest by receiving the teaching of books" implies three stages: the first stage

57 As for Semitic, there is not a shred of evidence that any Slavic bookman before c1350, in Rus' or elsewhere, had any serious knowledge of the languages, much less undertook translations. The repeated assertion that the book of Esther was translated directly from Hebrew into early Rusian rests on utterly shabby pseudo-scholarship, cf. Lunt and Taube and the literature cited there. It is unfortunate that the oft-repeated but quite unfounded exaggerations about Semitic translations travel from textbook to textbook (e.g. Uspenskij 40, Robinson's hyperbolic summary, 12).

58 Greek hymns occur in Rusian liturgical manuscripts, but in Cyrillic transcription; this in no way demonstrates any knowledge of Greek. At an early age I, like every other child in the community, sang *Gloria in excelsis deo* not because we knew any Latin (or even understood all the English words of the text), but because those were the words of the Christmas carol. Important phrases like *kyrie eleison* survived in western Church usage for centuries after any understanding of Greek was lost. *Pace* Uspenskij 32–4, similar survivals in Rus' and Russia tell us nothing about general knowledge of Greek, let alone real comprehension of texts.

59 For an egregiously inflated account, based on out-dated sources, see Robinson, 1988, esp. p. 12. Like Uspenskij, he minimizes the original contribution of Bulgarians (esp. p. 10), ignoring such recent works as Popov. Alekseev 1988 has moved the "school of translators" into the 12th century, but for him it is an axiom that translations were made; instead of asking "what are the characteristics of these texts?" and then "how can we localize and date them?" he proceeds at once to discuss their development *after* the 12th century. He ignores earlier objections to his work, although he cites the articles in which they occurred—a prime example of non-scholarly argumentation.

60 The calligraphy of the Ostromir Gospel demonstrates that at least three scribes had become master copyists by 1056; by my thesis they would belong among the early pupils trained after Jaroslav introduced the Slavonic rite. (Further, as I hope to demonstrate elsewhere, another Rus' calligrapher of the same school made a more careful—and therefore less distinctively Rusian—copy of the same luxorious OCS model, a copy known to us only from two surviving leaves called the Novgorod [or Kuprijanov] Folia.) Two decades surely would suffice to establish efficient scriptoria, assuming competent supervisors. The manuscript models clearly were Bulgarian; about the teachers we can only guess (cf. n. 52 above).

worthy of mention is marked by the new enlightenment brought, through baptism, by Christianity;[61] then in the second period comes the seed that grows to fruition, that is, the written word which is mastered, and now finally the third stage is the harvest, the книжное учение that has been won and, presumably, is ready to be used to profit the souls of the faithful.[62]

In sum, we may assume that there were Christians in Rus' well before 988 and that some members of some communities in this polyethnic society were literate in various languages. From 988 we may assume the steady spread of official Christianity under Greek leadership, presumably with Greek as the church language but possibly with some use of Slavonic books imported from the south (and perhaps the west).[63] Yet not before about 1037 is there any concrete evidence of organized, official use of Slavonic as a language of religion and education. From then on the bookmen of Rus' adapted OCS to their own linguistic habits and by 1100 they were using it creatively, not as a foreign, learned medium, but as their own property—which indeed it was.[64] As for systematic use of written Slavic for administrative purposes, we may surmise that it came not with Volodimer Svjatoslavič or his sons, but under the sons of Jaroslav near 1100. From the non-literate multilingual pagan society of Volodimer in 988 to the flourishing Christian literature in the newly evolved East Slavic standard language under Volodimer Monomax is a remarkable cultural distance; the Rusian bookmen of these generations deserve our admiration for covering it in so short a time.

[61] Uspenskij 30 sees 'просвещение' as connected with Jaroslav, but the word does not actually occur anywhere in the PVL. For the context of 1037 we find кр҃щеньємь просвѣтивъ referring to Volodimer (Lav 152.9), echoing the 988 event of baptism (Володимеръ просвѣщенъ Lav 121.5), which in turn echoes the wording of Olga's baptism (крєсти ю цр҃ь ... просвѣщена жє бывши, радоваше сѧ Lav 61.3–4). *Pace* Uspenskij, there is no reason to see this phrase as having anything to do with books or 'book-learning,' for there is no mention of reading or writing.

[62] In contrast, Cyril and Methodius are praised for accomplishing the entire metaphoric process as one complex act—clearing, plowing, sowing and finally bringing "the pure grain, the teaching of the spirit, to the Church" (Uspenskij sbornik 114d22–29). For the meaning of 'книжное учение' in Rus', see Franklin's article in this volume.

[63] On this complex of problems, see Francis Thomson's article in this volume. For a series of considerations suggesting that the liturgical use of Greek in Rus' in Volodimer's time and later is the simplest or "unmarked" hypothesis, see Vodoff.

[64] The current Soviet habit of calling original East Slavic texts "Russian Church Slavonic" because they use simple preterites and sophisticated participial constructions is unwarranted, see App. 2. The language of the PVL, and various related works about Boris and Gleb, and about Theodosius and other monks of the Kiev Caves' Monastery can safely be called *Early East Slavic* or *Early Rusian* or *древнерусский язык* or *давньоруська мова*.

APPENDIX 1: OCS AND RUSIAN PHONOLOGICAL SYSTEMS

OCS and Rusian unquestionably shared a large number of morphemes, including virtually all morphological elements. We must assume a greater disparity in lexicon than can be retrieved from the manuscripts; it is normal in written languages shared by many communities that certain words are regularly written by speakers who would not ordinarily use them in speech. Most important: it is fully plausible to assume that speakers of dialects throughout the Slavic Orthodox world in the tenth–eleventh centuries agreed that there was **one single Slavic language**, with one relatively acceptable written form which, however, was not sacrosanct: it could be modified by adapting details to local norms.

The most pervasive differences between normalized OCS and hypothetical early East Slavic lie in the vowel system, but the OCS *spelling* was an efficient means for writing Rusian. Since OCS /ǫ/ invariably corresponded to ER /u/, and OCS /ę/ always (with the important exception of item 13, see Appendix 3) corresponded to ER /ä/, OCS texts could be read with local pronunciation. The burden was in learning where to *write* the "jusy," and it should be no surprise that it is precisely the non-OCS distribution of these letters that is a ubiquitous characteristic of the work of Rusian scribes, as early as 1056.

Here are the correspondences of E[arly] R[usian] vowels to OCS, which in these items does not differ from Middle Common Slavic.

OCS	i	ь	e	ě	ę	ä	a	o	ъ	y	ǫ	u	ǫ̈	ü
ER	i	ь	e	ě	ä		a	o	ъ	y	u		ü	

Old Church Slavonic	Early Rusian
i (ü) y u	i (ü) y u
(ǫ̈) ǫ	ь (ь̈) ъ
ь ъ	ě
e o	e (ë) o
ě	ä a
ę (ä) a	

Note that OCS *ä, ü* and *ǫ̈* occur only after palatal consonants and are predictable variants of /a u ǫ/. Early Rusian *ä* is clearly an independent phonological unit; the /±back/ opposition is neutralized in favor of /-back/ after palatals and /c/.[65] The ъ of LCoS dialects in Macedonia and Rus' was

[65] This premise takes the spellings seriously, and involves the further assumption that distinc-

surely rounded, but for non-Macedonian OCS, as well as most of the rest of the Slavic world, it was unrounded. The *ě* of most OCS dialects (and contemporary Lechitic) was low, whereas in Rus' (and most of Slavdom) it was relatively high. What is important for the period to about 1100 is that /ě/ remained a distinct unit in all dialects.[66] Front rounded *ь̈ ë* may have existed by 1100 in some dialects, and perhaps *ü* may have become phonemic, but these matters need not be treated here.

The major phonological difference between the fairly uniform MCoS and the more diverse Late ComSl dialects (which were also the nuclei of later regional languages) is a series of eight "liquid diphthongs" (items 6–8, App. 3). In MCoS these sequences formed a vocalic sub-system, but the changes that produced OCS eliminated all diphthongs from the new system, and different dialects now had contrasting syllables in such morphemes. The high-vowel diphthongs (item 6) very possibly remained as diphthongs in Rusian dialects; in any case the spellings generally correspond to the original sequence of elements. In canonical OCS the jer-letter is written after the *r* or *l*, and it usually is ъ, although in Sav the convention was to write ь. These orthographies do not necessarily reflect either the usage of the Moravian Mission or of early tenth-century Preslav or Ohrid; it is highly possible that varied orthographies existed to fit different dialects (cf. Lunt 1962). From the early twelfth century, spellings with є/о for the "neutral" ь/ъ occur sporadically (but Dobrilo Gospel, 1164, in every possible instance).

The *tert*-diphthongs (item 7a) provide one of the most variable elements in early Rusian orthographies, although the tendency to write the artificial sequence рє predominates (брєгъ, оумрєти rather than брѣгъ, оумрѣти). Though disyllabic pleophonic East Slavic forms (берегъ, оумерети) do occur, they clearly were not considered suitable for writing. It is important to recognize that the variation of the letters ѣ and є in these former diphthongs is not the same as variation of the same two letters in certain other morphemes.[67] If a scribe writes брєгъ or плєнъ, it is a minor and

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tively palatalized consonants had not yet been established (cf. Lunt 1956), which in turn presumes a series of adjustments connected with the jer-shift. Spellings like сѧ or сꙗ are to be regarded as representing distinctive /sä/, which may have been phonetically [s'ä] early and [s'a] (with a greater degree of backness) later.

66 For problems concerning variant relationships of *ě* to *a* in Late ComSl dialects, see Lunt 1981a, 53–65.

67 For some details and special problems (e.g. телеса, сребро), see Lunt 1987. — The **tort*/**tert* diphthongs in the southwestern (Czecho-Slovak) and the west southern (Slovene and Serbocroatian) dialects of Late ComSl agreed with OCS, but northwestern dialects (Polish) simply metathesized the diphthongs, e.g. **grodъ*, **bregъ*. These divergent changes were still in progress in the 800s, and perhaps even after 900 in some regions.

superficial orthographic fact that, being within the bounds of standard variation, says nothing about the scribe's language. If, however, he puts є in грѣхъ or хлѣбъ, where the *ě* is MCoS, then we must assume that something significant is involved.[68]

The OCS and Rusian consonantal systems were almost identical. Both had *p b t d k g, s z ś š ž x, c č, m n l r,* palatal *ń ļ ŕ, w* and *j*.[69] An OCS isogloss separates a variant system with an affricate ǯ́ from one with the continuant *ź* (*kъnęǯ́i mъnoǯ́i* vs. *kъnęǯ́i mъnoźi*). Very possibly ǯ́ existed along the southern and southwestern perimeter; in any case, East Slavic has /ź/ in the corresponding morphemes.[70]

The major contrast between OCS and Rusian is caused by the OCS two-segment groups conventionally spelled шт and жд, which function phonotactically as palatal units. In part they go back to earlier **sk*/**zg* before **j* or front vowel or **stj*/**zdj* and come from clusters **šč*/**žǯ* which are shared by all late MCoS dialects, including Rusian (e.g. ER *iščete* vs. OCS *ištete* 'you seek', inf. *iskati*; ER *riščete* vs. OCS *ríštete* 'you run' inf. *ristati*; ER *dъžǯь* vs. OCS *dъždь* 'rain'). In part, however, they result from a significant local southeastern development that sets OCS apart from the rest of the Slavic world, namely that **tj*/**dj* became bisegmental **šč*/**žǯ* and then probably *šḱ*/**žǵ*. Accordingly, although Rusian and OCS shared /č/ and /ž/ in certain morphemes (e.g. *pečete* 'you bake', *možete* 'you can'), there were others where Rusian had *č* but OCS *št* or ER *ž* but OCS *žd* (e.g. хоүєтє | хощєтє 'you want', inf. хотѣти; стражєтє | страждєтє 'you suffer', inf. страдати).

OCS	c	č	št		ž	žd		ǯ́/ź
MCoS	c	č	tj	šč	ž	dj	žǯ	ǯ́
ER	c	č		šč	ž		žǯ	ź

68 The frequent use of сєбє and тєбє for DL сєбѣ/тєбѣ is loosely codified and of no phonological significance, App. 3, 12a. During the 12th c. more and more confusion develops concerning the use of the letters ѣ versus є; this may indicate that /ě/ and /e/ have coalesced (entirely or only in certain positions or words), or it may simply mean a less systematic spelling, as Zaliznjak concludes for the Novgorod birchbark *gramoty* starting about 1200 (1986, 108).

69 The glide /w/ is traditionally written *v* (cyr. в). The unit /ś/ is posited for the pronominal roots /ś-/ 'this' and (/wьś-/ 'all', which are historically obscure, cf. Lunt 1981 (*Prog. Pal.*), 36–7 and 1987 (*Folia ling. hist.* 7) §6.2.

70 The letter г may just possibly have stood for a continuant γ in southern Rus'.

(Other LCoSl dialects possibly retained **tj/*dj* or a unit **ḱ/*ǵ* for some time.)[71]

In principle, written Rusian accepted the OCS consonantal system, which in fact only means accepting the consonantal groups *št/žd* for morphemes where East Slavic dialects had *šč/žǯ* or *č/ž*. Yet by 1100 "жд" was reserved for **žǯ*, while the reflex of **dj* was written "ж".

APPENDIX 2: ON THE OCS AND EARLY EAST SLAVIC VERBAL SYSTEM

The original early Rusian works (**Сказание** of Boris and Gleb, Life of Theodosius, PVL) display a complex verbal system replete with formal distinctions (imperfect and aorist tenses, a series of periphrastic perfects and futures, active participles, supine—many of them with further contrasting forms expressing the aspectual opposition of perfective to imperfective) that are skillfully and expressively exploited by the authors.[72] A virtually identical system is found in the extensive Czech literature of the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries; some parallels are also to be found in older Croatian and in OCS itself. In the East Slavic area, the system had been restructured by 1600, so that many of these forms and categories were enigmatic for the seventeenth-century grammarians.

When did the old system disappear? On the basis of lectures by Roman Jakobson in 1947–48 and the detailed and subtle analysis of early Rusian narrative texts by Cornelis van Schooneveld (a copy of whose 1949 Columbia dissertation I was fortunate enough to have when I began teaching these problems in 1950—somewhat revised, it was published in 1959), further buttressed by analyses published by the Leningrad Slavist Jurij Maslov in 1954, I believe that the Late Common Slavic verbal system is better illustrated by Rusian original texts than by anything preserved in OCS. After four decades of reading and comparing these texts (and numerous other works) in copies of various ages, I maintain that no major change in the overall verb system is discernable until close to 1300 (affirmed in part by

71 Czecho-Slovak and Polish by c1100 had developed *c/ʒ́* (which had lenited to *ź* in Czech). Slovene eventually had *č/j*, but SC retained *ḱ/ǵ* well into the historical period.

OCS	č	c	št		ž	ʒ́/ź	žd	
MCoS	č	c	tj	šč	ž	ʒ́	dj	žǯ
CzSl	č	c		šč	ž	ź	ʒ́/ź	žǯ
Polish	č	c		šč	ž	ʒ́		žǯ

72 For example, 'arrived (3s)' occurs in the Uspenskij sbornik as aorists **приходи** and **приде**, and as imperfects **прихожааше** (**прихожаше**; **приходѧаше**, **приходѧше**) and **придѧше**, and we may assume a possible iterative imperfective ***прихажааше** (on the model of OCS **прихаждааше**, (Su).

unpublished work by Emily Klenin); thereafter scribes' efforts to maintain traditional usage obscure the process of restructuring. The new system, essentially that of contemporary East Slavic, was apparently achieved c1500.

Many Russian scholars, starting with the two-language dogma, believe that "Russian" is to be found only in documents and legal codes; such texts have no imperfects, few aorists, and relatively frequent perfects; therefore—to cite the extreme position presented by Uspenskij 144–69—the whole old system had been lost before 1050.[73] Yet linguistic forms are used only as they are needed by the message that is to be conveyed. Aorists, imperfects, and pluperfects are required chiefly in narratives dealing with complex past events.[74] Legal codes are essentially timeless and documents are keyed to the moment of writing, so that past events are usually expressed explicitly from the present point of view, i.e. by means of a perfect.[75] Uspenskij's exposition is based on his elaborate aprioristic assumptions plus gross oversimplification of the evidence in the form of examples from Lopušanskaja's methodologically helpless book; she treats all copies of Novgorod (and other) chronicles as absolutely equal variants, disregarding both chronology and textology. When one untangles the details that lie behind such examples as those quoted by Uspenskij on pp. 146 and 150, it becomes clear that the language of the easily reconstructible texts of the eleventh-twelfth centuries began to be modified in fifteenth-century copies,[76] with more and more "corrections" introduced later on.[77]

73 Issatschenko takes the same position; he provides many examples from texts, with flat judgements about how "Russian" or "Slavonic" a given usage is. He is confident that his instinct guides him infallibly to irrefutable decisions as to what is "living language" and what belongs to a series of degrees of artificiality.

74 In modern East Slavic, as well as Czech, Slovak, and Polish, the disappearance of these forms has been compensated for by modifications in the aspectual system, along with a variety of strategies requiring adverbs and other contextual clues. Many native speakers of these languages believe in an either/or binary choice: a clear-cut aspectual system like that of Russian excludes a clear-cut tense system like that of English (and, by extension, early East Slavic). This simplistic theory is falsified by modern Bulgarian, Macedonian, and eastern Serbian, as has been eloquently demonstrated by many scholars, including Maslov.

75 Legal prescriptions often require conditions and contingencies that favor the use of conditional forms and the *futurum exactum*, expressed in various ways.

76 A major flaw in Uspenskij's book is that he, like Lopušanskaja, fails to distinguish *language* from *text*. He apparently does not realize that the language of a text may be repeatedly modified with little or no change of the text itself; conversely, the text may be radically recast without significant change in the language (i.e. phonology, morphology, syntax, lexicon).

77 When a copy of a narrative shows that one verb-form has been replaced by another, it by no means signifies that the forms are equivalent, but more likely involves a slight shift in meaning. Whether this difference was planned by an editor or merely reflects scribal inattention (or a flat error) must be decided in each case by the normal procedures of textual criticism.

It seems to me wrongheaded—even perverse—to claim that the early Rusian authors were using a foreign system of verbal categories, the more so since this claim rests on the presumption that mastery of so complex a formal-semantic system was acquired in monastic schools from OCS models. In the absence of any other evidence of a high level of schooling in early Rus', it is more natural to accept that the narratives were written by East Slavs in their own language, a language that was essentially a standardized form of local dialects, enhanced by lexical, syntactic, and stylistic means embodied in the abundant OCS translations from Greek. The old verbal system was not lost by other Slavs until well after 1300: why assume, in the face of copious and eloquent evidence, that a new system evolved in Rus' before 1200, let alone 1050?

Lopušanskaja believes that substitutions necessarily signify equivalence. For reasons of space, one example must serve here for many. Wishing to show that the forms of aorist and l-participle without copula were semantically equal, she cites (272) the First Novgorod Chronicle s.a. 955, first giving the wording of copy K (c1450) "бесѣдовавши, *рече* к неи," then of T (c1760) "бесѣдова к неи, *реклъ*"— implying that the second is a modification of the first. Uspenskij 146 reproduces the words without telling where in the chronicle they occur or which copies are involved. Do these variants demonstrate that the aorist рече is semantically equal to реклъ? Not at all. The first variant sentence starts with a dependent participle, so that рече is the properly finite form; the second starts with an aorist, but an l-participle is unexpected in terms of the old system. Yet if we look at copy A, approximately the same age as K (c1450), we *find an appropriate past active participle* рекъ; T *has a hypercorrect form because the scribe* could not distinguish the current l-form (рек [or рёк] m., conventionally still spelled *реклъ*, but рекла f.) from the obsolete рек (f. рекши). Looking at the context, we find the subject of 'converse' is the emperor: K's feminine participle is out of place. Moreover, this passage, like various others, has been rewritten at some time between c1120 and 1450 by an editor who no longer understood the old system and rather liked forms in -вши. The original PVL version clearly had the aorist бесѣдова followed by рекъ (cf. Lav 60.29, Hyp 49.15); this is an instance where A—usually innovative—more faithfully reflects the ancestral wording than does the usually traditional K. [Space precludes discussion of further complications in this passage.] Uspenskij's citations of Lopušanskaja's materials show a disturbing carelessness about philology and chronology; they are inappropriate in a textbook.

APPENDIX 3: COMPARISON OF OCS AND EARLY RUSIAN

A. Purely phonetic features

	MCoS	*OCS*	*Old ESlav*	*Rusian (ER) standard language*
1.	*ǫ *jǫ	ǫ jǫ	u ju	u ju, written оу, ю, also ѫ (rare ѭ)
		мѫжоу/мѫжю		моужѫ, мѫжѫ, мѫжоу, моужоу, моужю
		ѭже, моѭ		юже, мою (моѭ)
2.	*ę *ję	ę ję	*ä *jä	*ä *jä, written ѧ, ꙗ [but *either* а *or* ѧ after ж, ч, ш, щ (жд)]
		пѧть, ѧꙁъкъ		пѧть (rare пꙗть), ꙗꙁъкъ, ѧꙁъкъ
		жѧдати, моѧ		жадати, жѧдати, моꙗ, моѧ
		слъшѧ vs. слъша		слъша = слъшѧ [both pres.a.p. and aor.!]
3a.	*tj	št (шт, щ)	č	usually щ = šč, rarely ч
		свѣща, свѣшта		свѣща (свѣча)
		хощѫ, хоштѫ		хощоу, rarely хочоу
3b.	*dj	*žd	ž	ж; sometimes жд (жд "restored" late 14th c., became common)
		междоу		
		виждѫ, одежда		межю, вижоу, одежа
3c.	*zdj/*zgj	žd	žǯ	жд usual; Northern жг; Galicia-Volynia жч
		дъждь		дъждь, дъжгь, дъжчь
		пригвожденъ		пригвожденъ, пригвожгенъ, пригвожченъ
4.	*ju-	ju- (initial)	u-	frequent ю-, usual оу-.
		югъ, южьнъ		югъ/оугъ, южьнъ/оужьнъ
		юнъ, юноша		юнъ/оунъ, оуноша
5.	*(j)e-	(j)e- (initial)	o-	regularly є-, exceptionally о-
		єꙁеро, ѥꙁеро		єꙁеро, ѥꙁеро (оꙁеро)
		єдинъ, ѥдинъ		єдинъ, ѥдинъ (одинъ)
6a.	*tьrt	trьt/trъt	tьrt	usual тьрт, often трьт or the artificial тьрът
		съмрьть, съмрътъ		съмьрть/съмрьть/съмьрьть/съмьрѣть
6b.	*tъrt	trъt	tъrt	usual търт, often трът, or the artificial търът
		тръгъ		търгъ/тръгъ (търъгъ)
6c.	*tьlt	tlьt/tlъt	tъlt	usual тълт, often тлът, rare тълът
		влькъ/влъкъ		вълкъ/влъкъ (вълъкъ)
6d.	*tъlt	tlъt	tъlt	usual тълт, often тлът, rare тълът
		слъньце		сълньце/слъньце (сълъньце)

	MCoS	OCS	Old ESlav	Rusian (ER) standard language
7a.	*tert	trět	teret	mostly трѣт or artificial трєт, rare терет
		брѣгъ		брѣгъ/брєгъ (бєрєгъ)
7b.	*tort	trat	torot	трат, rare торот
		градъ		градъ (городъ)
7c.	*telt	tlět	tolot	тлѣт, rare толот (hypercorrect тлат!)
		плѣнъ		плѣнъ (полонъ [планъ])
7d.	*tolt	tlat	tolot	тлат, rare толот
		младъ		младъ (молодъ)
8a.	*ort-	rat-	rot-	рат- (rare рот-)
		разоумѣ		разоумѣ (розоумѣ)
8b.	*olt-	olt-	lot-	examples rare, both types found
		лакъть		лакъть, локъть
9.	*-en-n-	-ěn-	*-ęn- > -än-	mostly -än-
		медѣнъ		медѧнъ
		персѣнинъ		персѧнинъ

B. Morphological features

(probably viewed by early scribes as orthographic and/or phonetic)

	OCS	Old ESlav	Rusian (ER) standard language
10. Masculine-neuter instrumental singular			
	-omь/-emь	-ъmь/-ьmь	ESl forms rigorously used, SSl rare
	селомь		селъмь, польмь
	отьцемь, мѫжемь		отьцьмь, моужьмь
11. 3rd person verbal desinence, singular and plural.			
	-tъ	-tь	ESl forms even in strictest SSl-type mss.
	носитъ, несетъ		носить, несеть
	носѧтъ, несѫтъ		носѧть, несоуть
			Desinence may appear in imperfect (cf. 15, below)
			несѧшеть, носѧхоуть
12. Dative-locative sg. personal pronouns			Mostly SSl, frequent ESl forms. Often confusion with *genitive* forms *tebe, sebe.*
a.	тебѣ	тобѣ	тебѣ (тобѣ, тебе)
	себѣ	собѣ	себѣ (собѣ, тебе)
b.	мьнѣ (мнѣ)	мънѣ	мънѣ (м'нѣ, мнѣ)

13. "Soft" feminine genitive singular, nominative-accusative plural, masculine accusative plural; pronominal genitive singular feminine:

	OCS	Old ESlav	Rusian (ER) standard language
(?*-ēN)	-ę	-ě	Mostly SSl, but ESl forms do occur
	(-oję, -eję, -yję -ęję)		(-ojě, -ejě, -yjě, -ějě)

	OCS	*Old ESlav*	*Rusian (ER) standard language*
a. G sg = NA pl			
	доушѧ, ꙁємлѧ		доуша = доушѧ (доушѣ), ꙁємлꙗ = ꙁємлѧ (ꙁємлѣ)
	новъѧ,		новъꙗ = новъѧ (новъѣ)
	ништѧѧ		ништаꙗ = ништѧꙗ = ништѧѧ = ништаѧ (ништѣѣ)
b. A pl	мѫжѧ		моужа = моужѧ (моужѣ)
	конѧ		конꙗ = конѧ (конѣ)
c. G sg fem pronominal			
	тоѧ, моєѧ, вьсеѧ		тоꙗ = тоѧ (тоѣ), моꙗ = моѩ (моѩѣ) вьсєꙗ = вьсєѧ (вьсєѣ)
d.			Note that in long adjectives, older -yjä/-äjä (from SSl -yję/-ęję) or ESl -yjě/-ějě may be replaced by pronominal -ojä/-ejä (-oję/-eję) or -ejě: новоѧ/новоꙗ (новоѣ), ништєѧ/ништєꙗ (ништєѣ)
14. Nominative sing. masculine present active participles (C-verbs)			
(?)	-y	-a	SSl usual, ESl not uncommon
	нєсы, иды, рєкы		нєса, ида, рєка (рька)
15. Imperfect tense-marker			
(?)	-ěa-	-äa-	Both,
	contracted -ě-	-ä-	ESl forms frequent
NB! ESl forms of i-verbs do not iotate: nosäše(tь), nosäxu(tь), cf. 11, above.			
	нєсѣашє/нєсѣшє		нєсѣашє/нєсѣшє/нєсѧашє/нєсѧшє
	ношаашє/ношашє		ношѧашє/ношаашє/носѧашє/носѧшє (нєсѧшєть, носѧшєть, нєсѧхоуть, носѧхоуть)

16. Long adjectival masc/neut sg desinences

G sg *-aego/-aago/-ago* and *-uemu/-uumu/-umu* probable for both South and East Slavic. Uncontracted forms appear to have been normal in ESl well into the 12th century. G *-ago* remains until after about 1200, is then sporadically replaced by pronominal *-ogo/-ego*. D *-umu* begins to be replaced by pronominal *-omu/-emu* from about 1100, so that *-omu/-emu* is normal by about 1200.

(новаего) новааго/новаго новаго (новааго)

(новоуємоу) новоуоумоу/новоумоу(новоумоу) новомоу

(Note that 19th-c. norm spelled *-aго* unless desinence under stress: бѣ́лаго, свѣ́жаго, си́няго ~ смѣшно́го, чужо́го. This is a vivid illustration of the tenacity of traditional spelling habits: the *-ogo* had become phonologically *-ovo* in central Russian dialects by the early 1400's, but the letter г is the norm to this day.)

APPENDIX 4: RELATIONS AMONG LATE COMMON SLAVIC DIALECTS, ESPECIALLY SOUTHERN AND EASTERN

Theses for discussion

■ Traditional hypothesis • corollary	□ Alternate hypothesis ∘ corollary
1 ■ Three distinct Common Slavic dialects—South vs. East vs. West—*before* the Slavs moved west and south across the Danube, are guaranteed by the presence of three major tribal groups in c600 CE.	□ The isoglosses establishable for c850 show only the initial stage of the South/East/West trichotomy; linguistic divergence began c700, well *after* the Slavic occupation of the Balkans.
2 • The language used by Constantine and Methodius in 863 must have been distinctly foreign either to the presumably West Slavic Moravians or to East Slavs.	∘ Cyrillo-Methodian language differed only in very minor ways from that of Slavs in any region.
3 • In 10th-century Rus', Old Church Slavonic was foreign and East Slavs needed interpreters.	∘ OCS was immediately intelligible: the ideas of an unfamiliar culture, however, could not be assimilated at once. As new objects, social relationships, modes of behavior, religious concepts were learned, linguistic means for expressing all this were acquired.
4 • The language of OCS books imported into Rus' from the south after 988 was a different language from that spoken by East Slavs.	∘ The book language was somewhat unfamiliar in certain striking phonological and morphological features, but it shared virtually all of its grammatical structure with local East Slavic dialects (while differing more often in vocabulary) and was erceived as merely a somewhat deviant dialect. It was the only acceptable written system, but required minor systematic modifications.
5 • 11th-c. literate East Slavs were bilingual or diglossic.	∘ Literate East Slavs had acquired additional vocabulary and stylistic devices that supple-

mented the means available from a single dialect; all elements were perceived as "ours" and not "alien".

6 ■ The East Slavic polities from the time of Svjatoslav to Volodimir required writing for many purposes.

□ The social and economic organization of the East Slavs before 988 generally required no writing.

7 • Civil administration and trade required writing before c950.

○ Christianity required writing, but administrative and commercial activities did not need writing until after Jaroslav's time.

8 ■ The official acceptance of Christianity in 988 meant the immediate introduction of the Slavonic rite with OCS books in every church.

□ Volodimir's ecclesiastical personnel and organization were Greek and the church language was ordinarily Greek.

9 • The schools established by Volodimir were Slavic (possibly with Rusian as a language of instruction, but with OCS books).

○ The schools—if not a mere pious fiction of a chronicler—were Greek and presumably were intended to make the young Rus' nobles literate in Greek.

10 ■ The absence of written language datable to before 1040 is accidental; surviving inscriptions and coins prove widespread literacy from the early tenth century.

□ The negative evidence before 1040 implies that systematic use of OCS books was not introduced until the 1030s.

11 • Volodimir's schools created educated cadres who wrote secular as well as religious texts in Slavic.

○ Absence of direct or indirect evidence of cultural activity in Greek or Slavonic indicates that Volodimir's schools had at best ephemeral results.

12 ■ Early East Slavic culture distinguished between Christian and secular viewpoints.

□ The Christian world view embraced all activities, including all writing.

13 ■ The sharp contrast between the foreign Slavonic of church books and the local vernaculars, in particular the language of customary law and folklore, resulted in a strict delimitation of spheres in written langage: the vernacu-

□ The written language followed the OCS texts as *stylistic* models for complex ideas and elevated subject matter; vocabulary in particular would use native resources to express concrete objects and familiar situations.

lar could be used only in very limited genres.	
14 • Alternate written forms signal *foreign vs. native* or *high vs. low* elements.	◦ Many variables are part of the *linguistic code. Only a few have* definable stylistic value; no Slavic grammatical element is marked *foreign.*
15 • Early Kievan literature had an elaborate hierarchy of subtly differentiated genres, requiring linguistic gradation of great sophistication.	◦ Moderate linguistic variation was roughly correlated with a stylistic range of expression appropriate to different situations and subject matters.
16 ■ From the 1050s at the latest Rus' (especially Kiev) had an intellectual elite with a sophisticated knowledge of Byzantine culture, including an active corps of translators from Greek and perhaps other languages.	□ In the 1050s only a few ecclesiastical officials were educated above a level of bare literacy (sufficient to read texts aloud with understanding).
17 • From 1037 on there was a steady flow of new translations and original compositions.	◦ Cultural activity before c1075 consisted almost wholly of copying works (nearly all religious, a large proportion specifically monastic) translated in Bulgaria (Moravia, Bohemia, Croatia [?]).
18 ■ The continuity of linguistic structure and culture warrants speaking of "the Russian language of the 11th-17th centuries."	□ Profound linguistic change produced successive linguistic structures that require separate treatment. Earlier Rusian ("Old Russian"), before the jer-shift c1150, and later Rusian, to c1350, include all of East Slavic; thereafter *Russian* is opposed to *Ukrainian.*
19 ■ The sharp contrast of written to spoken language existed from the beginning and changed only in some details.	□ The written language, c1050 still essentially OCS but adapted to East Slavic conditions by c1100, was maintained as a standard through the 13th century. It gradually became more and more distant from the changing and diverging spoken dialects; by 1300 diglossia may be

developing, and archaization and Bulgarization of the book language increases this tendency after 1400. By 1600 the gap between written standard and spoken norms is very great.

20 • Examples from the 13th or 15th century are valid to demonstrate hypotheses about "Old Russian" language and style of any century.

◦ The situation changed rapidly between c950 and c1150 and more gradually until c1600. Works (and copies) must be analyzed in terms of dates of composition (or copying).

21 • Extant copies of the *Povest'* vremennyx let provide exact and detailed information about "Old Russian" of c1100 or even earlier.

◦ The copies allow a reasonable reconstruction of the text and its language, but not of many variant phonological details that might have been of stylistic value (e.g., *torot/trat, č/šč*).

22 ■ The chief goal of scholarship is to explicate statements by earlier scholars.

□ The aim of scholarly investigation is to present the results of principled analysis of specific materials, in our case the manuscripts and other written materials we have reason to believe were written in Rus' and neighboring lands before c1400.

23 • Observations made by a scholar must fit the framework of previous scholarship; primary givens are terminology and models.

◦ Facts are primary; models can be built and definitions (like "Old Russian," or "diglossia") formulated only in terms of comprehensive analyses of the full range of appropriate facts.

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Texts of Closed Tradition: The Key to the Manuscript Heritage of Old Rus'

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The manuscript heritage of Old Rus' comprises two distinct entities: Corpus *I*: the *Inheritance*, i.e., the manuscripts imported into Old Rus' from the beginning of the history of its written culture up to 1237;[1] and Corpus *L*: the *Legacy*, i.e., the manuscripts passed on in inheritance to the new centres of culture after 1237.[2]

The main task for the history of the literature and language of Old Rus' is to determine what and in which form Old Rus' proper contributed to *L*. Ideally, this task should be carried out on the basis of a quantitative and qualitative comparison of both corpora. Unfortunately, neither is extant, and both must be reconstructed.

For comparison, we have at our disposal only two other entities, the second of which reflects both *I* and *L* to an extent yet to be determined: Corpus *C*: the *Canon*, i.e., the corpus of Old Slavic manuscripts and their fragments, usually assumed to antedate *I*[3] (as established by Sadnik–Aitzetmüller 1955 with complements in Tarnanidis 1988);[4] and Corpus *R*: the *manuscripts from Rus'*, i.e., the surviving manuscripts of *L*,[5] later copies of both surviving and lost manuscripts of *I* and *L*, as well as later additions to *L* (as established in SK, PS, and PSXV with complements in most descriptions of collections of Slavic manuscripts both inside and outside the USSR).[6]

1 The date is, of course, arbitrary, for the northwest was spared the devastations wrought by the Mongols in Kiev and the southwest; but communications with the Balkans, the source of importation of MSS, must have been in peril for at least some decennia.

2 Or they were copied in the remaining centers of old.

3 *C* preserves no indications as to the relative topology or chronology of its MSS; some of them may even be younger than the oldest surviving MSS of *L*; cf. Lunt 1982.

4 Cf., for a criticism of the delimitation of this corpus, Marti 1988: 91 ("On s'étonne que les philologues aient osé qualifier cet ensemble disparate de corpus") and Veder 1988.

5 Some of the MSS customarily assigned to *L* may, in fact, belong to *I* or even *C*; cf. the conflicting assignments of SK 32 by Tixomirov 1962 and Hahn 1964.

6 Marti 1987 provides a comprehensive critical analysis of this corpus up to the fifteenth century.

Both *C* and *R* reflect a random fraction of what must have been available in *I* or *L*, not a representative sample. The lack of representativity concerns both the absolute and relative volume and the variety of books, as well as their very individuality.[7] Any reconstruction of *I* or *L* cannot, indeed, exceed an approximation of their volume,[8] their frequency and variety,[9] and their individuality. Nevertheless, on the level of texts, the identification of parts of either *I* or *L*, as well as the establishment of distinctive features of either corpus that can be used for further reconstruction by attribution of texts to one of them, is by no means impossible.

R preserves some identifications of authors/translators and their patrons, as well as of copyists and places and dates of copying, which makes it possible to assign the prehistory of some manuscripts either to *I*[10] or *L*.[11] Thus, some parts of *I* and *L* can be preliminarily, but reliably identified; their full individuation, however, remains subject to the operations discussed below.

Other parts cannot be so readily identified. The means to establish their distinctive features and ultimately identify them as parts of *I* or *L* must be sought in the manuscript texts themselves: it is the analysis of the relative chronology of the textual interrelations, as well as the orthography, grammar, and lexicon, that in these cases may provide the data for either the restriction of a history of a manuscript to *L*, or its extension to *I*. If such analysis is properly designed and carried out, its results can be just as reliable as those of outright identification by colophons or references.

These means have fallen into relative disrepute because they have, in the past, been applied without due attention to their methodological basis. This is essentially formed by six unverified assumptions, which in conjunction represent a grave methodological error:[12]

1. Scribe = writer

For both *C* and *R*, as well as for all other corpora of Slavic manuscripts, including *I* and *L*, it has always been tacitly assumed that the scribe did not

7 Manuscript books are, as a rule, unique in form and content, even if the texts they transmit are not.

8 Cf. for *L* Volkov 1897 and Sapunov 1955, as well as the criticism of Rozov 1974.

9 Compare the estimates per type of book in *L* in Marti 1987 with the preliminary inventory of text types of *I* in Thomson 1978.

10 Or to *C*; the assignment cannot always be rigorously reliable, for some of them may have reached Rus' after 1237, e.g., John of Damascus, *Sacra Parallela* (Thomson 1978: 136 note 139).

11 Notably the original works of identified authors of Old Rus'; cf. Podskalsky 1982.

12 This is the reason why the contributions (save that by O. N. Trubačev) to the most recent collection of studies on precisely the subject of individuating *I* and *L*, Žukovskaja 1987, lack any cogency.

merely copy, but verified the text of his apograph[13] via his own pronunciation (externally or internally), or even wrote upon dictation. Ultimately, this leads to the assumption that the scribe was a writer who produced his own (even if only previously internalized) text. This assumption has never been verified in detail, and there is evidence to challenge it.[14]

2. Book = manuscript text

Following 1 above, it has been tacitly assumed that any manuscript book in *C* or *R*, irrespective of any change of antigraph, was equal to a manuscript text with uniform features, unless produced by more than one scribe, in which case the various parts were given separate treatment. This assumption has never been verified in detail, and there is evidence to challenge it.[15]

3. XI–XIII century = XIV–XVII century

Also following 1 above, it has been tacitly assumed that the manuscripts produced by scribes from the same general dialect area were characterized, irrespective of differing antigraphs, by the same general principles of treatment of pre-existing texts.[16] Ultimately, this leads to the assumption that variations in form and language within a given corpus, e.g., *R*, are manifestations of a single process of development. This assumption has never been verified in detail, and it should be challenged, at least for the period of acquisition of literacy and literature in which *I* was imported and *L* was produced.

4. Open = contaminated = closed tradition

Following 1–3 above, it has been tacitly assumed that the books and texts produced by scribes were essentially their own, and that, consequently, the various forms of textual tradition, relevant on the level of the diachronic and diatopic study of the text, were irrelevant on the level of the single manuscript. This assumption has never been verified in detail and is open to the same challenge as above under 2.[17]

13 I use the term *apograph* to indicate the manuscript copied, *antigraph* to indicate the manuscript copied from, and *protograph* to indicate the first manuscript of a given text, in order to be able to refer unequivocally to manuscript transmission (not textual tradition).

14 Cf. below text *PA*.

15 Cf. below the MSS SK 163-64, 165, 166, 309, SCA and TAR.

16 Cf. Lixačev 1962.

17 It is interesting to note that, in the realm of Slavic manuscripts, only the *open tradition* has been considered worthy of a detailed treatment (Lixačev 1962); the *contaminated tradition* is a phenomenon so far treated almost exclusively by Western scholars, and very rarely in Slavic texts (cf. recently Pope 1986); the *closed tradition* in Slavic has never been been recognized or analyzed in detail.

5. $C = I, L = R$

Following 2 above, *C*, although never outrightly identified with *I*, has been tacitly assumed to have the same features as *I*, and no attempt has been made to verify this assumption. Likewise, *R* has always been considered to represent a single continuum, the oldest stratum of which could be mechanically identified with the remnants of *L*, representing all its features,[18] but no attempt has been made to verify this assumption.[19]

6. Example = system

Following 1–5 above, it has been tacitly assumed that examples from any manuscript of *R*[20] could suffice to represent the system of *R*, irrespective of differences in antigraphs within one manuscript, in textual tradition, or in relative chronology (and sometimes even scribal hands). There are no reliable in-depth case studies of even a single manuscript to support this assumption.[21]

Conjunction of these errors, ultimately, results in the postulate that *R* is a homogeneous corpus, that its distinctive features are essentially identical to those of *L*, and that *I* is no corpus but, save the manuscripts with outright identification, no more than a vague "influence."[22] Its acceptance bars the passage to the history of not outrightly identified texts beyond the topological and lower chronological boundaries of *R* and leads research into a vicious circle.

Yet it is precisely upon *I* that attention should be focussed, for the distinctive features of *L* can be perceived only against the background of the features of *I*.[23] It is evident that to open the passage to *I* for texts not outrightly identified as its members, a new key is required that will satisfy the following specifications: to distinguish *received features* (i.e., features that belong to the antigraph of a given text) from *acquired features* (i.e., features that belong to its apograph exclusively); to distinguish scribal *errors* from *interventions* and to explain the latter; in sum, to provide

18 Cf. Filin 1981.

19 Not to mention the fact that the identification of random fractions of corpora, with entire corpora to be established, constitutes a methodological error in itself.

20 For *C*, the situation is different, at least since Schaeken 1987.

21 The case studies of SK 5 by Veder 1985 and SK 24 by Popovski 1989 radically contradict it.

22 Not unlike the "Second South Slavic Influence" (cf. Sobolevskij 1894), for which the question whether it is based, at least in part, on the use of antigraphs of a hitherto unusual makeup, has never been seriously examined.

23 The most pertinent ideas put forward about *I* by Durnovo 1924–27 could not be developed so far, owing to the impediments of tradition listed above, more than partially and unconvincingly; cf. Toth 1985.

detailed insight into the process of copying and its accidents and, thereby, to provide the background indispensable for any evaluation of the limits of variation in relation to the faithful transmission of a text. Such a key is provided by texts of *closed tradition.*

Texts of *closed tradition* are texts of which both the original content and form remain clearly discernible throughout their manuscript transmission and not obliterated by a mass of inexplicable variant readings on all levels; in sum: texts transmitted faithfully, from antigraph to apograph, be it with adaptations to the usage of the scribe (discernible in the framework of his entire retrievable manuscript production) and the tenor of compilations (discernible in the framework of treatment of other texts in the same compilation, as well as its probable destination). Such texts are not usually well known or read in our day, being, for the most part translations of Greek texts for monastic reading, but, for their heuristic value, they deserve our full attention. On the basis of SK, I can recommend sixteen such texts from *R* up to the fourteenth century for privileged analysis:

PA

The *Pandects* of the monk Antiochus of Mar Saba (CPG 7842–7844), extant in two independent transcriptions from the same Glagolitic (= *C*) protograph, SK 24 and 32[24] (the latter by five contemporary scribes), a selective apograph of SK 24, SK 163–64 by three contemporary scribes, and another selective apograph from an unidentified antigraph dependent upon SK 24, SK 309. Later apographs dependent upon SK 24 are recorded in PS and many other descriptions of manuscript collections. South Slavic apographs of a third independent transcription from the Glagolitic (= *C*) protograph are recorded by Birkfellner 1975 and Bogdanović 1982.

IS

The *Izbornik of 1073*, SK 4, probable apograph by two contemporary scribes of the *Izbornik of Tsar Simeon I of Bulgaria* (= *C*), selectively used, perhaps via a different antigraph, by, again, SK 163–64 (two scribes) and SK 309. Later apographs dependent upon the same protograph are recorded by PSXV, Rybakov 1977 and Veder 1980. South Slavic apographs dependent upon the same protograph are recorded by Ivanova 1979 and Mihailă 1977.

[24] The latter may, according to the findings of Popovski 1989, be a member of *I* rather than *L*.

IK

The *Knjažij Izbornik* (= *C*)[25] preserved, within the period indicated, only in the selective apographs of unknown antigraphs SK 96 and 309 and SCA. An apograph of a selective compilation from it, the Bulgarian *Izbornik of John the Sinner*, is preserved in the *Izbornik of 1076*, SK 5 (two scribes); an apograph of one of the source texts of the compilation is preserved in SK 163–64 (two scribes). Partial South Slavic apographs of the selective compilation as well as the source texts are recorded by Veder 1983 and Veder–Novak 1987.

ZL

The *Zlatostruj* (= *C*),[26] for the time being not distinguishing its long and short recension. Its texts are preserved in SK 18, 74, 263–66; selective apographs of both the long and short recension are preserved in SK 163–64, 309 and SCA.[27]

PE

The *Parainesis* of Ephraem Syrus (= *C*).[28] Its texts are transmitted in SK 128, 289, 466; selective apographs are preserved in SK 163–64 (two scribes), 165 and SJO.[29] South Slavic parallel texts are preserved in SK 25, 269.

KI

The *Catecheses* (''Oglašenija'') of Cyril of Jerusalem (CPG 3585) preserved in SK 45, 391.

PS

The Systematic Collection of Apophthegmata Patrum (''Paterik Skitskij,'' CPG 5562–5564; = *C*, cf. Van Wijk 1975), preserved in the apograph BOG[30] and the selective apographs SK 5, SCA and TAR,[31] that probably reflect Bulgarian antigraphs. A South Slavic apograph is recorded by Birkfellner 1975.

ZN

The *Vita* of St. Nephon of Constantia (BHG 1371z; = *C*), preserved in SK 119, 174; a selective apograph, probably of a Bulgarian antigraph, is preserved in SK 5.

25 Cf. Veder 1983.
26 Cf. Thomson 1982.
27 Veder 1978.
28 Cf. Thomson 1985.
29 Cf. Sjöberg 1981.
30 Cf. Bogdanović 1982: no. 1082.
31 Tamanidis 1988: no. 18.

PT

The *Brief Commentary* on the Psalms by Hesychius of Jerusalem (CPG 6553; =*C*), preserved in SK 29–30, 47; a selective apograph is preserved in SK 309. South Slavic apographs are recorded by SK 38 and Capaldo 1978: 24.

LE

The *Scala Paradisi* of John Scholasticus of Sinai (CPG 7850–7853; =*C*), preserved in SK 62, 206, 354; selective apographs are preserved in SCA and TAR that probably reflect Bulgarian antigraphs.

ZS

The *Vita* of St. Sabbas of Palestine (BHG 1608, CPG 7536), preserved in SK 61, 262.

TI

The *Commentary on Daniel* by Hippolytus of Rome (CPG 1873; =*C*), preserved in SK 129; a selective apograph is preserved in SK 309. A South Slavic apograph is recorded by SK 105.

PC

Readings from the *Prologue* (i.e., Synaxarium), abundantly, if not completely, preserved in SK 162, 166, 177, 293–98, 377, 379, 470–72; some of their sources are reflected in SCA; South Slavic apographs are recorded by SK 378, 381, 469.

ZE

The *Vita* of St. Epiphanius of Constantia (BHG 586), preserved in SK 165, 261.

PN

The *Pandects* of the monk Nikon of the Black Mountain, preserved in SK 166, 214.

BG

The *Homilies* of St. Gregory the Great (CPL 1711; =*C*), preserved in SK 227; a selective apograph is preserved in SK 309.

In tabular form, the relationship between these texts can be represented as follows:[32]

[32] MSS dated in two centuries are listed under the earlier century only; compilations are grouped separately in the right half of the table.

	Full Apographs or Fragments			*Selective Apographs*		
	XI	XII	XIII	XI	XII	XIII
PA	24,32				163-64	309
IS	4				163-64	309
IK		96		5	163-64	309,SCA
ZL	18	74	263-6		163-64	309,SCA
PE		128	289,466, SJO		163-4,165	
KI	45		391			
PS		BOG		5		SCA,TAR
ZN		119	174	5		
PT	29,30,47					309
LE		62	206,354			SCA,TAR
ZS		61	262			
TI		129				309
PC		162	177,293-98, 377,379, 470-72, SJO		166	
ZE		261			165	
PN		214			166	
BG		227				309

This partial corpus of texts from *I* and *L* will permit the separation of features of the text itself (*received features*) from features of the apograph (*acquired features*), not only by virtue of the fact that the texts have a closed tradition. By virtue of the fact that the text can be studied in a variety of chronologically (and, if the South Slavic manuscripts are included, geographically) different renditions, as well as the fact that the features ascribed to the text can be checked against renditions of texts from other antigraphs by the same scribes in their selective apographs, it will become possible to establish patterns of permissible variation in apographs in general. Finally, thanks to the fact that the oldest pair of antigraph and apograph in Slavic are included (SK 24 = antigraph of SK 163-64), it will become possible to gain a detailed view of the copying process (vs. writing upon internal or external dictation), its accidents, and its importance. If conducted within the framework of the system of entire manuscript books, exhaustively treating the entire production of every scribe, the results of this research will not fail to provide a sounder basis for the interpretation of the data of manuscripts from Old Rus' than that of unproven assumptions. It will surely create a background against which the relationship between the corpora *I* and *L* will be seen in a new light.

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Ilarion und die Nestorchronik

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Die Anfänge der Chronistik der Kiever Rus' liegen etwa in der gleichen Zeit, in der die Werke des Kiever Metropoliten Ilarion [1] entstanden sind—in der Mitte des 11. Jahrhunderts. Auch der Ort ihrer Entstehung ist fast identisch: für die Chronik das Höhlenkloster, für die Werke des Ilarion die Stadt Kiev oder auch—noch viel näher am Höhlenkloster—Berestovo, der Landsitz Jaroslavs, wo Ilarion, bevor er Metropolit von Kiev wurde, als Presbyter lebte.[2]

Auch nach ihrem Inhalt, ihren theologischen und politischen Anschauungen und ihrer Tendenz stehen sich die Werke Ilarions und die frühe Kiever Chronistik nahe. So ist es nur natürlich, daß man seit langem fragt, ob literarische Beziehungen zwischen diesen Werken bestehen und, wenn ja, welcher Art sie sind.

A. A. Šaxmatov hat im Jahre 1908 in seinen Untersuchungen zu den altrussischen Chroniken[3] eine Reihe von inhaltlichen und zum Teil sogar wörtlichen Übereinstimmungen zwischen beiden Werken festgestellt und ist

[1] Zu Ilarion s. meine Arbeiten *Des Metropoliten Ilarion Lobrede auf Vladimir den Heiligen und Glaubensbekenntnis*, nach der Erstausgabe von 1844 neu herausgegeben, eingeleitet und erläutert von Ludolf Müller. Wörterverzeichnis von Susanne Kehrer und Wolfgang Seegatz (Wiesbaden, 1962) (künftig zitiert: Müller, *Ilarion*, 1962), und *Die Werke des Metropoliten Ilarion*, eingeleitet, übersetzt und erläutert von Ludolf Müller (München, 1971) (künftig zitiert: Müller, *Ilarion*, 1971). Eine kritische Ausgabe der drei überlieferten Redaktionen des »Slovo« Ilarions hat A. M. Moldavan unter Benutzung des gesamten Handschriftenmaterials herausgegeben unter dem Titel *'Slovo o zakone i blagodati' Ilariona* (Kiev, 1984).—Ich spreche von den »*Werken* Ilarions«, weil ich die »Rede über das Gesetz und die Gnade« und den »Lobpreis auf Vladimir« für zwei verschiedene Werke halte. Außerdem gehören zu seinen »Gesammelten Werken« auch noch das »Gebet« und das »Glaubensbekenntnis«. Siehe zu dieser Frage: Müller, *Ilarion*, 1971, S. 10–14.—Ich zitiere Ilarion nach dem Text der Synodalhandschrift (Moldavan, S. 78–100); die Stellenangaben beziehen sich auf die Seiten- und Zeilenzahl der Erstausgabe von Gorskij, 1844, die in meinen beiden Ausgaben am Rande vermerkt sind.

[2] »Nestorchronik«, Jahr 1051, 155, 30–156, 3. Ich zitiere die Nestorchronik (*Pověst' vremennyx lět*, abgekürzt *PVL*) nach der Ausgabe in *Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej*, Bd. 1, 2. Auflage (Leningrad, 1926) (photographischer Nachdruck im *Handbuch zur Nestorchronik*, Bd. 1 [München, 1977]). Ich gebe jeweils das Jahr des Chronikartikels an (umgerechnet aus der byzantinischen Ära in die Zeitrechnung »nach Christi Geburt«), ferner die Zahl der Spalte und der Zeile in der genannten Ausgabe.

[3] A. A. Šaxmatov, *Razyskanija o drevnějšix russkix letopisnyx svodax* (St. Peterburg, 1908), S. 417f.

dabei zu dem überzeugenden Schluß gekommen, daß »ihrer so viele sind, daß man dies unmöglich durch Zufall erklären kann«. Auf weitere Übereinstimmungen, die Šaxmatov übersehen hat, haben D. S. Lixačev und N. N. Rozov hingewiesen.[4]

So wird heute von niemandem betstritten, daß literarische Beziehungen zwischen beiden Werken bestehen. Aber über die Art der Wechselbeziehungen konnte bisher keine Einigkeit erzielt werden.

Die verschiedenen Auffassungen dieser Wechselbeziehungen können auf vier Grundtypen zurückgeführt werden:

1) Die Chronik hat auf Ilarion gewirkt.

2) Ilarion hat auf die Chronik gewirkt.

3) Ilarion und der Chronist sind miteinander identisch; Ilarion selbst oder mindestens ein Mann, der ihm sehr nahe stand, hat wesentlichen Anteil an der Entstehung der ältesten Chronik—hat die Teile der Chronik geschrieben, die nahe Parallelen in den Werken Ilarions aufweisen.

4) Die Nähe zwischen Ilarion und der Chronik ist dadurch zu erklären, daß sie beide gemeinsame Quellen benutzt haben.

Wir wollen fragen, welche dieser Auffassungen die richtige ist oder, vorsichtiger gesagt, worin die einzelnen Auffassungen recht haben und worin nicht. Gehen wir sie der Reihe nach durch.

Wenn behauptet wird, die Chronik habe auf Ilarion gewirkt, so ist unter »Chronik« hier natürlich nicht die älteste überlieferte Fassung der Rus' Chronik zu verstehen, die fälschlich so genannte Nestorchronik oder »Pověst' vremennyx lět« (besser würden wir sie den »Letopisec des Sil'vestr« nennen).[5] Da diese Fassung der Chronik im Jahre 1116 entstanden ist, die Werke des Ilarion aber mindestens 65 Jahre früher, kann Ilarion nicht von der Nestorchronik abhängig sein, sondern höchstens von einer frühen Vorform dieser Chronik, etwa dem von Šaxmatov postulierten und rekonstruierten ältesten Chronik-Kodex (»Drevnějšij svod«), den er auf das Jahr 1039 oder 1040 datiert.[6] Und in der Tat behauptet Šaxmatov, daß Ilarion eine ganze Reihe von Wendungen gerade aus diesem »Drevnějšij svod« übernommen habe, und er benutzt diese angebliche Tatsache sogar zur Datierung des »Drevnějšij svod«. Da die Lobrede Ilarions auf jeden

[4] D. S. Lixačev, *Russkie letopisi i ix kul'turno-istoričeskoe značenie* (Moskva-Leningrad, 1947), S. 51–62; N. N. Rozov, »K voprosu ob učastii Ilariona v načal'nom letopisanii«, in *Letopisi i xroniki. Sbornik statej 1973 g.* (Moskva, 1974), S. 31–36.

[5] So bezeichnet Sil'vestr sie in seiner Nachschrift, *PVL*, 286, 2.

[6] Šaxmatov, *Razyskanija*, S. 414ff.

Fall vor dem Tode Jaroslavs entstanden ist, müsse der »Drevnějšij svod« also auch vor 1054 entstanden sein.[7]

Aber bei der Zusammenstellung der Wendungen, die den Werken Ilarions und der Chronik gemeinsam sind, stellt Šaxmatov nicht einmal die Frage, ob die z.T. wörtliche Übereinstimmung nicht auch anders erklärt werden kann: durch den Einfluß Ilarions auf die Chronik oder durch gemeinsame Benutzung der gleichen Quellen.

Noch weniger kann die einzige sachliche Gemeinsamkeit zwischen Ilarion und der Chronik überzeugen, die Šaxmatov für seine Hypothese vom Einfluß der Chronik auf Ilarion anführt. Er zitiert Ilarions Worte über den Großvater und den Vater Volodimers, wo Ilarion von ihnen sagt: daß sie durch ihre Mannhaftigkeit und Tapferkeit berühmt wurden in vielen Ländern und daß man »von ihren Siegen und ihrer Festigkeit noch heute kündet und sagt«. [8] Auf dieses »kündet«, altr. *pominajutsja*, bezieht sich Šaxmatov, indem er sagt: »Ob Igore i Svjatoslave pominala drevnjaja letopis'«.[9] Aber Ilarion denkt an dieser Stelle gewiß nicht an die Erwähnung der Vorfahren Volodimers im »Drevnějsij svod«, zumal in der Chronik nirgends von besonderen Siegen Igor's, sondern eigentlich nur von einer schweren Niederlage erzählt wird.[10] Das Verbum *slovut'*, das Ilarion hier gebraucht, zeigt deutlich, daß er hier nicht an gelehrte, schriftliche, sondern an mündliche Überlieferung denkt. Das gleiche gilt wohl für die Erwähnung der Freigebigkeit und Mildtätigkeit Volodimers, von der sowohl die Chronik wie Ilarion berichten, letzterer wieder mit den Worten, daß sie »auch jetzt unter den Menschen gekündet werden«,[11] und nicht nur unter ihnen, vielmehr auch vor Gott und seinen Engeln. Daß Ilarion für diese Information nicht auf schriftliche Quellen angewiesen war, bezeugt auch der deutsche Chronist Thietmar von Merseburg. Denn bis zu ihm in das ferne Deutschland ist es gedrungen, daß Volodimer »den Makel begangener Sünden durch ständige reiche Almosenspenden abzuwaschen suchte.«[12]

Schließlich erwähnt Šaxmatov noch die Nachricht über die von Volodimer befohlene Christianisierung des Rus'-Reiches und den geringen Wider-

[7] Šaxmatov, *Razyskanija*, S. 418.
[8] Ilarion, 38, 15f.
[9] Šaxmatov, *Razyskanija*, S. 418.
[10] *PVL*, 941, Sp. 44f.
[11] Ilarion, 43, 5f.: *pominaemy sut'*.
[12] Thietmar von Merseburg, *Chronik*, VII, 74, (in der Ausgabe von Trillmich; Darmstadt, 1957), S. 436.

stand, den die Bevölkerung hierin leistet.[13] Für die Tatsache der Massentaufe selbst brauchte Ilarion gewiß keine schriftlichen Quellen; erzählt uns doch die Chronik unter dem Jahr 1074 von dem Mönch Eremija, »der sich an die Taufe des Rus'-Landes erinnerte«.[14]

Eine gewisse Nähe zwischen beiden Werken besteht immerhin darin, daß sie in diesem Zusammenhang beide den Begriff »alle« durch die Figur der Diärese entfalten. In der Chronik befiehlt Volodimer, daß »alle« sich am Fluß einfinden sollen: »ob reich oder arm oder Bettler oder Sklave«;[15] bei Ilarion: »Kleine und Große, Sklaven und Freie, Junge und Alte, die Bojaren und die einfachen Leute, Reiche und Arme.«[16]

Abgesehen davon, daß diese rhetorische Figur sich hier anbot und spontan in beiden Werken auftreten konnte, bleibt, wenn man literarische Abhängigkeit annehmen will, völlig offen, wer von wem abhängig ist: die Chronik von Ilarion oder Ilarion von der Chronik.

Schließlich sei noch eine Stelle erwähnt, die Šaxmatov in diesem Zusammenhang nicht nennt. Ilarion redet Volodimer an: »Du versammeltest dich oft mit... den Bischöfen und berietest dich mit viel Demut, wie unter diesen Menschen, die erst vor kurzem den Herrn erkannt hatten, das Gesetz aufzurichten sei.«[17]

Damit kann man vergleichen, was in der Chronik unter dem Jahr 996 berichtet wird über eine Beratung zwischen Volodimer und den Bischöfen über die Frage der Todesstrafe für Raubüberfälle.[18] Aber Šaxmatov hat diese Stelle wohl bewußt nicht genannt. In der Chronik geht es um einen Einzelfall, und es handelt sich um die Bestrafung von Kriminalverbrechen. Bei Ilarion dagegen geht es um Fragen des kirchlichen Lebens; und wenn Ilarion eine schriftliche Quelle im Sinn hat, dann vielleicht eher das Kirchenstatut Volodimers, das uns leider nicht in seinem ursprünglichen Wortlaut überliefert ist.

In interessanter Weise hat ein Schüler Šaxmatovs, M. D. Priselkov, dessen These von der Einwirkung des »Drevnějšij svod« auf Ilarion weiterentwickelt. Während Šaxmatov nur die literarische Abhängigkeit Ilarions von jener »ältesten Chronik« nachweisen wollte, fragt Priselkov nach der Tendenz beider Werke und sieht hier nicht nur Übereinstimmungen, sondern auch Unterschiede und sogar Gegensätze. Nach Priselkov ist der »Drevnějšij svod« nach der Errichtung der

13 Šaxmatov, S. 417f.
14 *PVL*, Sp. 189, 30.
15 *PVL*, 988, Sp. 117, 15.
16 Ilarion, 39, 27ff.
17 Ilarion, 44, 9ff.
18 *PVL*, 126, 27ff.

griechischen Metropole im Jahre 1037 in griechenfreundlicher Tendenz geschrieben worden.[19] Die Zeiten Volodimers, der sich nach Priselkovs Auffassung dem bulgarischen Patriarchat unterstellt hatte, werden im »Drevnějšij svod« mit Stillschweigen übergangen, und die eigentliche Gründung der Kirche und das Aufblühen des Christentums im Rus'-Reich werden in die Zeit nach 1037 gelegt und im Chronikartikel 1037, der den »Drevnějšij svod« abschloß, geschildert und verherrlicht.

Ilarion nun setzt dieser Darstellung des »Drevnějšij svod« seine eigene Auffassung entgegen: daß nämlich das Christentum schon unter Volodimer fest gegründet worden und aufgeblüht sei und daß zwischen der Kirchenpolitik Volodimers und der seines Sohnes Jaroslav kein scharfer Bruch liege, sondern daß die letztere nur eine neue Entwicklungsstufe gegenüber der ersteren sei.[20]

Nach Priselkov ist die literarische Beziehung zwischen dem »Drevnějšij svod« und Ilarion also nicht einfach die der Entlehnung, sondern—wenigstens teilweise—die einer Antithese, einer literarisch-publizistischen Polemik.

Ich sagte, die These Priselkovs sei eine interessante Fortentwicklung der Auffassungen Šaxmatovs. Ich stehe dazu, daß sie interessant ist, muß aber hinzufügen, daß ich sie für ganz und gar verfehlt und völlig unbegründet halte. Schon die Meinung Šaxmatovs, daß der »Drevnějšij svod« im Jahre 1039 aus Anlaß der Errichtung der Kiever Metropole entstanden und daß der Chronikartikel von 1037 sein Abschluß gewesen sei, scheint mir unhaltbar. Der Chronikartikel des Jahres 1037 kann unmöglich im Jahre 1039, sondern muß viel später, erst nach dem Tode Jaroslavs entstanden sein. Also kann Ilarion in seinen Werken, die vor dem Tod Jaroslavs entstanden sind, nicht gegen ihn polemisiert haben. Es kommt hinzu, daß auch der berühmte angebliche »Akt von 1037«, der nach Šaxmatov und Priselkov Anlaß zur Entstehung des »Drevnějšij svod« gegeben hat, überhaupt nicht stattgefunden hat. Im Jahre 1037 brauchte in Kiev keine Metropolie des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel eingerichtet zu werden, weil sie damals schon fast 50 Jahre lang bestand.[21]

19 M. D. Priselkov, *Očerki po cerkovno-političeskoj istorii Kievskoj Rusi X–XII vv.* (St. Peterburg, 1913), S. 82–84.

20 Priselkov, *Očerki*, S. 93ff.

21 Siehe dazu: Ludolf Müller, *Zum Problem des hierarchischen Status und der jurisdiktionellen Abhängigkeit der russischen Kirche vor 1039* (Köln-Braunsfeld, 1959); Andrzej Poppe, »The Original Status of the Old Russian Church«, in Andrzej Poppe: *The Rise of Christian Russia* (London, 1952); Gerhard Podskalsky, *Christentum und theologische Literatur in der Kiever Rus' (988–1237)* (München, 1982), S. 24–30.

Die von Šaxmatov und Priselkov vertretene These, daß Ilarion in seinem literarischen Werk deutliche, nachweisbare Beziehungen zu einer ihm schriftlich vorliegenden frühen Chronik der Kiever Rus', einer Vorform der uns vorliegenden Nestorchronik gehabt habe, ist bisher also durch keine überzeugenden Argumente begründet worden. So muß weitergefragt werden, wie die auffallenden Übereinstimmungen zwischen der Nestorchronik und den Werken des Ilarion erklärt werden können. Hat sich die Annahme einer Beeinflussung Ilarions durch die Chronik nicht wahrscheinlich machen lassen, so ist die umgekehrte Möglichkiet zu prüfen: ob die Chronik durch Ilarion hat beeinflußt werden können.

Dies ist schon aus chronologischen Gründen viel wahrscheinlicher als die umgekehrte Annahme. Denn Chronistik im eigentlichen Sinn des Wortes, d.h. die Zusammenfassung zahlreicher und verschiedenartiger Quellen über die Vergangenheit des Rus'-Reiches zu einem einheitlichen Geschichtswerk, ist mit viel größerer Wahrscheinlichkeit in die zweite als in die erste Hälfte des 11. Jahrhunderts zu datieren, also eher in die Zeit *nach* der Entstehung der Werke des Ilarion als in die Zeit vorher. Und gewiß waren die Werke des Ilarion, hervorragend durch Inhalt und Form, seit dem Zeitpunkt ihrer Veröffentlichung im Rus'-Reich gut bekannt und hoch geschätzt. Der Hagiograph Nestor, der um 1080 im Kiever Höhlenkloster sein »Čtenie« über Boris und Glěb schrieb, scheint ihn gekannt und benützt zu haben.[22] So ist schon von vornherein anzunehmen, daß auch der Chronist, der gleichfalls im Höhlenkloster arbeitete, die Werke Ilarions gekannt hat.

Wir wollen an einzelnen Beispielen prüfen, ob sich die sachliche und textliche Nähe von Chronik und Ilarion von hier aus befriedigend erklären läßt.

D. S. Lixačev hat eine besonders enge literarische Beziehung zwischen dem Chronikartikel von 1037 und Ilarions Lobpreis auf Jaroslav festgestellt.[23] Die Parallelen sind in der Tat auffallend, besonders am Anfang des Chronikartikels, wo nicht nur die berichteten Tatsachen die gleichen sind wie bei Ilarion, sondern wo sie auch in der gleichen Reihenfolge erscheinen:

22 Vgl. besonders die Einleitung zu Nestors »Čtenie« über Boris und Glěb, in: D. I. Abramovyč, *Žitija svjatyx Borisa i Gleba i služby im* (1916; neu herausgegeben unter dem Titel *Die altrussischen hagiographischen Erzählungen und liturgischen Dichtungen über die Heiligen Boris und Gleb*, von Ludolf Müller [München, 1967]), S. 3 und 4.
23 Lixačev, *Russkie letopisi*, S. 68.

1. Bau der Stadterweiterung;
2. Bau der Sophienkirche;
3. Bau der Kirche auf dem Goldenen Tor;
4. Weihe dieser Kirche an das Fest der Verkündigung der Maria.

Die vier Fakten werden in der Chronik und bei Ilarion in folgender Weise berichtet:

	Chron. 1037, Sp. 151, 19ff.	Ilarion 45, 15
1.	Založi Jaroslavъ gorodъ velikyj,	i slavny gradъ tvoi Kyevъ velič’stvomъ jako vencem’ obložil
	u negože grada sut’ Zlataja vrata	
2.	založi že i c̅r̅kv’ s̅t̅yja Sof’ja mitropol’ju	predalъ ljudi tvoa i grad s̅t̅ei vseslavnii skorěj na pomošč xr̅s̅tianomъ s̅t̅ěi b̅c̅i
3.	i posem’ c̅r̅kv’ na zolotyx vorotěxъ	ei že i c̅r̅kv’ na velikyixъ vratěx sъzda
4.	s̅t̅oe Bc̅e̅ Bl̅g̅věščen’je	vo imja pervāag g̅d̅’skaago prazdnika staago Blagoveščenia...

Bei den Nr. 1, 3 und 4 dieses Textes ist die Übereinstimmung offenkundig. Aber auch bei Nr. 2 ist die gleiche Tatsache gemeint. Die Worte Ilarions sind eine Umschreibung für den Bau der Sophienkirche. Er schildert die Gründung dieser Kirche hier zwar nicht in direkter Weise (das hat er kurz vorher schon getan),[24] aber er umschreibt sie kunstvoll und beziehungsreich. Er spielt an auf das Apsismosaik der Sophienkirche, das die Muttergottes als Fürbitterin darstellt. Für wen sie betet, sagt die Umschrift des Mosaiks aus Ps. 46 (45), 6: » Ὁ θεὸς ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῆς καὶ οὐ σαλευθήσεται. Βοηθήσει αὐτῇ ὁ θεὸς τὸ πρὸς πρωὶ πρωί« (Gott ist in ihrer Mitte, und sie wird nicht erschüttert werden; helfen wird ihr Gott früh, in der Frühe). Die Muttergottes betet für die Stadt, und darum ist Gott in ihrer (der Stadt) Mitte, und er wird ihr helfen.

Daß Ilarion mit der Schilderung der Übergabe der Stadt an die Gottesmutter gleichzeitig den Bau der Sophienkirche meint, geht auch aus der Einleitung des folgenden Satzes hervor: »welcher er auch eine Kirche auf dem großen Tor erbaute«: Außer der Weihe der Stadt an die Gottesmutter im Apsismosaik der Sophienkirche baute er der Gottesmutter auch die Kirche auf dem »großen Tor«.[25]

[24] Ilarion, 45, 7–10.

[25] Andrzej Poppe hat in der Diskussion in Ravenna darauf aufmerksam gemacht, daß die Bezeichnung »großes Tor«, die Ilarion benutzt, höheres Alter besitzt als die in der Chronik verwendete »Goldenes Tor«.—Die Übereinstimmung zwischen Ilarion und der Chronik geht noch weiter, wenn man die in der Hypatius- und der Xlebnikov-Handschrift nach *blagoveščen’e* folgende Fortsetzung für ursprünglich hält. Sie lautet in Übersetzung: »Dieser

Im weiteren Text des Chronikartikels finden sich weitere faktische und textliche Übereinstimmungen mit dem Lobpreis Ilarions, aber die Nähe ist nicht mehr so groß.[26] Doch genügt die hier dargestellte Parallelität der beiden Texte, ihre literarische Zusammengehörigkeit in hohem Grade wahrscheinlich zu machen. Aber wer ist von wem abhängig: Ilarion von der Chronik oder die Chronik von Ilarion?

Auf diese Frage ist leicht zu antworten, wenn wir sagen können, welcher dieser Texte früher und welcher später entstanden ist. Šaxmatov meinte, der Chronikartikel über das Jahr 1037 sei der Abschluß des »Drevnějšij svod«, der ältesten Kiever Chronik gewesen, geschrieben zwischen 1037 und 1039.[27] Aber diese Datierung ist, wie ich schon vor 30 Jahren gezeigt habe, ganz unmöglich. Ich habe damals geschrieben:[28]

Dieser Lobpreis auf Jaroslav ist ein zusammenfassender, rückschauender Bericht auf die Verdienste, die Jaroslav sich um die Förderung des christlichen Lebens in Rußland erworben hat. *Zusammenfassend* wird über seine Bautätigkeit in Kiev, über seine Förderung des Klosterwesens und der Literatur, über seine Sorge um Einrichtung von Pfarreien in Städten und Flecken berichtet. Dabei geht der Blick aber über die Zeit Jaroslavs hinaus, nicht nur in die Vergangenheit, sondern auch in die Zeit, die seinem Tod folgte. Das wird deutlich aus dem dreimaligen Gebrauch des Wortes »beginnen« in dem einen Satz: »Unter ihm begann (*nača*) der christliche Glaube, Frucht zu tragen und sich auszubreiten, und die Mönche begannen (*počaša*) zahlreicher zu werden, und Klöster begannen (*počinaxu*) zu sein«. Wenn dies »Beginnen« unter Jaroslav so stark betont ist, so wird damit ein Fortdauern oder Sichentwickeln nach seiner Zeit vorausgesetzt. Der zurückschauende Erzähler sieht in seiner Gegenwart sich vollenden, was unter Jaroslav begonnen ist. Vollends deutlich wird dies aus dem folgenden Satz: »Denn wie einer die Erde pflügt, ein anderer aber sät, andere aber ernten und essen reichliche Speise, so auch dieser; denn sein Vater Volodimer pflügte und lockerte (die Erde), das heißt er erleuchtete (Rus'-Land) durch die Taufe; dieser (Jaroslav) aber säte Bücherworte in die Herzen

weise Fürst Jaroslav hat deswegen die [Kirche der] Verkündigung auf dem Tor geschaffen, damit dieser Stadt immer Freude sei, durch die heilige Verkündigung des Herrn und das Gebet der heiligen Gottesmutter und des Erzengels Gabriel« (s. Leonore Scheffler, *Textkritischer Kommentar zur Nestorchronik* [München, 1977], S. 461); vgl. dazu die Fortsetzung des Textes bei Ilarion: »auf daß der Gruß, den der Erzengel der Jungfrau bot, auch dieser Stadt gelte. Denn zu jener sagte er: 'Sei gegrüßt, du Gnadenreiche, der Herr ist mit dir!'; zu der Stadt aber: 'Sei gegrüßt, fromme Stadt, der Herr ist mit dir!'« (Ilarion, 45, 20ff.). Ist der Text der Hypatius- und der Xlebnikov-Abschrift aber nicht der ursprüngliche, so zeigt er ohne Zweifel eine spätere, sekundäre Beeinflussung des Chroniktextes durch Ilarion. In diesem Fall hat schon der Interpolator der gemeinsamen Vorform der Hypatius- und der Xlebnikov-Handschrift die Nähe von Ilarions Lobpreis und dem Chronikartikel über das Jahr 1037 gespürt.

26 Vgl. vor allem *PVL*, 153, 6–8 über die Sophienkirche: »juže sozda samъ, ukrasi ju zlatom' i srebrom' i ssudy c͞rkvnymi«, mit Ilarion 45, 9–12: »juže sъ vsjakoju krasotoju ukrasi, zlatomъ i srebromъ i kameniem' dragyimъ, i sъsudy čestnyimi«.

27 Šaxmatov, S. 416.

28 Müller, *Zum Problem*, S. 57f.

der gläubigen Menschen; wir aber ernten, indem wir die Bücherlehre empfangen.« Was in dem zuvor angeführten Satz mit dem dreimaligen »beginnen« *implicite* enthalten war, das wird hier *expressis verbis* gesagt: der Erzähler unterscheidet seine Gegenwart ganz deutlich von der Zeit des Jaroslav, so wie die Zeit des Jaroslav von der seines Vaters Volodimer unterschieden werden muß; er gehört nicht zur zweiten Generation, wie Jaroslav, sondern zur dritten.

Šaxmatov hat wohl gespürt, daß dieser Satz in dem Lobpreis auf Jaroslav dessen Datierung auf 1039/40 unmöglich macht und hat ihn deswegen in seiner Rekonstruktion des »Drevnějšij svod« gestrichen, aber ohne auch nur den Versuch zu machen, diese Streichung zu rechtfertigen. Auch der von Šaxmatov ausdrücklich als zum »Drevnějšij svod« gehörend anerkannte Satz »Und (die Schreiber) schrieben viele Bücher ab. . . , durch die belehrt die gläubigen Menschen sich an der göttlichen Lehre erquicken« zeigt noch einmal, wie genau der Erzähler die Vergangenheit, in der Jaroslav gelebt hat, unterscheidet von der Gegenwart, in die hinein sich die Folgen der Arbeit Jaroslavs erstrecken: das Abschreiben *geschah* (nämlich zur Zeit Jaroslavs), das Benutzen der Bücher aber *geschieht* (in der Gegenwart). Das in dem folgenden, von Šaxmatov ausgeschiedenen Satz enthaltene Gleichnis von den verschiedenen Arbeitern ist im Sachlichen hier also schon vorweggenommen. So besteht nicht der mindeste Anlaß, den Satz auszuscheiden, und selbst wenn er ausgeschieden würde, müßte man das Stück noch immer in die Zeit nach dem Tode Jaroslavs datieren, wie oben gezeigt wurde.

Der Lobpreis auf Jaroslav kann also erst nach dessen Tode geschrieben worden sein und, wie mir scheint, nicht sehr bald danach. Denn nicht nur Jaroslav selbst war dahingegangen, als er geschrieben wurde, sondern offenbar seine ganze Generation. Wenn also ein Verhältnis literarischer Abhängigkeit zwischen dem Chronikartikel über das Jahr 1037 und Ilarions Lobpreis auf Volodimer den Heiligen besteht, so kann nicht Ilarion von der Chronik, sondern die Chronik muß von Ilarion abhängig sein.

Zu demselben Ergebnis führt uns die Analyse einer anderen Stelle, an der die Chronik und Ilarion sich gedanklich und textlich so nahestehen, daß eine literarische Beziehung zwischen ihnen angenommen werden muß. Das ist der kurze Lobpreis auf Volodimer, der in der Chronik der Nachricht über den Tod Volodimers folgt. Er wird hier *zastupnik* und *kormitel'* der Armen genannt[29] und ähnlich bei Ilarion.[30] Er wird vom Chronisten gepriesen als »der neue Konstantin des großen Rom, der sich selbst und sein Volk hat taufen lassen, gleich wie jener«;[31] ebenso und ausführlicher vergleicht Ilarion Volodimer und Konstantin,[32] und er rühmt ihn dafür, daß er nicht

29 *PVL*, 1015, 130, 28.
30 Ilarion, 47, 17, 20.
31 *PVL*, 130, 30–131, 1.
32 Ilarion, 44, 5–24.

nur sich selbst, sondern auch sein Volk hat taufen lassen.[33] Der Chronist sagt, daß die frühen Sünden Volodimers durch die spätere Reue aufgehoben seien,[34] und ebenso spricht Ilarion, wenn auch in sehr zurückhaltender Weise, von der »Menge der Sünden« und der »großen Sündenlast«, die auf Volodimer von seiner heidnischen Vergangenheit her lasteten, die er aber durch seine apostolische Tat und seine reichen Almosen »zerstreut« habe.[35]

Noch weiter als in der Lavrentij-Handschrift (und den ihr nahestehenden Handschriften R und A) geht die Übereinstimmung zwischen der Chronik und Ilarion in der Hypatius- und in der Xlebnikov-Handschrift.[36] Dort heißt es, wie bei Ilarion, daß die Sünden »zerstreut« worden seien durch »Buße und Almosen«;[37] dann noch einmal:[38] »Dieser starb in gutem Bekenntnis, nachdem er durch Buße seine Sünden zerstreut hatte und durch Almosen, welche besser sind als alles andere. 'Gutes Almosen nämlich will ich', so heißt es, 'und nicht Opfer'.[39] Denn Almosen ist besser als alles und höher und hinaufführend bis zum Himmel selbst, vor Gott«. Hier werden die Gedanken Ilarions über den Vorzug der Almosen, deren »auch vor Gott und seinen Engeln gedacht« wird,[40] genau wiedergegeben. Da dieser Text auch in der Novgoroder Chronik (wenn auch in stark verkürzter Gestalt) enthalten ist,[41] dürfte er nicht ein Einschub in der gemeinsamen Vorform der Hypatius- und Xlebnikov-Chronik sein, sondern ursprünglich zur *Pověst' vremennyx lět* gehört haben und in der Vorform von Lavrentij, R und A einer Kürzung zum Opfer gefallen sein.

Weiterhin preist der Chronist die Größe der apostolischen Tat Volodimers, der die Rus' hat taufen lassen und sie dadurch »der List des Teufels« (*prel'st' d'javolja*) entrissen hat, in der sie sonst zugrunde gegangen wäre,[42] und er fordert diese auf, Volodimer dafür »Dank zu erweisen« (*vъzdan'e vъzdati*); ebenso Ilarion:[43] »Welchen Dank können wir dir erstatten? Denn durch dich haben wir den Herrn erkannt und sind losgekommen von dem Trug der Dämonen« (*kakovo ti blagodarenie vъzdadimъ, jako toboju poznachomъ Gospoda, i l'sti idol'skya izbychomъ*). Auch die Antwort

33 Ilarion, 39, 21ff.
34 *PVL*, 132, 2–4.
35 Ilarion, 43, 17.
36 Scheffler, *Textkritischer Kommentar*, S. 391.
37 Hypatius-Chronik (*PSRL*, Bd. 2), Sp. 116, 6f.
38 Hypatius-Chronik (*PSRL*, Bd. 2), Sp. 117, 1ff.
39 Matth. 9, 13.
40 Ilarion, 43, 5ff.
41 *Novgorodskaja pervaja letopis' staršego i mladšego izvodov* (Moskva-Leningrad, 1950), S. 169.
42 *PVL*, 131, 5–19.
43 Ilarion, 41, 2ff.

lautet bei beiden ähnlich. Bei Ilarion: »Deswegen nennen wir dich kühnlich 'Seliger' « (*blažennikъ*),[44] deswegen verehren wir dich als Heiligen wie Konstantin,[45] preisen dich, wie man Heilige preist, mit dem liturgischen Zuruf »freue dich«, *radujsja*, griech. χαῖρε,[46] und bitten dich um Fürbitte, wie man nur Heilige bitten darf;[47] in der Chronik, wie gesagt, *ähnlich*, aber nicht *gleich*. Der Chronist sagt: Gott *würde* Volodimer verherrlichen, wenn wir ihn (Volodimer) nur gebührend ehren würden. Ilarion sagt: Gott *hat* ihn verherrlicht; darum dürfen wir ihn als Heiligen verehren. Die »Verherrlichung«, von der der Chronist spricht, sind die Wunder, die als Voraussetzung für die Heiligsprechung gefordert werden. Der Chronist sagt: Sie *würden* geschehen, »wenn wir Eifer zu ihm hätten«; Ilarion sagt: Sie *sind* geschehen, und er zeigt, worin sie bestehen: im Gedeihen und Aufblühen des apostolischen Werkes, das Volodimer begonnen hat.[48]

Aber waren das *die* Wunder, die man damals als Voraussetzung für die Kanonisierung forderte?

Bei Boris und Glěb waren es Wunder anderer Art, Wunder im engeren Sinn, »eigentliche« Wunder gewesen, die zur Kanonisierung geführt hatten.[49] Aber die zweite im alten Rus'-Land vollzogene Kanonisierung, die des Abtes Feodosij im Jahre 1108, kam auch ohne »eigentliche« Wunder aus und stützte sich offenbar auf das gleiche »uneigentliche« Wunder, das Ilarion im Hinblick auf Volodimer anführt: auf die Fortdauer und die gedeihliche Weiterentwicklung seines Lebenswerkes.[50] Gewiß wurden in

[44] Ilarion, 41, 20f.
[45] Ilarion, 45, 21ff.
[46] Ilarion, 46, 27ff.
[47] Ilarion, 47, 24ff.
[48] Ilarion, 44, 25ff.
[49] Abramovyč, *Žitija*, S. 15f., S. 52ff.
[50] In diesem Sinne sind die Worte gemeint, die der Chronist im Chronikartikel über das Jahr 1074 dem sterbenden Feodosij in den Mund legt: »Wenn nach meinem Weggehen aus dieser Welt—wenn ich Gott wohlgefällig gewesen bin und Gott mich angenommen hat, dann wird nach meinem Weggehen das Kloster beginnen zu gedeihen und zuzunehmen, dann wisset, daß Gott mich angenommen hat. Wenn aber nach meinem Tode das Kloster beginnt, zu verarmen an Mönchen und an den Dingen, deren das Kloster bedarf, dann werdet ihr wissen, daß ich Gott nicht wohlgefällig gewesen bin« (*PVL*, 187, 28–188, 2).—Andrzej Poppe sagte bei der Diskussion in Ravenna, Feodosij sei bereits im Jahre 1091 kanonisiert worden, aber seine kultische Verehrung habe sich zunächst auf das Höhlenkloster beschränkt; im Jahre 1108 sei die kultische Verehrung für die ganze Metropolie verfügt worden. Aber ich finde in dem Bericht der Chronik über die Reliquienübertragung aus der Höhle in die Kirche keinen Hinweis auf eine Kanonisierung. Die Reliquienübertragung dient zur Vorbereitung der Kanonisierung, ist aber nicht gleichbedeutend mit ihr. Die Kanonisierung kann als vollzogen gelten, wenn der betreffende Heilige in den »Sinodik« eingetragen ist (*PVL*, 1108, 283, 14) oder wenn ein Jahrestag festgesetzt ist, an dem sein Gedächtnis gefeiert wird (Abramovyč, *Žitija*, 55, 5ff).

der offiziell kirchlichen und der Volksfrömmigkeit die »eigentlichen« Wunder den »uneigentlichen« vorgezogen, und die Verzögerung der Kanonisierung Ol'gas und Volodimers mag auch darin ihren Grund gehabt haben, daß die »eigentlichen« Wunder ausblieben.[51]

So unterscheiden sich Chronik und Ilarion in Hinsicht auf die postumen Wunder Volodimers dadurch, daß der Chronist die »eigentlichen« Wunder schmerzlich vermißt und Ilarion ihn wegen der »uneigentlichen« preist. Es ist nicht leicht, aus diesem Unterschied eine zeitliche Abfolge zu erschließen und dadurch die Frage nach der literarischen Abhängigkeit zu beantworten.

Die nächstliegende Vermutung ist, daß zumächst »eigentliche Wunder« erwartet werden und daß dann, als sie ausbleiben, auf die uneigentlichen zurückgegriffen wird und sie als ausreichend hingestellt werden. Danach hätte der Lobpreis im Chronikartikel 1015 zeitliche und literarische Priorität gegenüber Ilarion.

Aber auch das umgekehrte Verhältnis ist durchaus möglich. Es ist sehr wohl möglich, daß die Frage der Kanonisierung Volodimers durch die Rede Ilarions überhaupt erst angestoßen worden ist und daß es ein rhetorischer Künstgriff ist, wenn Ilarion so tut, als sei sie schon entschieden. Seine Rede gibt sich als flammender Lobpreis eines kanonisierten Heiligen, in Wirklichkeit ist sie aber ein Plädoyer für dessen Kanonisierung. Daß dies Plädoyer vorläufig nicht zum Erfolg geführt hat, ist nur zu gut bekannt.[52] Offenbar hat man gezögert, die »uneigentlichen« Wunder als »eigentliche« anzuerkennen und weiterhin auf »eigentliche« gewartet. Der Chronist nun will die der Kanonisierung voraufgehende »Verehrung«[53] Volodimers fördern, er ruft auf zu Gebetsgottesdiensten, die an seinem Todestag gehalten werden sollen. Ilarions Rede war vielleicht bei einer solchen Gelegenheit gehalten worden; aber zu einer regelmäßigen Gewohnheit sind solche Gebetsgottesdienste am 15. Juli offenbar nicht geworden. Die Zweifel an der Heiligkeit des Lebens Volodimers waren durch die Rede Ilarions nicht beseitigt, die »Sündenlast« war nicht »zerstreut«. In dieser Situation greift der Chronist auf die Rede Ilarions zurück, zeigt mit Ilarions

[51] Man könnte einwenden: Warum haben bei Feodosij die »uneigentlichen« Wunder gereicht, bei Volodimer aber nicht? Der Mönch Feodosij entsprach dem Heiligkeitsideal der Ostkirche in klarer, hervorragender Weise, Volodimer aber wohl doch nicht in diesem Maße. In seinem Leben fehlt das Erdulden von Leiden, durch das Boris und Glěb heilig sind. Vgl. dazu das Referat von Wladimir Vodoff in Ravenna.

[52] Siehe dazu das Referat von Vodoff.

[53] Siehe dazu: E. Golubinskij, *Istorija kanonizacii svjatyx v russkoj cerkvi*, 2. Auflage (Moskva, 1903), S. 40ff.; Ludolf Müller, »Neuere Forschungen über das Leben und die kultische Verehrung der Heiligen Boris und Gleb«, in *Slavistische Studien zum V. Internationalen Slavistenkongreß in Sofia, 1963* (Göttingen, 1963), S. 314f.

Argumenten die Größe des Verdienstes Volodimers und die Tilgung seiner Sündenlast durch Buße und Almosen.

Wenn der Text, den die Hypatiuschronik bietet,[54] der ursprüngliche ist, so führt der Chronist die Diskussion um die Frage der Sünden, die Volodimer vor der Taufe begangen hat, noch um einen Schritt weiter, über Ilarion hinaus: durch den Gedanken, daß der Mensch beim Gericht Gottes nach dem Stand seines Glaubens und Lebens beurteilt wird, den er im Augenblick seines Todes erreicht hat. Während die Argumente, die auch Ilarion bringt, in der Chronik nur kurz angedeutet werden, da sie den Lesern von Ilarion her schon bekannt sind, wird der über Ilarion hinausgehende Gedanke breit ausgeführt.

Dies alles kann keinen schlüssigen Beweis für die Priorität Ilarions gegenüber dem Chronikartikel von 1015 geben (wie er für den Chronikartikel von 1037 eindeutig zu führen ist), aber es zeigt doch, daß die Reflexionen über Volodimer im Chronikartikel von 1015 sehr wohl auch in der Zeit *nach* dem Lobpreis Ilarions entstanden sein *können* und daß darum auch der Chronikartikel von 1015 sehr wohl von Ilarion abhängig sein, die umgekehrte Abhängigkeit also nicht auf Grund dieses Artikels behauptet werden kann.

Ausgeschlossen erscheint mir in Bezug auf diesen Artikel aber die Annahme Lixačevs: daß der Lobpreis im Chronikartikel 1015 von Ilarion selbst oder von einem Schriftsteller seiner engsten Umgebung stammen könnte. Zwar stimmen Worte, Wendungen und Gedanken überein; aber die Situation, aus der heraus gesprochen wird, und der Stil, in dem dies geschieht, sind weit voneinander entfernt.

Schon in der Wortwahl unterscheiden sich die beiden Denkmäler in charakteristischer Weise bei der Bezeichnung eines und desselben Tatbestandes. Beide sagen, daß die Rus', wenn Volodimer sie nicht hätte taufen lassen, sich noch in religiösem Irrtum befänden. Der Chronist bezeichnet diesen als *prel'st' d'javolja*. Diese Wendung findet sich bei Ilarion nicht, dafür fünf Mal *idol'skaja l'st'* und zwei Mal *besovskaja l'st'*.[55] Oder nehmen wir folgenden Satz der Chronik: »Daž' ti G̅s̅' po s̅rdcju tvojemu. i vsja prošen'ja tvoja ispolni. jegože želaše c̅rstva nb̅s̅nago. daž' ti G̅s̅' věnec' s pravednymi. v pišči raistěi. . . .«[56] Der Satz ist in seiner Syntax so ungefüge, daß er dem Sprachkünstler Ilarion schwerlich zugeschrieben werden kann, und nach seinem Inhalt steht er noch weiter ab von dem kühnen Gedankenflug Ilarions. Bei Ilarion findet sich nicht der geringste

[54] Siehe Scheffler, *Textkritischer Kommentar*, S. 391.

[55] Einzelnachweis siehe im Wörterverzeichnis zu Ilarion, in: Müller, *Ilarion*, 1962, S. 193ff.

[56] *PVL*, 131, 15–18.

Zweifel, *wo* Volodimer sich nach seinem Tode befindet—ob im Himmelreich oder an dem entgegengesetzten Ort der jenseitigen Welt. Der Chronist ist in dieser Frage nicht so ganz überzeugt. Über Boris und Glěb *weiß* er, daß sie dort *sind*, wo »unendliche Freude und unsagbare Freude und unsagbares Licht« herrscht;[57] von Volodimer *hofft* er, daß der Herr »seine Bitte erfüllen« und ihn ins Himmelreich aufnehmen *wird*. In der Chronik werden die Christen der Rus' aufgefordert, für Volodimer zu beten, daß er ins Himmelreich aufgenommen und verherrlicht wird; bei Ilarion beten sie zu dem verherrlichten Volodimer und bitten ihn um Fürbitte für das »Rus'-Land«.

Nein—der melancholische Lobpreis der Chronik und das verzagte Bekenntnis »wenn wir mehr Eifer hätten, *würde* Gott ihn verherrlichen«,[58] steht nach Stil, Inhalt und Gestimmtheit so weit ab von den Werken des Ilarion, daß meines Erachtens nicht nur Ilarion nicht der Verfasser sein kann, sondern auch nicht ein Mann seiner Umgebung; daß der Verfasser vielmehr auch in erheblicher zeitlicher Ferne von ihm zu suchen ist, und zwar eher nach ihm als vor ihm, daß also wahrscheinlich auch hier der literarische Einfluß von Ilarion auf die Chronik ausgeht und nicht umgekehrt von einer Frühform der Chronik[59] auf Ilarion.

Eine Stelle der Chronik, die eine enge Beziehung zu den Schriften Ilarions hat, ist, so viel ich weiß, bei der Behandlung unserer Thematik bisher außer Acht gelassen worden. Es ist der Anfang des Chronikartikels über das Jahr 6559 (= 1051) mit dem Bericht über die Einsetzung des Metropoliten Ilarion. Er lautet in der Chronik: »Postavi Jaroslavъ Lariona mitropolitom', Rusina, vъ stěi Sof'i, sobravъ jepiskopy«,[60] zu deutsch: »Jaroslav setzte den Ilarion, einen Rusin, als Metropoliten ein, in der heiligen Sophia, nachdem er die Bischöfe versammelt hatte« oder (nach dem Text der Hypatius- und Xlebnikov-Handschrift): »Jaroslav setzte Ilarion als Metropoliten für die Rus' ein. . . .«

Woher hatte der Chronist diese Nachricht? Mir scheint, er hatte für sie zwei Quellen: 1) die Erzählung über die Entstehung des Höhlenklosters, die er unter dem gleichen Jahr in seine Chronik eingetragen hat; und 2) die Nachschrift zum Glaubensbekenntnis des Ilarion.

57 *PVL*, 1015, 137, 13.
58 *PVL*, 131, 11ff.
59 Etwa der von Lixačev angenommenen Erzählung über die Anfänge der Ausbreitung des Christentums in der Rus'.
60 *PVL*, 1051, 155, 26ff.

In der Erzählung vom Beginn des Höhlenklosters hat die Gestalt des Ilarion ihren festen und klaren Platz. Die fürstliche Residenz Berestovo ist der Ort, und der Priester Ilarion ist die historische Gestalt, von der aus das Höhlenkloster seinen Ursprung nahm. Ilarion wird uns vorgestellt als einer der Priester der Apostelkirche in Berestovo; uns wird erzählt, wie er eine Höhle gräbt und dort das Stundengebet singt, lauter Angaben, die der Chronist nicht aus den Werken Ilarions hat schöpfen können, die aber für die Vorgeschichte des Höhlenklosters wichtig, ja unentbehrlich sind; denn das größte Rätsel am Höhlenkloster war ja, wieso es von einer Höhle seinen Anfang genommen hatte. Als nächstes mußte erzählt werden, wie es dazu kam, daß die Höhle leer stand, als Antonij sich in ihr niederlassen wollte. In diesem Zusammenhang wird nun von der Einsetzung Ilarions zum Metropoliten in der Sophienkirche berichtet, mit fast den gleichen Worten, mit denen zu Anfang des Jahresartikels 1051 davon erzählt worden war. Der Bericht lautet: »Posem' že В̄ъ knjazju vloži vъ s̄rdce i *postavi i mitropolitom' v s̄tĕi Sof'i*«, zu deutsch: »Darauf legte Gott es dem Fürsten ins Herz, und *er setzte ihn als Metropoliten in der heiligen Sophia ein*«.[61]

Die beiden Nachrichten stimmen in der wesentlichen Aussage wörtlich überein; die kursiv gesetzten Worte sind in Chron. 155, 26 f. und in Chron. 156, 9 f. identisch. Darum muß eine literarische Beziehung zwischen ihnen angenommen werden. Da die Nachricht an der ersten Stelle isoliert ist, an der zweiten aber fest und unentbehrlich in einen Erzählzusammenhang eingebettet ist, ist die zweite Stelle traditionsgeschichtlich älter. Mit anderen Worten: Es ist wahrscheinlich, daß der Chronist die Nachricht über die Einsetzung Ilarions zum Metropoliten in der Sophienkirche aus der Erzählung über die Gründung des Höhlenklosters entnommen und sie als Einzelnachricht an den Anfang des Artikels über das Jahr 1051 gestellt hat. Dabei hat er aber zwei Angaben hinzugefügt: am Anfang die Zahl des Jahres, in der dies geschehen ist, und am Ende die Worte *sobravъ jepiskopy* (= »nachdem er die Bischöfe versammelt hatte«). Woher hat er diese beiden Informationen? Es ist wenig wahrscheinlich, daß ihm eine Quelle zur Verfügung gestanden hätte mit Angaben zur Hierarchie und zur Verwaltung der Kirche der Rus'. Bis in die 80-er Jahre des 11. Jahrhunderts sind alle Nachrichten der Chronik über Bischöfe und Metropoliten zufällig, vereinzelt;[62] sie stammen ganz offenkundig nicht aus irgendwelchen Bischofslisten oder regelmäßig geführten »Jahrbüchern« oder dergleichen, sondern aus Einzelnachrichten, etwa (unter dem Jahr 1072) aus dem Bericht über die Übertragung der Reliquien der Heiligen Boris und

[61] *PVL*, 1051, 156, 9f.
[62] Müller, *Zum Problem*, S. 53ff.

Glěb oder (unter dem Jahr 1073) über die Grundsteinlegung der Kirche des Höhlenklosters. So wird man auch für die Einsetzung Ilarions eine Einzelnachricht als Quelle zu vermuten haben. Die Tatsache selbst hat der Chronist, wie gesagt, aus der Erzählung über die Gründung des Höhlenklosters entnehmen können. Aber kaum das Datum. Denn diese Erzählung enthält, dem Gesetz ihrer Gattung entsprechend, keine einzige genaue Zeitangabe. Statt dessen sagt sie: »nach nicht vielen Tagen«;[63] oder »danach aber, als der große Fürst Jaroslav verstorben war«[64] usw. So mußte der Chronist darüber nachdenken, unter welchem Jahr er die Erzählung in die Chronik einordnen könne. *Ein* punktuelles Ereignis, von dem in der Erzählung die Rede ist, gab einen günstigen Anknüpfungspunkt: die Einsetzung Ilarions zum Metropoliten. Hier konnte sich der Chronist, der die Werke Ilarions kannte und schätzte, an das Glaubensbekenntnis erinnern, das Ilarion verfaßt und in seine »gesammelten Werke« aufgenommen hatte. Hier fand er in der Nachschrift die benötigte Information: »Ich, durch die Gnade des menschenliebenden Gottes Mönch und Priester Ilarion, wurde nach seinem Wohlgefallen von den gottehrenden Bischöfen geweiht und inthronisiert in der großen und gottbehüteten Stadt Kiev, daß ich in ihr Metropolit sei, Hirt und Lehrer. Es geschah dies aber im Jahre 6559, als der fromme Kagan Jaroslav, der Sohn Volodimers, Herrscher war. Amen.«[65]

Diese Information ermöglichte es dem Chronisten, die Erzählung über die Anfänge des Höhlenklosters unter dem Jahr 1051 in die Chronik einzutragen. Sie war ihm aber auch so wichtig, daß er sie in diesem Chronikartikel zweimal brachte. In der Erzählung über das Höhlenkloster ließ er sie in ihrem ursprünglichen Zusammenhang stehen, und er setzte sie außerdem ganz an den Anfang des Jahresartikels. Aus der Erzählung über das Höhlenkloster übernahm er auch die dort benutzte Wendung, Jaroslav habe den Ilarion als Metropoliten eingesetzt (*postavi*).

Dieses Wort hat von früh an Schwierigkeiten bereitet. Hatte der Kiewer Fürst das Recht, den Metropoliten *postaviti*—d.h. zu bestimmen, einzusetzen? Nein, dieses Recht hat er nie besessen, wenn er natürlich auch auf mancherlei Weise Einfluß nehmen konnte auf die Wahl. Hat Jaroslav sich dieses Recht angemaßt?

Nach dem Bericht der Erzählung vom Höhlenkloster hat Jaroslav allein den Ilarion »bestimmt« (oder »eingesetzt«, *postavi*). Nach der Einzelnotiz am Anfang des Chronikartikels 1051 hat er zuvor »die Bischöfe versammelt«. Wozu hat er sie versammelt? Sollten sie seinen widerrechtlichen

63 *PVL*, 1051, 156, 11.
64 *PVL*, 1051, 157, 11.
65 Ilarion, 54, 11–18.

Akt der »Einsetzung« bestätigen? Oder hat er den Metropoliten durch sie wählen lassen? Aber dann stimmt die Wendung aus der Erzählung vom Höhlenkloster, daß *er* ihn eingesetzt habe, schon nicht mehr. Und wenn die Bischöfe den Metropoliten gewählt haben—haben sie es mit Einverständnis des Patriarchen getan oder gegen seinen Willen? War also die Wahl Ilarions ein Affront gegen die Kirchenleitung in Konstantinopel? War der Akt von 1051 der Anfang eines Schismas zwischen Konstantinopel und Kiev? Aber keine Quelle sagt etwas über ein solches Schisma.

Ich meine, die Frage löst sich, wenn wir die Entstehung der Nachricht von der Einsetzung Ilarions am Anfang des Chronikartikels richtig verstanden haben. Traditionsgeschichtlich vorgeordnet ist ihr die Nachricht aus der Höhlenklostererzählung. Diese Erzählung ist lebhaft interessiert an den Beziehungen zwischen den Kiever Fürsten und dem Höhlenkloster. In providentieller Weise sorgt Jaroslav dafür, daß die Höhle für Antonij frei wird, indem er ihren ersten Besitzer, Ilarion, auf den Metropolitenstuhl nach Kiev ruft. Mit der Wendung, Jaroslav habe Ilarion »eingesetzt« (*postavi*) wird nicht die Durchführung eines kirchenrechtlichen Aktes mit terminologischer Genauigkeit beschrieben, sondern es wird einfach und anschaulich erzählt. Im Zusammenhang dieser Erzählung spielt keine Rolle, wie die Prozedur bei der Einsetzung eines Metropoliten verläuft, wichtig ist allein, daß auf Jaroslavs Initiative Ilarion aus Berestovo und aus der Höhle am Dnepr fort und auf den Metropolitenstuhl der Sophienkirche berufen wird.

In ähnlich ungenauer Weise wird im Chronikartikel 1036 von Jaroslav gesagt, daß er den Židjata in Novgorod als Bischof »eingesetzt« habe (*postavi*),[66] und im Artikel über das Jahr 898 heißt es ebenso: »Der Fürst Kocel setzte in Pannonien Methodios als Bischof ein« (*postavi*).[67]

Als der Chronist diesen terminologisch ungenauen Ausdruck aus der Höhlenklostererzählung in die Einzelnotiz übernahm, war er in der Lage, ihn aus der Nachschrift Ilarions unter dessen Glaubensbekenntnis zu ergänzen und zu präzisieren. Hier erfuhr er das Datum des Geschehens (»das Jahr 6559«). Hier sah er aber auch, daß der Fürst Jaroslav bei der Einsetzung nicht allein gewirkt hat; ja, er hätte sogar sehen können, daß Jaroslav im Grunde ganz unbeteiligt war, daß das Ereignis aber *zu der Zeit* stattfand, als Jaroslav die Herrschaft in der »gottbehüteten Stadt Kiev« innehatte. Er harmonisierte nun die beiden Nachrichten, die er über die Einsetzung Ilarions zur Verfügung hatte. Aus der Höhlenklostererzählung übernahm er die Wendung »Postavi Jaroslavъ Ilariona mitropolitom' vъ svjatěi Sof'i« (»Jaroslav setzte Ilarion als Metropoliten in der hl. Sophia

[66] *PVL*, 1036, 150, 27.
[67] *PVL*, 898, 28, 2.

ein«), aus der Nachschrift Ilarions fügte er das Datum hinzu und die Mitwirkung der Bischöfe; und noch ein Wort führte er hinzu: »Rusina«. Daß Ilarion ein »Rusin« war, aus Rus'-Land stammte, war dem, der die Reden Ilarions gelesen hatte, deutlich—spricht Ilarion doch wiederholt und mit besonderem Nachdruck von »*unserem* Rus'-Land«, das schon lange berühmt ist in der Welt und bis zu dem hin das Christentum sich jetzt erstreckt hat.[68] Diese Tatsache, daß mit Ilarion ein Rusin den Kiever Metropolitenstuhl bestiegen hatte, war nun tatsächlich von besonderem Interesse für den Chronisten, der sonst immer nur von Griechen wußte, die diese Würde innehatten.

Wenn diese Erwägungen richtig sind, verlieren die beiden Chroniknachrichten aus dem Artikel über das Jahr 1051 über die Einsetzung Ilarions durch Jaroslav an Gewicht. Die zweite dieser Nachrichten, die aus der Höhlenklostererzählung, besagt nicht mehr, als daß nach Auffassung des Erzählers Jaroslav unter Leitung der Vorsehung Gottes die Initiative zu dieser Einsetzung ergriffen hat. Die erste dieser Nachrichten am Anfang des Chronikartikels 1051, die scheinbar exakter ist, hat überhaupt keinen eigenen Wert, da sie eine bloße Kompilation aus der Höhlenklostererzählung und der Nachschrift Ilarions zu seinem Glaubensbekenntnis ist. Was wir wirklich wissen über den Akt vom 1051, ist die Tatsache, daß Ilarion in diesem Jahr »von gottehrenden Bischöfen geweiht und in Kiev inthronisiert worden ist«. Wer ihn gewählt oder ernannt hat—keine vertrauenswürdige Quelle sagt etwas darüber. Denn was die Nikonchronik, fast 500 Jahre später, darüber schreibt,[69] beruht nicht auf wirklichem Wissen, sondern es ist reine Interpretation—und gewiß keine richtige. Aber aus der Nachschrift Ilarions zu seinem Glaubensbekenntnis wird sogar wahrscheinlich, daß die Bischöfe der Rus' ihn *nicht* gewählt haben. Denn Ilarion *zählt* ja *auf*, was sie getan haben: Sie haben ihn geweiht und inthronisiert. Hätten sie ihn auch gewählt, so wäre zu erwarten, daß Ilarion es in seiner Aufzählung gleichfalls deutlich nennt.

Da keine zuverlässige Quelle etwas über seine Wahl sagt, haben wir keinen Grund zu der Annahme, daß seine Wahl und Ernennung anders vor sich gegangen sei als die der anderen Metropoliten des Rus'-Reiches. Diese aber geschah bekanntlich durch die »Endemusa«, die Patriarchalsynode von Konstantinopel. Zwar unterschied sich die Wahl Ilarions zum Metropoliten (nicht formal, aber sachlich) in *einem* wichtigen Punkt von der aller anderen, die uns aus der vormongolischen Zeit bekannt sind: Es war ein »Rusin«, der gewählt wurde. Aber diese Tatsache berechtigt uns nicht

68 Ilarion, 38, 10ff.; 34, 7f.
69 *PSRL*, Bd. 9, 1862, S. 83.

zu der Annahme, daß auch der Wahlmodus ein anderer war.

Der byzantinische Kaiser hatte bei der Wahl der Metropoliten durch die Endemusa kein direktes Mitspracherecht, aber einen bedeutenden Einfluß.[70] Nun waren die Beziehungen zwischen dem Kaiserhof in Konstantinopel und Jaroslav in den Jahren um 1051 gut. Ein Sohn Jaroslavs, Vsevolod, heiratete eine Verwandte des byzantinischen Kaisers, gerade in dieser Zeit.[71] Nichts spricht gegen die Vermutung, daß Jaroslav den mit ihm verschwägerten Kaiser gebeten hat, bei der Endemusa auf die Wahl Ilarions hinzuwirken und daß der Kaiser dieser Bitte mit dem gewünschten Erfolg entsprochen hat.

Einer gewissen Mitwirkung Jaroslavs bei der Wahl Ilarions dürfte man sich in Kiev wohl bewußt gewesen sein, und der Verfasser der Erzählung vom Ursprung des Höhlenklosters hat diesen Tatbestand in terminologisch sehr unscharfer Weise bezeichnet durch das Wort *postavi = er setzte ein*.

Der sogenannte Akt von 1051, der angebliche Konflikt zwischen Konstantinopel und Kiev um die Einsetzung Ilarions oder gar ein Schisma aus diesem Anlaß hat nicht stattgefunden. Die Tatsache, daß hundert Jahre später, bei dem Schisma um Klim Smoljatič, offenbar niemand auf den »Akt von 1051« zurückverwiesen hat, bestätigt das.

Im übrigen widerspreche ich mit meiner These keinem einzigen vertrauenswürdigen Quellenzeugnis, nicht einmal der Notiz über die Einsetzung Ilarions durch Jaroslav am Anfang des Chronikartikels über das Jahr 1051. Denn auch diese Notiz sagt nichts über einen solchen Konflikt, sondern sie spricht nur in etwas unklarer Weise von der Einsetzung Ilarions. Die Unklarheit rührt aber nicht daher, daß es hier etwas zu verschweigen gab, sondern daher, daß der Chronist zwei Quellenzeugnisse vereinbaren wollte, die nicht ganz leicht zu vereinbaren waren weil sie völlig verschiedene Erzählintentionen hatten: die Aussage der Erzählung von der Entstehung des Höhlenklosters, die berichtete, daß Jaroslav Ilarion als Metropoliten in der Heiligen Sophia eingesetzt habe, und die andere, aus der Nachschrift des Ilarion zu seinem Glaubensbekenntnis, die mitteilte, daß er zur Zeit der Herrschaft Jaroslavs von den Bischöfen in Kiev geweiht und intronisiert worden sei.

70 Siehe hierzu und zum Folgenden: Müller, *Ilarion*, 1962, S. 5–9.

71 Meist wird gesagt, es sei eine Tochter gewesen. Każdan hat es in seinem Vortrag in Ravenna bezweifelt. Der Beiname »Monomax«, den Vsevolods Sohn Volodimer »von seiner Mutter« her trug (*PVL*, 1096, 240, 27), zeugt doch wohl jedenfalls von Verwandtschaft mit dem Kaiser Konstantin IX. Monomax.

Neben den bisher behandellen direkten literarischen Beziehungen zwischen Ilarion und der Chronik gibt es aber auch indirekte. Als solche bezeichnen wir diejenigen, die sich daraus ergeben, daß beide, unabhängig voneinander, gleiche Quellen benutzen.

Daß es solche gemeinsamen Quellen gegeben hat, ist nicht zu bezweifeln und versteht sich beinah von selbst. Hierzu gehört schon die mündliche Tradition über Volodimer und seine Vorfahren, über seine Taufe und die Taufe der Bevölkerung von Kiev, über den Anfang der Christianisierung des Landes und die Bautätigkeit Volodimers und Jaroslavs. Manches von dieser historischen Tradition mag um 1050 auch schon schriftlich fixiert gewesen sein. Zu den gemeinsamen Quellen von Chronik und Ilarion gehört dann aber vor allem das kirchliche Schrifttum, Bibel, Liturgie usw.

Außer dem im Kiev des 11. Jahrhunderts allgemein bekannten mündlichen und schriftlichen Traditionsgut sind einige Einzelwerke zu erkennen, aus denen die Chronik und Ilarion gemeinsam, aber unabhängig voneinander, geschöpft haben.

Sowohl das Glaubensbekenntnis, das der Chronist aus Anlaß des Berichtes über die Katechese Volodimers im Artikel über das Jahr 988 mitteilt,[72] wie auch das Glaubensbekenntnis, das Ilarion aus Anlaß seiner Bischofsweihe verfaßt hat,[73] gehen offensichtlich zurück auf das Glaubensbekenntnis des Michael Synkellos.[74] Aber es gibt in der Wiedergabe dieses Glaubensbekenntnisses in der Chronik und bei Ilarion neben zahlreichen Übereinstimmungen auch sehr bedeutende Unterschiede. Das betrifft etwa die Übersetzung des sehr wichtigen theologischen Terminus »ὁμοούσιος«. Ilarion übersetzt ihn mit *edinosuščnyj*[75] = »von *einem* Wesen«, »*eines* Wesens«, »wesensgleich«; in der Chronik dagegen lautet die Übersetzung *podobenъ suščen*.[76] Das ist kein Semiarianismus, wie manche meinen, sondern es ist die Hilflosigkeit eines Übersetzers gegenüber einem in seiner Terminologie äußerst subtilen, schwer zu übersetzenden griechischen Text.

Es ist ganz deutlich, daß der Chronist, der dieses Glaubensbekenntnis in die Chronik aufnahm, hier nicht das Glaubensbekenntnis des Ilarion vor sich hatte. Unmöglich ist auch die umgekehrte Vermutung, daß das nach Gedankenführung und stilistischer Ausformung großartige Glaubensbekenntnis Ilarions abhinge von der unvollkommenen, unvollständigen und

72 *PVL*, 112, 5–113, 22.
73 Ilarion, 52–54.
74 Der griechische Text in Müller, *Ilarion*, 1962, S. 189–192.
75 Ilarion, 30, 8; 47, 11; 52, 6.
76 *PVL* 112, 16; die Handschrift A hat *podobnosuščenъ*, Hypatius- und Xlebnikov *podobosuščenъ*.

stellenweise nahezu unverständlichen Übersetzung des Glaubensbekenntnisses in der Chronik. Unabhängig voneinander haben Ilarion und die Chronik ihre gemeinsame Quelle, das Glaubensbekenntnis des Michael Synkellos benutzt.

Eine andere gemeinsame Quelle für Ilarion und die Chronik ist eine Sammlung von Zitaten aus dem Alten Testament über die Berufung der Heiden. In der Chronik sind diese Zitate zusammengestellt in der Rede des Philosophen im Jahresartikel 986.[77] Alle in diesem Abschnitt der Chronik enthaltenen Prophetenworte finden sich auch bei Ilarion, und zum Teil sogar in der gleichen Reihenfolge. Besonders auffällig ist dabei die Übereinstimmung in dem Zitat aus Jesaja 42, 9 und Jesaja 65, 15 in der Chronik und bei Ilarion.[78] Zwei Zitate, die im Buch des Propheten Jesaja weit voneinander entfernt sind, folgen in der Chronik und bei Ilarion unmittelbar aufeinander, in der Chronik sogar ohne jeden Absatz, so daß es so aussieht, als sei es ein einziges Zitat, während sie bei Ilarion wenigstens durch ein dazwischengeschobenes »i paky« von einander getrennt sind. Dabei kürzen aber Chronik und Ilarion den von ihnen zitierten Text in verschiedener Weise. Dies zeigt eindeutig, daß sie an dieser Stelle von einer gemeinsamen Quelle, nicht aber von einander abhängig sind. Da die Bibelzitate bei Ilarion und in der Chronik fast identisch sind, muß es sich um eine Quelle handeln, die beiden in slawischem Wortlaut vorlag.[79] Ihr Inhalt war, wie gesagt, eine Sammlung von prophetischen Worten aus dem Alten Testament über die Verwerfung der Juden und die Berufung der Heiden. Eine solche Sammlung konnte ein selbständiges Werk, sie konnte aber auch Teil eines größeren Ganzen sein; so enthält das in der *Vita Constantini* überlieferte Streitgespräch Konstantins mit den Chazaren zahlreiche derartige Bibelstellen;[80] der verlorene Bericht über das Religionsgespräch mit den Chazaren wird ihrer noch mehr enthalten haben.[81]

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Für die Vor- und Frühgeschichte der Chronistik im Rus'-Reich und für die Frühgeschichte der Literatur aus der Kiever Rus' ergibt sich aus unserer Untersuchung: Aus den Werken des Ilarion, die um 1050 entstanden sind, ist die Existenz eines Chronikkodexes, der ihm vorgelegen hätte (in der Art

77 *PVL*, 986, 99, 10–27.

78 *PVL*, 99, 19–22; Ilarion, 28, 11–16.

79 Dagegen ist es bei dem Glaubensbekenntnis des Michael Synkellos sehr wohl möglich, daß Ilarion dessen griechischen Text benutzt hat.

80 *Vita Constantini*, Kap. X f., Kap. XVI.

81 *Vita Constantini*, Kap. X, Ende.

des von Šaxmatov angenommenen »Drevnějšij svod« oder der von Lixačev angenommenen »Erzählung über die Anfänge des Christentums in der Rus'«) nicht mit Sicherheit zu erschließen und nicht einmal wahrscheinlich zu machen. Völlig unbewiesen und sehr unwahrscheinlich ist, daß Ilarion selbst an der Abfassung einer der Vorformen der Nestorchronik beteiligt gewesen wäre. Die Stellen der Chronik, die die größte textliche Nähe zu Ilarion aufweisen (der Lobpreis auf Jaroslav unter dem Jahr 1037 und der auf Volodimer unter dem Jahr 1015) sind nach dem Zeitpunkt ihrer Abfassung, nach der kirchen- und geistesgeschichtlichen Situation, aus der heraus sie sprechen, und nach ihrem Stil weit entfernt von den entsprechenden Stellen bei Ilarion.

Andererseits kann man Ilarion auch nicht zum Kronzeugen einer Auffassung von der Christianisierung des Rus'-Reiches machen, die der der Chronik diametral entgegensetzt wäre, wie Golubinskij es getan hat. Die Unterschiede zwischen Chronik und Ilarion in ihrem Bericht über die Bekehrung Volodimers liegen weniger im Faktischen als vielmehr im Literarischen: in der Verschiedenheit der Intention beider Werke, der Verschiedenheit ihrer Gattungen. Der Chronist schreibt eine »povest'«, er will erzählen, was geschehen ist; Ilarion schreibt eine »poxvala«, einen Lobpreis, er will rühmen; und wenn er überhaupt erzählt, dann nur so, wie es seinem Zweck—dem Rühmen—dienlich ist, und nichts weiter, als was für dieses Ziel taugt.[82]

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[82] Siehe dazu: Ludolf Müller, *Die Taufe Rußlands* (München, 1987), S. 102 und S. 108f.—Ich widerspreche damit nicht dem, was Andrzej Poppe in seinem Referat in Ravenna dargelegt hat: daß in Hinsicht auf die kirchlich-konfessionelle Frage bedeutende Unterschiede zwischen dem kirchlichen Universalismus des Ilarion und der verengten konfessionalistischen Einstellung der Chronik bestehen. Sie sind ein weiterer Hinweis auf den weiten zeitlichen und geistigen Abstand zwischen den Werken des Ilarion und der Chronik.

An Early Twelfth-Century Kievan Fragment of the Беседа трех святителей

MOSHE TAUBE

One of the most valuable collections of medieval Slavic manuscripts outside the Slavic countries is in St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai. Although forty manuscripts have long been available to scholarship through the work of the 1950 Library of Congress Microfilming expedition (Clark 1952), they have not yet been fully exploited. Here I should like to look at a single folium that now is part of Codex 39, a manuscript of forty-six parchment folia. The first forty-five represent a portion of a thirteenth-century East Slavic Saturday–Sunday lectionary of the Apostol, but the final folium has been identified only as containing *Questions and Answers.*[1] I should like to discuss this fragmentary text in detail, to determine its age and provenance and to emphasize its contribution to our knowledge of early Slavic translated literature.

The hand of folium 46 is East Slavic, of the early twelfth century.[2]

Here is the text, with an English translation:[3]

MS. Slav. Sin. 39, fol. 46r-v.

[46r] на нб҃с<и>· отъвѣ^{т}· б҃ъ и чл҃вкъ·

въ|про^{с}· чьто сѧ слъıшать ꙗсли· и|деже лежа г҃ь· ѿвѣ^{т}· ꙗсли соуть | людиѥ ихъже ради съниде и по|витъ вьсѧ вѣрою·

въпро^{с} по чь|то сѧ крьсти г҃ь отъ иоана крь^{с}|телѧ· ѿвѣ^{т} не да ли крьщьш ѹ| сѧ г҃и ост҃ѧть сѧ водъı прѣжде | крьщениꙗ ст҃аго· крьщениѥ | мьртво бѧше· д<а> ѥгда съни|де животъ всѣхъ ѻ҃ти ст҃ъıмь | дх҃ъмь·

въ·ро^{с} Къто сѧ слъı|ша иже заоуши г҃а на прѣдании | ѿвѣ^{т}· ослабленъıи иже въ овъı|чи коупѣли· имѧ ѥмоу иеоросъ

[46v] Въпро^{с}· Колико ѥсть му|роносиць женъ· ѿвѣ^{т} <г҃>|

[1] The body of the manuscript has been described in part by Altbauer 1985, and his remark about fol. 46 (20, fn. 6) is the sole notice of this erotapocritic text.

[2] It resembles in particular the Ефремовская кормчая (Šmidt, SvK no. 75), a sample of which is reproduced from Sreznevskij 1897 at the end of this article. For another sample, see Karinskij, plate 29. (I disagree with Miklas's dating of this important manuscript to the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century, Miklas 331–34.)

[3] Line-divisions are marked by "|". For technical reasons, the superscript letters are somewhat displaced, and the "streška" covering them has not been reproduced. See the photoreproduction on pp. 357–59.

Въпроⷭ · Каꙗ ли каꙗ ли · Ѿвѣⷮ | а҃ фарисѣова в҃ лазор<єва> г҃ блоудьница · ꙗжє на вєѵє|ри помаза · г҃а · муръмь · и др ꙋгꙑꙗ бо помазатъ идоша | и нє обрѣтъша оужє бо бѣ въ|скрьслъ .:.
ИНА ВЪПРОШЕНИꙖ <и Ѿ>|вѣти євⷢ҇гьскъ<ı>хъ словєсъ съка<зана> | василиѥмь и григоромь фєоло<гомь.> | Чл҃вкъ єтєръ съхожашє въ єри|хо Ѿ иєр҃слма · и въ разбо<иникꙑ...>

There is one scribal lapse: вьсѧ, 46r5, should be simply сѧ, as is clear from the context and affirmed by parallels from other manuscripts (see the appendix, below).

Translation

[Q. How many substances are there on earth and] in heaven? A. God and man.
Q. What is the meaning of the manger where the Lord lay? A. The manger is the people for whose sake He came down and was swaddled with faith.
Q. Why was the Lord baptized by John the Baptist? A. Was it not so that the water would be sanctified when the Lord was baptized? For before His Holy Baptism, baptism was dead, and then, when life came down He sanctified everyone with the Holy Spirit.
Q. Who was it that struck the Lord when He was being betrayed? A. The paralyzed man who was at the Sheep Pool, whose name was Jairus.
Q. How many women bearing ointment are there? A. Three.
Q. Which is which? A. The first is the Pharisee woman, the second is Lazarus's sister, the third is the harlot who at the supper anointed the Lord with chrysm, for the others came to anoint him but did not find him, for he had already risen.
....
Other Questions and Answers concerning words of the Gospel, interpreted by Basil and Gregory the Theologian:
A certain man was going down to Jericho from Jerusalem and [he fell] among robbers...

The orthography exhibits characteristic traits of the early Rusian standard language.[4] It has the native reflexes in the use of (1) оу, ꙋ, and ю without etymological distinction between older *u and older *$ǫ$ (ѥмоу, коупѣли, крьщьшꙋ; вѣрою);[5] (2) complementary use of the letters ѧ, *а*, and ꙗ for *ä* < older *ę* and *a* after palatal (сѧ, ꙗсли, слъıшать, слъıша; and (3b)

[4] The material is presented in terms of Lunt's specifications of possible variants in early East Slavic (Rusian) manuscripts, cf. Lunt in this volume, pp. 276–313 or 1987, 160–62.
[5] The *jusy* ѫ and ѭ, superfluous in Rus', do not occur on this folium.

both ж and жд for *dj (съхожаше but прѣжде). The older sequence (6a) *tьrt remains (мьртво); normal SSl *trět* (7a) is used for *tert without exception (прѣжде, прѣдани, обрѣтъша).

As for morphological features, the Ismn (10) мурьмь and д(оу)хъмь are of the expected standard ESl shape, while Григоромь is more conservative.[6] The third person verbal present suffix (11) is regularly -ть (слышать, соуть, остать сѧ, ѥсть), while the aorist desinence -тъ in повитъ is another conservative feature. The imperfect (15) is normal ESl in бѧше; съхожаше shows SSl mutation, again the usual form in Russian manuscripts.

The *jers* and *jat'* (ь, ъ, ѣ) are used correctly, with one striking exception: the aorist обрѣтъша, with ъ for expected о.[7] The supine is correctly used (помазатъ 'in order to anoint'). The pronoun етеръ, typical of western OCS and often viewed as a marked archaic feature, is found in the citation from Luke.[8]

The name иеоросъ, Ἰαιρος, is curious, for it incorporates the Greek desinence -ος into the stem. In OCS it is Иаиръ (Mk 5:22, L 8:41, var. Иаръ and Аиръ). On the other hand, Григоромь exhibits the vernacular shortened stem that is well attested in OCS (Vaillant 1964, § 75), rather than the usual stem in *-ij-* that we expect from Γρηγόριος or *Gregorius* (cf. Григориѥмь in MS. 70, see the appendix, below).

It is the text of the folium that is most interesting. These thirty short lines represent not only the end of an individual question-plus-answer unit, but the end of a longer Q-A series, followed by the beginning of another. The folium begins with the end of a question that, with four of the following five, is known from two younger East Slavic manuscripts, where it is entitled Устроение словесъ Василия и Григория Феолога и Иωанна.[9] The second grouping, here labelled Ина въпрошениꙗ и отвѣти еванг҃ѣльскыхъ словесъ Василиѥмь и Григоромь феологомь, starts by citing Luke 10:30, чловѣкъ етеръ съхожаше въ Ерихо. It is known under various titles from many later East and South Slavic manuscripts.

6 Василиѥмь shows the shape most common in *j-stems, cf. Lunt 1987 n. 42.

7 Confusion of the letters "o" and "ъ" has been noted particularly in the Novgorod menaia of the 1090s and other early northern manuscripts.

8 In this passage the Ostromir Gospel has нѣкъıи, and the Mstislav Gospel of 1115–17 has нѣкто; the Archangel Gospel of 1092, however, has ѥтеръ.

9 The two are numbers 70 and 46 in de Santos Otero's list (see below), viz. Moscow, GBL Muz. (F. 178) no. 6, 15th c., published by Arxangel'skij 1889, 195 ff., and Leningrad, GPB Solov. (f. 717), no. 399 (formerly 86), published by Porfir'ev 1890, 391 ff. Another Moscow manuscript with a similar title was published by Tixonravov 1863, II, 429–32 (GIM Sin. [no. 80307], no. 30 [formerly 682]); it begins with the same questions and answers, but is shorter and lacks the final Q-A units that concern us. In F. J. Thomson's opinion (personal communication), this represents an abridged version and Sinai 39 proves this beyond doubt.

These two collections, together with several other erotapocritic texts, have been referred to by the generic term ***Беседа трех святителей*** or *Conversation of the Three Hierarchs.* The most comprehensive bibliography of manuscript sources and secondary literature on the *Besěda* is provided by Aurelio de Santos Otero (1981, 196–222). The task of classifying the one hundred and twenty manuscripts is difficult, but his treatment (199–200) is superficial and not without error. We must be grateful therefore to Francis J. Thomson, who, in his extensive review article (1985), has shed light on this nebulous mass of innumerable textual variations, additions, omissions, and interpolations.[10] His classification, "not in the main into redactions but into broadly linked families whose further divisions remain to be studied" (92) yields in section 16 (*Conversatio Trium Hierarcharum,* pp. 91–96) thirty-five subclasses, some of which are reworkings, abridgements, or expansions of other collections.[11] The first part of our folium belongs to Thomson's group (f), represented by two South Slavic manuscripts[12] and two East Slavic manuscripts.[13] Rajko Nahtigal (Nachtigall) attempted a classification based on his reconstruction of the original collections;[14] he took this group to be the second form of what he perceived as the true *Besěda* (1901–02, 389–403), representing a twelfth–thirteenth-century South Slavic translation. However, as Thomson rightly points out (93), "his reconstructions are very hypothetical." Thus, "with regard to the 'second form' he considered that the fifteenth century MS no. 70 had preserved the best text (382), whereas the late thirteenth-century MS no. 1 . . . shares with the late fourteenth-century MS no. 103 21 questions not in MS no. 70" (Thomson 92). On this basis Thomson concluded that the earliest known East Slavic manuscript, the 15th-century Muz. 6 (no. 70) "may thus contain an abridged text." Identification of the Sinai folium, however, now entitles us to regard the text of Muz. 6 as representing an even earlier text than the one represented by Nahtigal's two South Slavic manuscripts. The text shared by these two witnesses must, therefore, be viewed as an expansion and reworking of the earlier redaction,

[10] Lur'e's entry on the *Besěda* in the new literary dictionary of early Rus' ignores both de Santos Otero's book and Thomson's review article.

[11] The classification is complicated also by the fact that similar fusions, interpolations and reworkings are to be found in the Greek texts as well. Thus, for Thomson's thirty-five subclasses, a direct Greek original was traced only for group (a).

[12] In de Santos Otero's list they are number 1 (end of 13th c.), and number 103 (end of 14th c.).

[13] De Santos no. 46 (17th c.) and no. 70 (15th c.), cf. fn. 2 above.

[14] Nahtigal used MSS. 1, 70, and 103, calling them *Sreć., Arch.* and *Mich.*

that of MS. 70.[15] The second of the six Q-A units in this collection has not been found in Greek, but the other five are known. However, they never appear in this particular sequence and they are scattered in many manuscripts.

The second text in the Sinai folium belongs either to group (b) or group (c) in Thomson's classification. Both groups consist of Q-A concerned with the meaning of parables told by Jesus. Thomson considers both to have been "translated in Bulgaria probably in the tenth century" (92). These groups usually begin with the parable of the Good Samaritan, citing: *A certain man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho.* A comprehensive list of manuscripts containing questions about these parables was published by Kujo Kuev, 1981, 392 ff.[16] Unfortunately he failed to distinguish the two groups, which differ, as Thomson points out in "that this collection [(b)] groups questions before giving answers, whereas (c) gives a short answer after each question" (92). Three important facts emerge: MS. 70 places a text belonging to group (b) immediately before the **Устроение словесъ** (as we saw above); MS. 46 also places this same collection immediately before the **Устроение**, with the same title and incipit;[17] and finally the two names Basil and Gregory only occur in (b). Therefore we conclude that the Sinai folium, like these two other East Slavic witnesses, 70 and 46, represents group (b).

In sum, this single folium from Sinai turns out to be highly significant for the study of the complex problems of the many redactions of the **Беседа трех святителей**: it is the earliest testimony regarding two different collections included under this common title, namely the **Устроение словесъ** and the **Въпрошения и отвѣти евангельскыхъ словесъ**. It is thus an important addition to the skimpy store of early catechistic literature and offers a glimpse of a text utilized by the Slavs in propagating Christianity.

The age of this fragmentary witness is also of great importance. It is a century and a half older than the earliest known South Slavic witness and some three centuries older than previously identified East Slavic witnesses. Its familiar combination of East and South Slavic features again illustrates the variables permissible in manuscripts of the late eleventh and early

[15] MS. 103 generally corresponds to MS. 1 up to the question that immediately preceded the first one in the Sinai folium, and the subsequent questions and answers it contains are partly shared by MS. 1, though not in the same order. MS. 1 contains five of the six Q-A units of the Sinai folium, but in different order and sometimes with different wording. The correspondence is this: Sin. 1 = MS. 1 q. 48, 2 = 1, 3 = (omitted), 4 ~ 31, 5+6 = 22.

[16] Kuev does not include MS. 70.

[17] See Porfir'ev *et al.* 1881–87, 737–38.

twelfth centuries in Rus'. It will undoubtedly contribute to the discussion about the nature and extent of translation activity in Rus' after 1037.[18]

APPENDIX: PARALLELS AND NOTES

Manuscripts in de Santos Otero's lists are referred to by his numbers. Others are given full bibliographic references. Citations are from the manuscripts unless a secondary source is specified. The orthography is simplified, since no issues depend on it.

Question 1:
Sin. 39 . . . на небеси. Отвѣт: богъ и ҷловѣкъ.
MS. 70, f. 273r18.
Въпрос: Колико ес(ть) естествъ на небеси и на земли? Отвѣт: Богъ и ҷловѣкъ.
MS. 46 agrees, Porfir'ev 1890, 395.33, as does MS. 1 (14v, Močul's'kyj 1894.8 qu. 48).
Greek: from Vienna Cod. Theolog. 247 (Lamb. 210), 13th c., f. 106v, cf. Močul's'kyj 1900, 226, question 65:
Ἐρ. πόσαι φύσες [!] εἰσὶν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ Ἀπ. Δύο· θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος.
Dresden A 187, 16th c., Heinrici 1911, 69, q. 120:
ἐρωτ. πόσαι φύσεις ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς ἀποκρ. δύο, θεότης καὶ ἀνθρωπότης. Similar Greek variants in Krasnosel'cev 1898, 147, question 4, 149, qu. 3.

Sin. 39 seems to be the only text, Slavic or Greek, that puts *earth* before *heaven* (if indeed *earth* preceded here). The Slavic answers differ from Greek by omitting 'two' and simply giving the two nouns.

Question 2:
Sin. 39. Въпрос: ҷьто сѧ слъышать ꙗсли идеже лежа господь? Отвѣт: ꙗсли соуть людиѥ ихъже ради съниде и повитъ [вь]сѧ вѣрою.
MS. 70, f. 273r19: Въпрос: Что сѧ слышать ꙗсли, идеже лежа господь. Отвѣт: ꙗсли ѹбо людїе ихьже ради сниде и повит сѧ вѣрою. MS. 46 agrees, Porfir'ev 1890, 395.34.
MS. 1, f. 10v; cf. Močul's'kyj 1894, 260, qu. 1: Вьпрось. Что се слышеть ꙗсли идѣже лежа господь. Отвѣт: ꙗсли соуть людие ихьже ради сниде и ови се вѣрою.[19]

[18] I should like to express my indebtedness to Prof. Horace G. Lunt for making available a copy of MS. Muz. 6 as well as for his editorial help and a number of substantial suggestions.
[19] Močul's'kyj emended ови (i.e., a restructured *o-vi* for older **ob-vi-* > оби) се to обнови се, which of course is unnecessary.

No Greek equivalent is known. Močul's'kyj 1894, 89 quotes a MS. with: βοῦς μέν ἐστιν τῶν ἑβραίων λαός ... καὶ ὄνος ἐστὶ ὁ πᾶς Χριστιανῶν λαός, οἱ ἔλθοντες προσήνεγκαν αὐτὶν ἐν τῇ φάτνῃ.
MS. 70 f. 264.9, in another context: что есть ослѧ? жидове. и что жребѧ? христиане.

Question 3:

Sin. 39: въпрос: По чьто сѧ крьсти господь отъ Иоана крьстителѧ? Отвѣт: не да ли крьщьшу сѧ господи освѧтать сѧ воды. прѣже крьщениꙗ свѧтаго крьщение мьртво бѧше, да ꙗгда съниде животъ всѣхъ освѧти свѧтымь духъмь.
MS. 70, f. 273r22: Въпрос: Почто сѧ крьсти господь от Иωанна крьстителѧ? Отвѣт: (н)еда ли[20] крьщьшоу сѧ господу освѧтат сѧ воды. Прежде бо крьщениа свѧтаго крьщениє мртво бѣаше, да егда сниде живот всѣхь освѧти свѧтымь духомь.
MS. 46 (Porfir'ev 1890, 396.2) agrees, except that instead of *бо* in the last sentence it has *до*.
Greek, MS. Vatopedi 37, Mt. Athos, 15th c., Krasnosel'cev 1898, 151, qu. 20: Ἐρ. Διὰ τί ἐβαπτίσθη ὁ Κύριος ἀπὸ Ἰωάννην καὶ πόσων ἐτῶν Ἀπ. Ἐβαπτίσθη ὁ Κύριος ἀπὸ Ἰωάννην τριάκοντα ἐτῶν, ἵνα βαπτισθέντος αὐτοῦ ἁγιασθῶσι τὰ ὕδατα. πρὸ γὰρ βαπτισθῆναι τὸν Κύριον νεκρὸν ὑπάρχει τὸ βάπτισμα, ὅτε δὲ κατῆλθεν ὁ ζῶν λόγος, τὸ νεκρὸν βάπτισμα ἐζωοποίησαν καὶ ἐγένετο εἰς πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον.

Question 4.

Sin. 39: Въпрос: Къто сѧ слъша иже заоуши господа на прѣдании? Отвѣт: Ослабленъıи иже въ овьчи коупѣли, имѧ ꙗмоу Иеорос.
MS. 70, f. 269v4: Въпрос: Кто сѧ слышить иже заоуши господа на прѣдании. Отвѣт: Расслабленыи иже на овчии коупѣли, имѧ емоу Іереосъ.
MS. 46 agrees, Porfir'ev 1890, 396.5, spelling the final name Иереосъ in the same way. The Kiev manuscript (Library ANSSR, Duxov. Ak. no. 119, end 16th c.) printed by Sušyc'kyj (1911, 25, qu. 33) is slightly shorter, and gives the name as Ересь.
Rather different is MS. 1 (f. 13r, Močul's'kyj 1894, 262, qu. 31): В. За кои грѣгь [!] лежа чловѣкь при овчи коупѣли .л.и. лѣт? Понеже хотѣше заоушити господа на прѣдани, невѣроваше, именем ꙗреωсь, вь свѧтую троицоу.
Greek, Paris BN no. 1555A, 14th c., f. 164r, qu. 2 (Močul's'kyj 1894, 96, qu. 26): Ἐρωτ. Τίς ὁ δώσας τὸν Κύριον ῥάπισμα ἐπὶ τῆς παραδόσεως Ἀποκ. Ἰαρὸς ὅς ἦν παραλυτικὸς τριάκοντα καὶ ὄκτω ἔτη.

[20] The "n" in the sequence недали is erased; someone wanted to read еда ли instead of не да ли.

Constantinople Holy Sepulchre Library no. 136, 17th c. (Krasnosel'cev 1898, 158, qu. 24): Ἐρ. Ὁ δώσας τὸ ῥάπισμα ἐπὶ τῆς προδοσιαν τῷ Κυρὶῳ, τίς ἤκουεν Ἀπ. Ὅν ἤγειρε παράλυτον ἐπὶ τῇ προβατικῇ κολυμβήθρᾳ, ὄνομα αὐτῷ Ἰάιρος.

Further variants are provided in Franko 1906, 5, qu. 25, 9, qu. 33; Heinrici 1911, 50, qu. 8; Krasnosel'cev 1898, 122, qu. 4, 126, qu. 39, 168, qu. 64.

Questions 5 and **6**.

Sin. 39: Въпрос: Колико ѥсть муроносиць женъ? Отвѣт: 3. Въпрос: Каꙗ ли каꙗ ли? Отвѣт: 1 фарисѣова, 2 лазорева, 3 блоудьница ꙗже на вечери помаза господа мурмъ, и дрѹгꙑꙗ бо помазатъ идоша и не обрѣтъша, оуже бо бѣ въскрьслъ.

MS. 70, f. 273v8: Въпрос: Колико есть муроносиць женъ? Отвѣт: 3. Въпрос: Киа? Отвѣт: 1 фарисеова, 2 лазарева, 3 блоудница ꙗже на вечери помаза господа муромъ, и дроугыа бо помазати идут и не обрѣтъ, оуже бо бѣ въскреслъ, всегда и нынѣ и присно и въ вѣки вѣком, аминь.

MS. 46, Porfir'ev 1890, 396.7 agrees. A thirteenth-century MS (GPB Q.π.I.18, Kovtun 1963, 399) has the same text up to the word мюръмь, where it ends; it contains only this one question at the end of a glossary. Somewhat different is MS. 1 (f. 12v, Močul's'kyj 1894, 262, qu. 22): Колико ѥсть мироносиць? Ѿ: 1 Фа{ри}сеѡва, 2 Марта, 3 Мариꙗ сестрѣ лазаревѣ, и дроугыѥ с ними.

In Greek, MS. 317, Panteleimon monastery, 16th c., f. 196v, Krasnosel'cev 1898, 141, qu. 10: Ἐρ. πόσαι γυναῖκες ἐμύρισαν τὸν Κύριον Ἀπ. Ἀπὸ τοῦ Φαρισαῖου καὶ τοῦ Λαζάρου καὶ ἡ πόρνη ἐπὶ τοῦ δείπνου.

The thirteenth-c. MS. Vienna, Cod. Theol. 244 (Lamb. 297) f. 49v (Močul's'kyj 1900, 231 qu. 43) has: Ἐρ. πόσαι μυροφόραι εἶσιν Ἀπ. τρεῖς. Μία τοῦ Φαρισαίου. ἡ ἄλλη τοῦ Λαζάρου. Καὶ ἄλλη ὅπου ἤλειψε τοὺς πόδας τοῦ κυρίου. εἶδον γὰρ τὴν ἀνάστασιν.

Further Slavic and Greek variants are in Franko 1906, 9, qu. 37; Jacymyrs'kyj 1910, 28, 36; Kuev 1981, 382; Močul's'kyj 1894, 93, qu. 17, 251, qu. 33; Krasnosel'cev 1898, 127, qu. 51, 134, qu. 20, 158, qu. 25.

This question appears also as the final one in the collection entitled Ἐρωτήσεις καὶ ἀποκρίσεις διάφοροι ὠφέλιμοι περίεργοι ἴσως φαινόμεναι (Krasnosel'cev 1891, 456), which belongs to group (a) in Thomson's classification.

Title:

Sin. 39: Ина въпрошениꙗ и отвѣти евангельскыхъ словесъ съказана Василиѥмь и Григоромь Феологомь.

MS. 70, f. 260v3.: Въпрашаниа и отвѣти еуангельскыхь словесъ сказана Василїем и Ѳеологомъ Григоріемь.

MS. 46 agrees. In MS. 1 (f. 39, Srećković 1890, 5) we find: Сказаниѥ

словесь єв'нгл'скыхь протлькованиє Василиєм, Иωваном Богослов'цемь.[21]

More variants are given by Kuev 1981, 392–97.

The extra word **Ина** in Sin. is to be attributed to the fact that here, unlike MSS. 70 and 46, this text follows the **Устроение Словесъ**. MS. 46 has translated 'theologian' to *bogoslovьсь* and changed *Gregory* to *John*.

Incipit: **чл҃вкъ етєръ съхожашє въ єрихо ѿ Иерс҃лма и въ разбо . . .**

The familiar words beginning the parable of the Good Samaritan are followed in MS. 70 (f. 260v5) by the question, **что есть Иерусалимъ и что есть Ерихонъ?** MS. 1 (f. 39) has the same text. In Greek we find variants. Thus Panteleimon mon., no. 317, 16th c., f. 195 (Krasnosel'cev 1898, 140): Τίς ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὁ Ἀδάμ. τίς ἡ Ἱερουσαλήμ ὁ παράδεισος, and so on. A similar text is given by Heinrici (65, qu. 84, Dresden A 187, 16th century).

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[21] Stojanović 290 gives a slightly different transcription of MS. 1.

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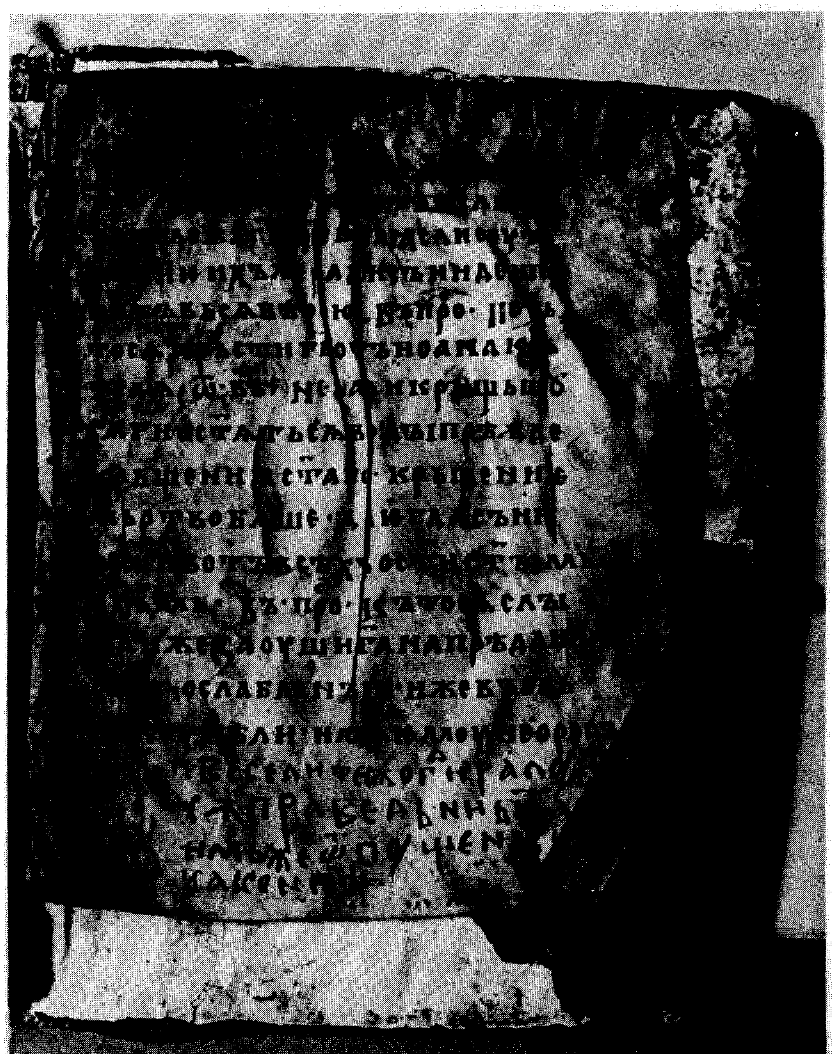
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*Fig. 1–2**
Folio 46r-v



* I would like to express my gratitude to Professor M. Altbauer for making these photographs, taken by him in Sinai in 1968, available to me.

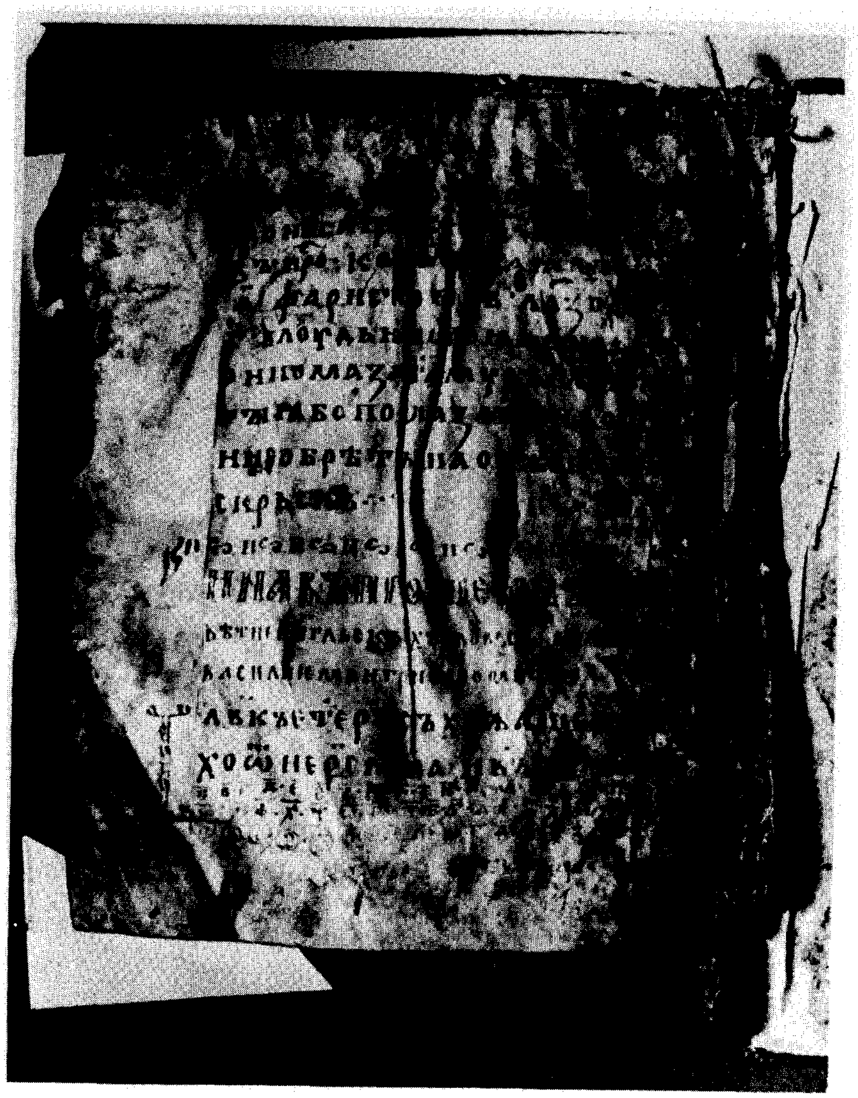
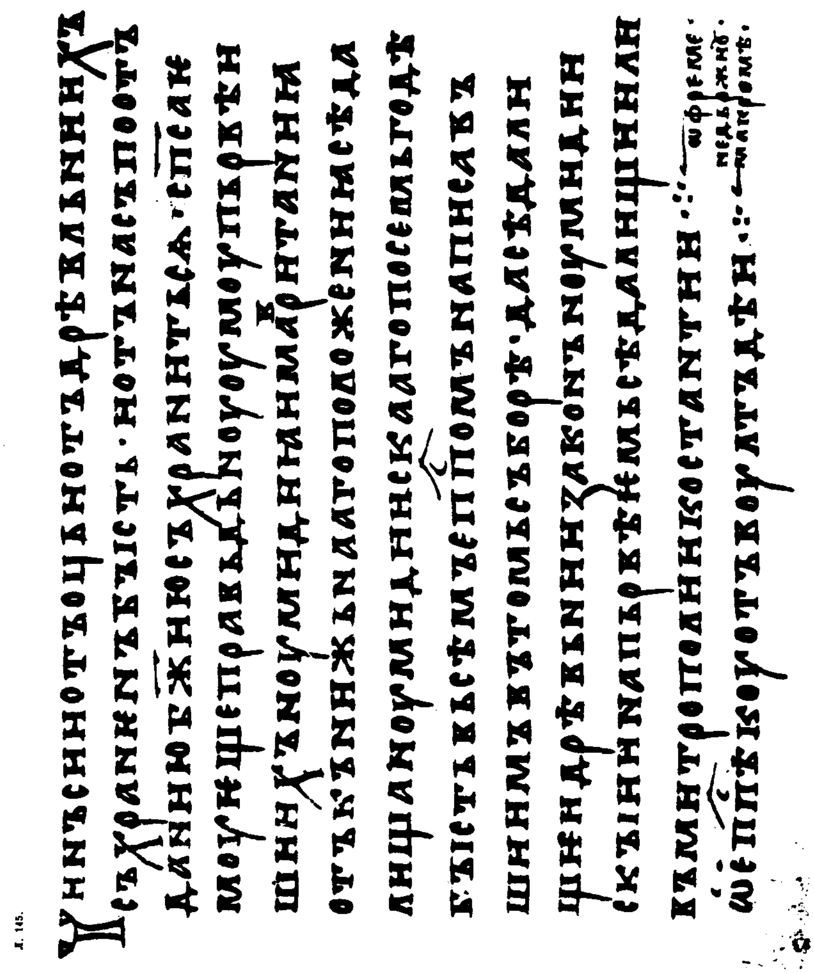


Fig. 3
A Partial Folio of the Efremovskaja Kormčaja



The Tradition of Byzantine Chronography

CYRIL MANGO

We would probably not be celebrating the millennium of the conversion of Rus' if the Rus' chroniclers had not adopted a system of dating and a tradition of chronography from Byzantium along with the new faith. The Rus' chronicle—for there is no such thing as a medieval Rus' "history" in the technical sense of the term—was plugged into the Byzantine network and thereby replicated an entire vision of the human past. That is a matter of general knowledge, and an ocean of ink has been spilt on the thorny problems of the reception of Byzantine chronicles in the Slavic world, their translation, influence, and continuation. I shall not reopen that old debate, which others are much better qualified to do than I am. My intention is to examine instead the tradition of Byzantine chronography, which, I believe, was undergoing some interesting transformations in the ninth and tenth centuries, i.e., in the period of the conversion of the Slavs.

We tend to regard Byzantine chronography as a continuum, running from Eusebius of Caesarea (and even earlier) to the sixteenth century. That is not a mistaken view, but it is a view taken from a considerable distance; for if we take a closer look we discover many gaps and changes of direction within a broadly uniform framework. The biggest gap for us corresponds to the "Dark Age" of Byzantium, i.e, the second half of the seventh and the greater part of the eighth century. The Paschal Chronicle stops in 628 in the form in which we have it; the combined chronicles of Syncellus and Theophanes date from ca. 811–814. Even after Theophanes the continuum is very slack: George the Monk, who brings the story down to 843, was, according to the latest research,[1] writing after 871, and we have to wait until the middle of the tenth century to find a connected account of events from 813 onward, i.e., from the point where Theophanes breaks off.

I shall return to the big gap in a moment. But first I must confess my ignorance on a matter of considerable importance, for I do not know the mechanism whereby events were recorded in the Byzantine world. Ideally speaking, a chronicle ought to be compiled year by year or, at any rate, at regular and frequent intervals. We know that in the medieval West, annals

[1] A. Markopoulos, Συμβολὴ στὴ χρονολόγηση τοῦ Γεωργίου Μοναχοῦ, Κέντρον Βυζ. Ἐρευνῶν, Σύμμεικτα 6 (1985): 223–31.

were appended from time to time to paschal tables,[2] but to my knowledge no such Byzantine annals have survived. Their existence (which remains to be proved) has been, however, postulated by Romilly Jenkins as underlying the portion of the Chronicle of Symeon the Logothete for the years 867–913.[3] Clearly, many stories we read in Byzantine chronicles were ultimately due to eyewitnesses. Take that of the murder of Michael III in September 867, told by the same Logothete. Only a person who was present on that fateful evening and who had accompanied the murderers as they made their way in the dark from the palace of St. Mamas, across the Golden Horn, as they stopped at a particular house, climbed the city walls and finally entered the Imperial Palace could have described these events in such minute and vivid detail.[4] Yet the Logothete was writing roughly a century later. However many intermediary stages we postulate, we have in the end to reach the person who, in 867 or the following year, first wrote the story down. And so I come back to the question: was there some provision for recording events as they occurred and, if so, in what milieu?

For the early Byzantine period the existence of city chronicles, kept in major urban centres, like Antioch and Constantinople, has been supposed:[5] these are said to be reflected in the Chronicles of Malalas and Marcellinus Comes, among others. In fact, we possess two local chronicles of that period, focused on Edessa in Mesopotamia. The earlier of the two, known by the name of Joshua the Stylite, covers the years 494 to 506. It was not, however, produced under the auspices of the municipal authorities. As the preface makes clear, it was commissioned by the abbot of a monastery from an author whom the said abbot had met only once; and it was specifically intended as an admonition to virtue for future monks of the same establishment.[6] In other words, it was an entirely ad hoc production motivated by moral considerations, not a concern for preserving an accurate record of the past. The other Edessa chronicle, known as *Chronicon Edessenum*, is a collection of meager notices, such as obituaries and appointments of local bishops and the construction of buildings from 313 to 533. The records appear to have been kept in the cathedral of Edessa, and were occasionally

2 See, e.g., R. L. Poole, *Chronicles and Annals* (Oxford, 1926).

3 "The Chronological Accuracy of the 'Logothete' for the Years A. D. 867–913," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* (hereafter *DOP*), 19 (1965): 91–112. Even if the relevant entries proved to be in correct chronological order, that does not necessarily demonstrate their reliance on annals.

4 *Leo grammaticus*, Bonn ed., 251ff. = *Georgius monachus* (cont.), Bonn ed., 836ff.

5 A. Freund, *Beiträge zur antiochenischen und zur konstantinopolitanischen Stadtchronik* (Jena, 1882). B. Croke, "The Chronicle of Marcellinus and its Contemporary and Historiographical Context," Ph.D. diss., Oxford University, 1978.

6 *The Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite*, ed. and trans. W. Wright (Cambridge, 1882), p. 1 ff.

supplemented from other written sources, one of them Antiochene.[7] Many short local chronicles, the so-called *Kleinchroniken*, are also known from the end of the Middle Ages,[8] and they, too, appear to have been composed in a fortuitous fashion. As to the so-called Chronicle of Monemvasia, which may be of the ninth century, it cannot be described as a chronicle in any meaningful sense.[9]

As we enter the Middle Ages proper we naturally think of monasteries as the milieu where annals and chronicles would normally have been written. That is also what Pushkin assumed:

В часы
Свободные от подвигов духовных
Описывай, не мудрствуя лукаво,
Всё то, чему свидетель в жизни будешь
Войну и мир, управу государей,
Угодников святые чудеса,
Пророчества и знаменья небесны.

Pushkin was not mistaken: in Rus' as in the medieval West, as also in the Syriac orbit, chronicles were composed in monasteries. Oddly enough, however, in Byzantium we do not find a single monastic chronicle. Let me explain: we do, of course, have a few chronicles that were compiled by monks, like Theophanes or George surnamed Hamartolos, and some may think that in so doing they manifested a monastic spirit, whatever that may be. What we do not find is a chronicle that records, be it occasionally, events that were of interest to a particular monastic community; I mean entries like "Sturmi abbas Fuldensis coenobii moritur; cui successit Baugolf eiusdem monasterii monachus" or "Hoc anno basilica sancti Bonifacii martyris in coenonio Fuldense. . . dedicata est."[10] The absence of all such notices from the Byzantine tradition suggests to me that the writing of annals or chronicles was not maintained on a regular basis in any Byzantine monastery.

What, then, are the alternatives? For some periods if not for others the possible existence of court annals needs to be considered. On the other hand, it may be argued that the big chronographic compendia that have come down to us, far from offering primary material—except in a few cases, like the final portion of Theophanes—are merely a digest at second

[7] See L. Hallier, *Untersuchungen über die Edessenische Chronik, Texte und Untersuchungen* 9/1 (1892).
[8] Ed. P. Schreiner, *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, I (Vienna, 1975).
[9] See P. Lemerle, "La Chronique improprement dite de Monemvasie," *Revue des études byzantines* (hereafter *REB*), 21 (1963): 5–49.
[10] *Annales Fuldenses*, a. 779, 819.

or third remove of a medley of available sources, many of them being of a non-chronicle nature. The latter conclusion gains some support from the well-known preface of Skylitzes.[11] His aim, we may remember, was to compose a "synopsis" or "epitome" in the manner of Theophanes from A.D. 811 to his own time. He proceeds to name his authorities; after rejecting, as being useless, two overly succinct compilations, one of them by Michael Psellus, he lists ten authors, most of them, alas, lost to us. In his words, they had written laudations or invectives dealing at length with the events of their own days or a little earlier, and had done so with bias, to curry favor or even under order. None of the ten appears to have been a proper chronicle. That was the material Skylitzes had at his disposal and, after pruning it down to his own satisfaction, he supplemented it only with certain oral traditions communicated to him by old men. Skylitzes was a high imperial official. Had there existed a court chronicle, he might have spared himself a good deal of trouble.

I have raised the above questions not only because they are important in themselves (whatever the correct answer may be), but also because they have a bearing on Rus' chronography. The Primary Chronicle, as we all know, does have an annalistic form, which—or so it has been argued—goes back to the second stage of the chronicle's composition, the one conjecturally associated with the monk Nikon in the 1060s.[12] If it was indeed Nikon who adopted this format and instituted in the Monastery of the Caves a tradition of recording events year by year, he may have had certain models in mind. At first sight these do not appear to have been Greek models.

I come back to what I have called the great gap. For us, as I have said, it is delimited on either side by a work of chronography, namely, the Paschal Chronicle on the one hand and Syncellus plus Theophanes on the other. Of these only Syncellus was translated into Slavic in a shortened form. Significantly, both the Paschal Chronicle and Theophanes are based on an annalistic principle, but that is as far as their mutual resemblance extends. The Paschal Chronicle, which, incidentally, does not appear to have enjoyed a wide diffusion and is preserved in only one manuscript, is a very strange work.[13] Its avowed purpose is to present a method, based on

[11] Ed. Thurn, 3–4. On this passage see J. Darrouzès and L. G. Westerink, *Théodore Daphnopatès: Correspondance* (Paris, 1978), pp. 6–10; A. Markopoulos, "Théodore Daphnopatès et la Continuation de Théophane," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 35 (1985): 171–82.

[12] D. S. Lixačev, *Russkie letopisi* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1947), pp. 77ff., following A. A. Šaxmatov.

[13] See J. Beauchamp, R. C. Bondoux et al. in *Le temps chrétien de la fin de l'Antiquité au Moyen Age*, Colloques internationaux du C.N.R.S., no. 604 (Paris, 1984), pp. 451–68.

astronomical cycles, for determining the date of Easter and validating that of certain other liturgical feasts—Christmas, the Annunciation, the Presentation in the Temple, the birthday of John the Baptist. To do so the author had to establish certain key dates—that of the creation of the world or rather that of the luminaries, which marked the beginning of time, of the Crucifixion, etc. He could have accomplished his purpose by composing a treatise on computation coupled with a discussion of biblical chronology. The historical or narrative element—I am thinking especially of Roman history after the apostolic age—is extraneous to his aim, and it is not clear to me why he included it at all and did so in a particular form, which necessitated the recording of each successive indiction, regnal year, and consulship within a grid of Olympiads. The number of "empty" years is proportionally very high and the presence or absence of historical matter appears at first sight capricious, although further research may uncover some underlying pattern.

We have, as I have said, no extant Greek chronicle composed between ca. 630 and ca. 810, but that does not mean that none existed. We can be fairly confident that there was a chronicle, written at Constantinople, down to 641;[14] the reign of Constans II (641–68) was not recorded at all; but from 668 down to 769, at the earliest, an account of events was kept: it is the common source of Nicephorus and Theophanes. Since we do not possess it in its original form, it is hazardous to say how it was structured, although there is some reason to believe that its entries were dated by indiction.[15] There are also a number of ghosts conjured up by modern scholarship.[16] The so-called *Megas Chronographos*, whose title will remind slavicists of the hypothetical *Letopisec po velikomu izloženiju*, is represented by eighteen fragments appended to the unique manuscript of the Paschal Chronicle. In my opinion it ought to be removed from the eighth century and placed no earlier than the middle of the ninth.[17] Traianos Patrikios, allegedly a contemporary of the Emperor Justinian II, is no more than a name,[18] and I see no benefit in associating him with the conjectural

[14] Being the source of Nicephorus's *Breviarium* for that period. See my "The *Breviarium* of the Patriarch Nicephorus," *Byzance: Hommage à A. Stratos* (Athens, 1986), 2: 543.

[15] As appears from the imperfectly reworked paraphrase of Nicephorus, ed. C. de Boor, *Nicephori opuscula historica* (Leipzig, 1880), pp. 70, 75–77.

[16] Cf. A. Markopoulos, "A la recherche des textes perdus," *From Late Antiquity to Early Byzantium*, ed. V. Vavřínek (Prague, 1985), pp. 203–207.

[17] As I have tried to show in the article cited in fn. 14.

[18] C. de Boor, "Der Historiker Traianus," *Hermes* 17 (1882): 489–92.

Epitome.[19] In other words, while the "big gap" is partly the result of the accidents of preservation, it is still true to say that neither historiography nor chronography flourished during the Dark Age.

The Byzantine revival that started shortly before the year 800 and corresponds to the Carolingian Renascence in the West was certainly marked by a renewed interest in history. Oddly, it has not left us any text resembling Einhard's *Vita Karoli*—say, a Life of the Empress Irene in classical Greek.[20] It has left us the following works, which I am placing in approximate chronological order: (1) The Short History or *Breviarium* of Patriarch Nicephorus; (2) a proliferation of succinct chronologies rather than chronicles; (3) the bulky Chronicle of Syncellus completed by Theophanes; (4) possibly parts of the History by Sergius Confessor.

The first of these does not concern us here: it is (or pretends to be) a history, not a chronicle, although, in fact, it is no more than a paraphrase into ancient Greek of earlier chronicle sources already mentioned. Nor do we have to consider the fourth: Sergius Confessor, whom I have tried to identify with the father of the patriarch Photius,[21] is known to have written a historical work extending to the year 828.[22] It is not specifically described as a chronicle and is said to have contained an extensive account casting back to the reign of Constantine V. It is conceivable, as suggested by Warren Treadgold, that two preserved texts, the so-called *Scriptor incertus de Leone* and the "Dujčev fragment" about the Bulgarian disaster of 811, are derived from the History of Sergius.

I pass to item 2, namely, the succinct chronologies. Of these we have several Slavonic versions, namely: (1) The *Letopisec vskore* attributed to Patriarch Nicephorus. Found in several recensions, it extends from Adam to the murder of Michael III on 23 September 867, followed by Rusian material;[23] (2) The *Istorikii za Boga vkratce*, dated 893/94 (indiction 12) and ascribed to Constantine of Preslav. As it stands, it is a list from Adam to the emperor Leo VI, but the last two entries, those for Basil I and Leo VI, given in rounded figures, appear to have been added.[24] If I am not mistaken,

19 On which see, especially, D. Serruys, "Recherches sur l'Epitomè," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 16 (1907): 1–51.

20 Cf. P. J. Alexander, "Secular Biography at Byzantium," *Speculum* 15 (1940): 194–209.

21 "The Liquidation of Iconoclasm and the Patriarch Photios," in *Byzantium and its Image* (London, 1984), study 13.

22 Photius, *Bibliotheca*, cod. 67.

23 Ed. N. V. Stepanov, *Izvestija Otdelenija russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti* 17/2 (1912): 250–93; 17/3 (1912): 256–320.

24 Ed. V. N. Zlatarski, *Spisanie na Bălgarskata Akademija na Naukite* 27 (1923): 132–82. Cf. B. S. Angelov, *Byzantinobulgarica* 2 (1966): 83–105.

the Greek original extended to 867 or, possibly, to 866;[25] (3) The list of emperors from Augustus to Constantine VII and Zoe placed at the end of Svjatoslav's *Izbornik* of 1073. This is usually regarded as of Bulgarian origin, i.e., as forming part of King Symeon's collection, although it occurs after the colophon.[26]

It is admitted that these compendia exerted an important influence on the elaboration of chronology in Rus' and their mutual relationship has been the subject of considerable discussion. The whole question needs, however, to be reexamined in the light of the Greek material, which presents a much more complicated picture than has been supposed. What we have before us is not merely the *Chronographikon syntomon* of the patriarch Nicephorus as edited by de Boor.[27] Not only did de Boor fail to use many manuscripts, including the four oldest;[28] there also circulated soon after the year 800 several versions of the same work or, perhaps, several works of the same nature. One was used by Syncellus not later than 811; the same or another by Theophanes; a third is found in Cod. *Vatic. gr. 2210* of the tenth century.[29] I am unable to say when this work originated or what form it had at the beginning. What is worth pointing out, however, is that it exhibits a wide range of historical interest, for in its fullest form it consists of the following sections:

1. An Old Testament chronology from Adam to the Babylonian captivity.
2. The kings of Persia from Cyrus to Alexander's conquest.
3. The Ptolemies down to Cleopatra.
4. The emperors of Rome from Julius Caesar down to Michael II (820–29).
5. Roman empresses starting with the wives of Constantius Chlorus, the father of Constantine I.
6. The kings of the ten tribes of Israel in Samaria.

25 It ends with: Theodora and Michael [III]—14 years, 1 month, 2 [for 22] days; Michael alone—11 years, 1 month, 9 days [as in the Greek: ed. de Boor, *Nicephori opusc. hist.*, 101, col. 2]; Basil [I]—20 years; Leo [VI]—7 years, i.e., to the time of writing. The joint reign of Michael III and Basil I (26 May 866–23 Sept. 867) is not mentioned. If the figure for Michael given in the *Istorikii* (11 years, 1 month, 9 days) is meant to cover both his sole rule and his joint rule with Basil, it should, in fact, have been 11 years, 6 months, 8 days (15 March 856–23 Sept. 867); if his sole rule only, 10 years, 2 months, 9 days.

26 Ed. E. K. Piotrovskaja in *Izbornik Svjatoslava 1073 g.* (Moscow, 1977), pp. 317–31.

27 *Nicephori opusc. hist.*, pp. 80–135.

28 British Library, *Add. 19390* (late 9th century); Oxford, Christ Church, *Wake 5* (late 9th century); *olim* Dresden, *Da 12*, now in Moscow (A.D. 932); Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchate, *cod. 24* (tenth century).

29 Ed. A. Schoene, *Eusebii Chron. liber prior*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1875), app. IV, pp. 81–83.

7. The high priests of the Jews from Aaron to the sack of Jerusalem by the Romans.
8. The bishops of Constantinople from Metrophanes[30] perhaps down to the iconoclast Theodotus (815–21).
9. The popes of Rome.
10. The bishops of Jerusalem.
11. The bishops of Alexandria.
12. The bishops of Antioch.
13. A list of the canonical, dubious, and apocryphal books of the Bible with the number of verses in each.

To these Cod. *Vatic. gr. 2210* also adds a list of the Sassanian kings of Persia and one of the Arab caliphs. The historical perspective indicated by these chronologies corresponds exactly to that of Syncellus and Theophanes, to whom I now turn. The Slavs had to make do with the first four items only.[31]

The Chronicle of Theophanes is so familiar to students of the early Middle Ages, enjoyed such a wide diffusion, and exerted so much influence on later compilations both in Greek and Latin that we tend to regard it as the typical Byzantine chronicle. Nothing could be further from the truth. It is a highly unusual work that reflects the preoccupations of a particular milieu at a particular time. A definition of its scope is given in the prefatory remarks of Syncellus,[32] who had the intention of completing the work himself down to A.D. 808; in the event he was forced to stop in A.D. 284 and the remaining part—actually to A.D. 813—was edited by Theophanes. Now Syncellus, too, was preoccupied with computation. He was intent on establishing that the world had been created on the 25th of March, 5500 years before the birth of Christ, and that the Resurrection took place on the 25th of March of the year 5534. That is the so-called Alexandrian computation, which differs both from that of the Paschal Chronicle (creation of the luminaries on 21 March 5507 B.C.) and from the common Byzantine system, which was already fairly well entrenched at Constantinople in the ninth century and reckoned from 5508 B.C. In addition to setting up a correct chronological framework, Syncellus, as distinct from the author of the Paschal Chronicle, is also interested in the narrative element: he wishes to record in proper sequence all the important events of world history "as regards nations and empires," as he puts it. These events are to be taken from Holy Scripture

30 The earliest versions omit the mythical bishops of Byzantium, starting with the apostle Andrew (ed. de Boor, 112–14.)
31 Or fewer. The Izbornik of 1073 has only the list of emperors starting with Augustus.
32 Bonn ed., 4, 10 = ed. A. A. Mosshammer (Leipzig, 1984), pp. 2, 5–6.

as well as from the more notable historians, and have to do with kings, priests, prophets, apostles, martyrs, and teachers as well as the famous men of heathen nations, to wit, philosophers, practitioners of other arts, generals, and exemplars of unusual depravity. Finally, Syncellus emphasizes his concern with the Mohammedan apostasy, the same that had been prophesied by the apostle Paul for the end of days (2 Thess. 2.3).

In his own preface[33] Theophanes gives a brief review of the unfinished work of Syncellus:

> He made a very exact study of the dates, reconciled their divergences, corrected them and set them together in a manner surpassing all his predecessors. He recorded the lives and dates of the ancient kings of every nation and, as far as he was able, accurately inserted the bishops of the great ecumenical sees, I mean those of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, both those who had tended the Church in the right faith and those who, like robbers, had ruled in heresy.

As for his own part, Theophanes defines it as follows:

> I did not set down anything of my own composition, but have made a selection from the ancient historians and prose-writers and have consigned to their proper places the events of every year, arranged without confusion. In this manner the readers may be able to know in which year of each emperor what event took place, be it military or ecclesiastical or civic or popular or of any other kind; for I believe that one who reads the actions of the ancients derives no small benefit from doing so.

Thus the stage is set: the chronicle is to be several things at once, namely, a narrative (seeing that history is beneficial), but a narrative broken down chronologically within a general scheme that reflects the symmetry of God's purpose.

In terms of geographical coverage it is, of course, something of an exaggeration to describe the Chronicle of Theophanes as being universal. Yet it is much more than an account of the Byzantine Empire. While very little is said about the West, the rise of Islam (as announced by Syncellus) and the affairs of Eastern Christians after the Arab conquest are given great prominence. That in itself reflects a certain view of the the world. What I should like to emphasize, however, is not so much the content as the structure. Each annual entry is preceded by a rubric written horizontally across the page. It consists of the *annus mundi*, occasionally the *annus Domini*, the regnal year of the Roman emperor, of the king of Persia, and of the five patriarchs, those of Rome, Constantinople, Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch, in that order. When the Sassanian kings of Persia cease, their place is taken by the Arab caliphs. The succession of the two great temporal rulers and of the five leaders of the Christian church establish the universal

[33] Ed. de Boor, pp. 3–4.

framework. At the same time the rubrics put to use the succint chronologies we have already discussed, with the difference that they are now synchronized.

The question now arises of the origin of this particular structure. Broadly speaking, it goes back to the Chronicle of Eusebius, which was arranged in vertical columns of rulers intersected by a horizontal grid of dates, namely, Olympiads and years from Abraham. Within this layout room was left for a *spatium historicum*, but it was necessarily very succinct, consisting of entries such as "X flourished at this time," there being no space on the page for a fuller narrative.[34] Indeed, one finds in the earlier part of Theophanes many traces of Eusebian-like entries, e.g., "At that time, too, Dorotheus, bishop of Tyre, who had suffered greatly under Diocletian. . . was in his prime;"[35] or "In this year Eustathius, presbyter of Constantinople, a man of apostolic life. . . was conspicuous as well as the architect Zenobius, who had built the Martyrium at Jerusalem at Constantine's behest."[36] Let us grant, therefore, that the ultimate source of Theophanes's scheme was the Chronicle of Eusebius, which was, indeed, known to Syncellus. We may ask next whether the Eusebian tradition was kept alive in Greek between the fourth and the early ninth century. If I am not mistaken, its last Greek representative was Panodorus, who was active in the fifth century and used the very same system of Alexandrian computation from 5508 B.C. that we find in Syncellus and Theophanes. Subsequently, the Greek text of the Eusebian Chronicle was itself lost: what we know of it today derives from the Latin adaptation made by Jerome, the incomplete Armenian version, and bits of a Syriac synopsis, the last two made towards the end of the sixth century. Setting aside Syncellus, who, I believe was a Palestinian, there is no trace of Eusebius's Chronicle at Constantinople in the ninth century, nor, indeed, that of Panodorus. In Syriac, however, the Eusebian tradition did live on and is represented by Jacob of Edessa, who was active at the very end of the seventh century.

Briefly, I would suggest that the concept of Theophanes's Chronicle owes more to the Syriac than to the Greek tradition. However that may be, it represents a dead end in the Byzantine domain. Its content continued to be plagiarized, but its structure was never again imitated. What happened after Theophanes may be described as a split. The short chronologies or *Letopiscy vskore* lived on independently and were constantly brought up to

34 See A. A. Mosshammer, *The Chronicle of Eusebius and Greek Chronographic Tradition* (Lewisburg, 1979), pp. 67ff.

35 Ed. de Boor, p. 24.

36 Ed. de Boor, p. 33.

date as regards the Byzantine emperors, empresses, and patriarchs of Constantinople, the other lists being either omitted or left in a fossilized state. Their underlying chronology, based on the obsolete Alexandrian computation, was not rectified, a circumstance that caused considerable complication in the Slavic world. The narrative chronicle, on the other hand, shed its chronological skeleton while at the same time undergoing a shrinkage of its horizons: it became little more than a story of the Byzantine emperors.

The next author we have to consider is George the Monk, about whom practically nothing is known. He, too, stands alone, but in a different sense. It is worth reading his preface, notable for its obscurantism, its vitriolic character, and its bad Greek. George begins by firing a broadside at all those secular authors, historians, poets, and "chronographers" who have written in a lofty and verbose manner about ancient kings, philosophers, and orators. He does not tell us whom he has in mind, but assures us that their writings are incomprehensible to the ordinary reader. Which is why George, uncultivated as he was and ignorant of secular science and fine style, yet a man who had read many histories, even pagan ones, and many edifying treatises, composed this little book, compressing many matters into a brief compass. It contains nothing but unadorned truth. Indeed, men of the spirit, who are expert at quarrying holy doctrines, do not have recourse to complicated and artful speech, which is usually an excuse for mendacity, but are concerned only with truth even if it is expressed in a barbarous tongue.

Having thus made his position clear, George proceeds to entice the reader by giving him some highlights of the little book: the invention and overturning of idols; the absurd myths invented by pagan philosophers and the godless doctrines of different nations; the beginning of monastic life, rooted in the Old Dispensation, but elevated by the example of Christ's life; the abominable, profane, and rabid madness of the Manichees which spawned the horrible heresy of the Iconoclasts; the ludicrous religion of the Saracens and the beastly life of their false prophet; finally, the infantile rebellion of the old man Thomas and his destruction.[37] I leave aside the question of why George, if he was writing as late as ca. 870, was so concerned with the revolt of Thomas the Slav in the 820s.

The uniqueness of George's work and the key to his popularity lie in the fact that he is not at all interested in history. Events for him are simply an excuse for moral and theological lessons expressed through lengthy quotations from the Fathers. Take as an example his treatment of Justinian's

37 Ed. de Boor, 1: 1–3.

reign, which occupies twenty-seven pages in de Boor's edition.[38] Of the twenty-seven only six, i.e., less than a quarter, are devoted to what may be called events, and these have been carefully selected: Justinian's wars, his reconquest of the West, even his code of law have all been edited out. Prodigies and the plague occupy roughly three pages. The remaining three deal with the rebuilding of St. Sophia, the introduction of certain liturgical innovations, a brief mention of the Nika riot, a confusion over the date of Easter, and the persecution of pederasts. By contrast, eleven pages are taken up by extracts concerning the Fifth Ecumenical Council, nine by quotations from John Chrysostom and Anastasius Sinaita about the evils of pederasty, Sodom and Gomorrah, and one with a further quotation from pseudo-Chrysostom about the dominical feasts. It is easy to make fun of George the Monk; it is harder to forgive him for having told us practically nothing about events in his own lifetime. His real importance lies, however, in the history of ideology.

To George's Chronicle, if it can be so called, was tacked on part of that of Symeon the Logothete down to the year 948 without any consideration of their mutual incongruity. Symeon's work, of which I shall say little,[39] may perhaps be viewed as a typical Byzantine chronicle of the Middle period. It contains a small measure of moralizing, but no theological commentary. It gives some dates by month and indiction, occasionally the day of the week, but not the *annus mundi*. It shows some political or, more accurately, factional bias and a strong preoccupation with the leading families. Its interest in prodigies is limited. The gaps in its coverage, e.g., for the decade 930–940, are difficult to explain. But most important is the shrinkage of its horizons, which hardly extend beyond Constantinople and the affairs of the court.

Of later developments I shall mention only one, which falls largely within the twelfth century. It is an attempt not so much to popularize the chronicle story as to make it attractive for the consumption of a new class of literate aristocrats. The versed Chronicle of Manasses, intended for oral recitation, is the best representative of this trend, and it proved a great success in both Greek and Slavic.

[38] Ed. de Boor, 2:627–54.

[39] Among many studies devoted to it, see especially G. Ostrogorskij, "Slavjanskij perevod Xroniki Simeona Logofeta," *Seminarium Kondakovianum* 5 (1932):17–37; A. P. Každan, "Xronika Simeona Logofeta," *Vizantijskij vremennik* 15 (1959):125–43; A. Markopoulos, Ἡ Χρονογραφία τοῦ Ψευδοσυμεών, Diss. Ioannina, 1978, p. 1ff.

I hope I have fulfilled, however sketchily, my promise of describing some of the main developments in the tradition of Byzantine chronography. In the story as I have told it, the ninth century represents the pivotal period, which witnessed the transition from a universal to a local perspective. If I were asked to explain that development, I would point in the first instance to the breaking away of the Greek-speaking Christian communities of Palestine and Syria, with which Syncellus and Theophanes could still identify themselves. By the time of the Byzantine reconquest of parts of Syria in the late tenth century the Orthodox Christian communities in those parts had become arabized and were no longer "part of us." Their fortunes were of little interest to the Constantinopolitan public. Even so, the overall framework of chronography was maintained: that of a single process flowing down from Adam to the present day. Gradually the inessential branches were cut down, the more so as it was no longer necessary to recalculate the dates of the Creation, the Incarnation, and of the major feasts by confronting the chronology of the Bible with that of the kings of Rome or Sicyon. That had all been done. Of the pagan prehistory there remained only some ghostly presences—Nimrod, Kronos, Sardanapalus, Perseus, the Pharaoh, Pelops, the Persian Cyrus, Romulus and Remus, Philip and Alexander of Macedon. George the Monk was able to despatch the lot of them in some thirty-five pages. That was, more or less, what the Slavs inherited from Byzantium. Their debt in no way accounts for the *Pověst' vremennyx lět*, either in organization or in literary quality. The Bulgarians, who never developed a native chronography, remained firmly within the Byzantine tradition.

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Byzance face au monde musulman à l'époque des conversions slaves: l'exemple du khalifat fatimide

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L'extrême discrétion des sources byzantines quand elles font allusion aux «pays lointains» est chose bien connue: elle ne fait que souligner l'absence presque complète, dans cette civilisation, par ailleurs si fidèle aux données antiques, d'une discipline que les Grecs avaient au contraire transmise, à la fois dans son nom et dans sa substance, au grand adversaire de Byzance, le monde musulman, et le *De administrando imperio*, traité de diplomatie qui ne livre que par accident des renseignements proprement géographiques, ne saurait évidemment combler à lui seul cette lacune. Mais il est la pierre de touche d'une attitude culturelle et mentale en vertu de laquelle les Byzantins ont depuis longtemps opéré une distinction rigoureuse entre les territoires qu'ils dominent ou dont ils ont de bonnes raisons d'espérer reprendre le contrôle, l'étranger proche, le plus souvent hostile, et qu'il convient de bien connaître afin d'en déjouer les attaques, et enfin le véritable étranger qui, ne pesant que peu ou pas sur les destinées de l'Empire, ne mérite même pas d'être connu et échappe donc a toute description.[1]

Soulignons qu'une telle attitude n'est pas spécifiquement byzantine: il serait aisé de montrer que dans un monde musulman où la géographie occupe une place si importante, et même si les motivations sont loin d'en être les mêmes, la vieille distinction entre «domaine de l'Islam» (*Dār al-Islām*) et «domaine de la guerre» (*Dār al-Ḥarb*) aboutit à une occultation presque aussi radicale des territoires sur lesquels l'Islam ne peut avoir aucune sérieuse prétention, même chez des géographes aussi soucieux de précision que Ibn Ḥawqal et Ibn Rustah, ou des polygraphes aussi bavards

[1] A. Ducellier, «Visions byzantines du Maghrib», *Actes du IV^e Congrès d'études maghrébines* (Tunis, 1986), *Cahiers de Tunisie*, 34, 1988, no. 137–138, pp. 95–110.

que Mas'ūdī.[2] Cependant, une curiosité, apparemment désintéressée, des géographes musulmans pour les «pays lointains», s'éveille nettement au cours du XI^e^ siècle, surtout avec l'oeuvre novatrice de l'andalou al-Bakrī (1014–1094),[3] ce qui ne se produira jamais à Byzance, civilisation beaucoup plus pragmatique que celle de l'Islam, et qui n'abordera jamais un champ d'étude que dans la mesure où il peut se révéler utile à l'accomplissement de ses desseins politiques et idéologiques.[4]

Byzance révèle au mieux cette orientation profonde lorsqu'elle parle du monde musulman, qui lui est à la fois si proche et étranger: à parcourir les sources des IX^e^–XI^e^ siècles, on se rend compte que, exception faite de rares théologiens comme Nicétas de Byzance ou Nicolas Mystikos, qui ne sont pas eux-mêmes exempts de desseins politques, elles ne semblent s'intéresser aux pays islamiques que dans la mesure où ceux-ci mettent directement en cause les desseins de l'Empire; c'est ainsi que, si elles nous renseignent relativement bien, surtout pour le X^e^ siécle, sur les zones syro-mésopotamiennes, c'est parce que l'armée byzantine y développe alors sa contre-offensive et, à un moindre titre, parce que Byzance voit dans la Syrie un intermédiaire nécessaire pour son grand commerce d'Orient. En revanche, nous avons déjà observé ailleurs que, dans le même temps, l'Égypte ikhšīdide et fatimide est à peu près absente des sources, au point que l'on peut souvent se demander si les Byzantins savent qu'elle est souveraine des territoires syriens.[5] Parce que prévalent toujours les intérêts politiques et économiques, signalons simplement que si les textes byzantins se font plus riches, à partir du XII^e^ siècle, à propos de l'Égypte: c'est qu'elle devient alors un partenaire essentiel de Byzance, surtout à partir du règne de Michel VIII.[6] Cette attitude rigoureusement sélective a au moins un intérêt pour l'historien: elle permet d'affirmer à coup sûr, chaque fois qu'apparaît dans les textes une puissance dont il n'est ordinairement jamais question, que son rôle est jugé, au moins temporairement, comme de grande importance pour la mise en oeuvre des desseins impériaux. C'est ce qui se

[2] On se reportera aux réflexions essentielles de André Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu'au milieu du XI^e^ siècle*, t. II (Paris, 1980), pp. 379–80. Cf. idem, «Comment lire la littérature géographique arabe du Moyen Age», *Cahiers de Civilisation médiévale* (Poitiers, 1972), 15, no. 2.

[3] F.Clément, «La perception de l'Europe franque chez Bakrī (XI^e^ siècle)», *Le Moyen Age*, 1988, 1, pp. 5–16.

[4] Sur l'«utilitarisme» byzantin qui fonde, en particulier, le mouvement encyclopédiste du X^e^ siècle, cf. P. Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme byzantin* (Paris, 1971), chap. X, «L'encyclopédisme du X^e^ siècle», pp. 267–300.

[5] Ducellier, «Visions byzantines.»

[6] M. T. Mansuri, *Recherches sur les relations entre Byzance et l'Égypte (1259–1453) d'après les sources arabes*, thèse de Doctorat (Toulouse, 1987).

passe, à notre sens, au X^{e} siècle pour le monde fatimide, dont les implications avec la politique slave de Byzance gagneraient sans doute à être réévaluées.

En principe, la connaissance que Byzance peut avoir du khalifat fatimide est conditionnée par l'histoire interne de ce dernier: Constantinople, en vertu du primat donné à ses voisins les plus proches et les plus dangereux, ne peut voir d'un même oeil un pouvoir qui, jusqu'en 969, se cantonne dans un lointain Maghrib et un Empire qui, après cette date, déborde largement les frontières orientales de l'Égypte après y avoir fondé sa nouvelle capitale, Le Caire. Encore verrons-nous qu'une telle distinction, pour nous évidente, reste plus théorique que réelle pour les Byzantins et que, à la fin du X^{e} siècle, le principe du plus grand danger l'emportant sur celui de la proximité immédiate, c'est sans doute quand les Fatimides se sont installés en Égypte qu'ils sont les plus méconnus à Byzance.

L'ignorance des Byzantins pour le Maghrib, région où, à partir de 892–893, s'exerce ouvertement l'apostolat fatimide,[7] est au reste bien naturelle, et l'on comprend pourquoi les grands chroniqueurs comme Théophane, Georges le Moine et Génésios ne le mentionnent même pas: sous son vieux nom d'Afrique (*Aphrikè*), il n'apparaît donc que chez les Continuateurs de Théophane, c'est-à-dire quand le khalifat fatimide commence à jouer un rôle relativement important dans la politique générale de l'Empire. Rappelons seulement que cette Afrique est un pur stéréotype qui, sous la plume des auteurs du X^{e} siècle, ne semble pas avoir changé depuis le temps où Rome avait dû l'abandonner aux Vandales, sans qu'il soit même fait allusion à la longue période de domination byzantine qui suit la reconquête justinienne. Cette «Libye occidentale», comme le nomme Constantin Porphyrogénète,[8] ne se confond pourtant pas, pour les Byzantins, avec l'ensemble du monde musulman: l'Afrique et ses habitants, que les textes désignent indifféremment comme *Aphroi* ou *Aphrikoi*,[9] se distinguent manifestement des musulmans orientaux, que les textes nomment Ismaélites, Agarènes, voire Sarrasins.[10] Encore doit-on souligner que cette distinction n'a rien à voir avec la prise de possession du Maghrib par les Fatimides: les peuples que ceux-ci dominent à partir de l'entrée du Mahdī

[7] F. Dachraoui, *Le califat fatimide au Maghreb. Histoire politique et institutions* (Tunis, 1981), pp. 60ff.

[8] Constantin Porphyrogénète, *De administrando imperio* (cité *infra De administrando*), 25, 5, éd. Gy. Moravcsik–R. Jenkins (Budapest, 1949), pp. 102–104.

[9] Pour *Aphroi*, *De administrando*, 25, 5: 102–104; 20, 2: 84; pour *Aphrikoi*, 27, 62–63: 116; 29, 163: 130; 49, 9: 228; Continuateur de Théophane, Migne, P. G., CIX, col. 97 (*Aphrikoi*), etc.

[10] A. Ducellier, *Le miroir de l'Islam* (Paris, 1971), pp. 179–80.

à Kairouan en 910[11] ne font qu'hériter d'un nom qui était donné aux Berbères comme aux Vandales.[12] Peu importe du reste, cet archaïsme n'est pas sans importance puisque, à partir de la conquête fatimide, il contribue à rendre sensible aux Byzantins l'opposition de deux mondes musulmans dont ils ne semblent guère saisir les clivages véritables; ce n'est que bien plus tard, lorsque Byzance entretient des relations relativement importantes avec l'Égypte mamlûk, que les auteurs grecs s'efforcent de rendre compte clairement de la structure territoriale de l'Empire musulman d'Afrique: fidèles alors à leur archaïsme, ils nous donnent, en l'attribuant aux Mamlūks, une image de ce qu'avait été le khalifat fatimide.[13]

En fait, c'est bien parce que ce dernier reste presque toujours un partenaire secondaire de Byzance que les textes du X^e siècle sont si discrets à son sujet: la lecture du *De administrando imperio* démontre implicitement qu'on en sait plus que l'on n'en dit. Quand le Porphyrogénète écrit qu'il n'y avait, au départ, qu'un seul khalifat, celui de Bagdad, dont était maître un «amermounès» (*amīr al-mu'minīn*) unique, et que, parmi les treize grands émirats (*amèradiai*) qui en constituaient les articulations administratives, celui d'Afrique était le second en importance, juste après celui du Khorāsān, il révèle une sérieuse connaissance de ce monde musulman qui, au X^e siècle, se caractérise précisément par un fort contraste entre Asie et Afrique.[14] Cette démarche allusive devient spécialement irritante lorsque Constantin rappelle que «l'Afrique a secoué le joug de l'amermounès de Bagdad, se donna un gouvernement indépendant et nomma un émir à elle (*amèran idion*)»: on ne sait alors s'il a en vue l'indépendance de fait des émirs aghlabides ou l'installation du khalife rival à Kairouan en 910/296.[15] Créditons cependant le Porphyrogénète de cette dernière hypothèse, mais constatons que les autres sources grecques sont nettement moins bien informées lorsqu'elles rendent compte des structures du monde islamique. C'est ainsi que les Continuateurs de Théophane ne connaissent manifestement pas le sens exact d'*amīr al-mu'minīn* puisqu'ils décernent indifféremment ce titre aussi bien aux émirs aghlabides qu'aux khalifes

[11] Dachraoui, *Le califat fatimide*, pp. 124ff.

[12] Ducellier, «Visions byzantines», où est soulignée l'ampleur du conservatisme byzantin; jamais les sources grecques ne citent Kairouan, et Carthage reste toujours la capitale de l'Afrique.

[13] C'est le cas de Nicéphore Gregoras qui, décrivant le sultanat mamlûk, lui attribue une domination sur l'«Afrique entière», outre son contrôle de la «Phénicie et de la Syrie» (N. Gregoras, *Histoire romaine*, VII, 7, P. G. CXLVIII, col. 241–44).

[14] *De administrando*, 21, 27–28: 94; 25, 56–62: 106; rappelons que, dans ce dernier passage, le Porphyrogénète signale aussi l'éclatement du khalifat originel en trois nouveaux khalifats, le troisième étant naturellement celui d'al-Andalus.

[15] *De administrando*, 25, 62: 108.

fatimides: déjà vers 827, le traître Euphémios s'enfuit de Sicile pour se réfugier «auprès de l'amermounès d'Afrique», ce qui ne peut désigner que l'émir aghlabide Ziyādat Allāh Ier.[16] Une telle confusion révèle certes que, de leur temps, les continuateurs savaient que les souverains africains portaient le titre khalifal, ce qui les mènent à l'attribuer à leurs prédécesseurs, mais elle indique aussi qu'ils ne sont absolument pas sensibles à la mutation, au contraire essentielle pour les musulmans, que constitue l'adoption du titre suprême par le Mahdī fatimide. Même le Porphyrogénète, qui sait pourtant que les souverains égyptiens de son temps sont «de la race d'Alim», semble bien ignorer le déroulement de la conquête fatimide depuis l'Afrique jusqu'à l'Égypte, puisqu'il déclare que c'est l'«émir d'Égypte» «qui devint lui aussi indépendant et se proclama lui-même amermounès», comme si l'adoption du titre khalifal devait être attribuée aux épigones ikhšīdides dépossédés par les Fatimides en 969.[17] C'est, semble-t-il, au hasard et parce que, comme nous le verrons, Byzance doit surtout affronter les souverains africains en Italie du sud, que quelques textes font manifestement une distinction entre Ikhšīdides et Fatimides: à propos d'une famine qui accable «les Sarrasins de Sicile et d'Afrique» sous le règne du Porphyrogénète, Kédrénos précise que, en ce temps, les «Africains» étaient en guerre avec les «Sarrasins de Cyrénaïque», ce qui désigne clairement la campagne malheureuse du deuxième khalife fatimide, al'-Qâ'im, qui, en 935, tente une première fois de s'emparer de l'Égypte. Implicite est aussi la manière dont, au moment de sa reconquête par Nicéphore Phôkas, le Continuateur situe la Crète dans la mouvance sunnite: c'est ce qu'il veut dire lorsqu'il la fait qualifier, par le futur empereur lui-même, d'«île syrienne».[18] Au reste, à peu près dans le même temps, les Byzantins révèlent ouvertement leur désintérêt pour le khalifat africain, puisqu'ils ne font aucune mention de la grande révolte khārigite d'Abū Yazīd qui, entre 934 et 946, met le khalifat africain au bord de la ruine et aurait en principe permis aux Grecs de dégager leurs provinces italiennes du danger fatimide: le seul épisode qu'ils en retiennent est apparemment la famine de 939–941, pour la seule raison qu'elle leur permit de gagner de

[16] Continuateur de Théophane, P. G. CIX, col. 96.

[17] *De administrando*, 25, 62:108; le fait que le Porphyrogénète insiste sur l'«autoproclamation» du premier khalife fatimide peut cependant laisser supposer qu'il en sait plus qu'il ne veut bien le dire.

[18] Kedrenos, P. G. CXXII, col. 92; Dachraoui, *Le califat fatimide*, pp. 163–64. Sur la Crète, Continuateur de Théophane, P. G. CIX, col. 496 où l'auteur rappelle d'ailleurs que les «émirs d'Espagne et d'Afrique» s'abstiennent alors de toute intervention; cf. Dachraoui, *Le califat fatimide*, pp. 244ff.

l'argent en ravitaillant les musulmans en grain.[19]

Nous avons dit que le pouvoir fatimide n'intéresse vraiment Byzance que dans les régions où il met en cause les territoires impériaux, c'est-à-dire en Italie: et en effet, quand ils s'intéressent à ces lointaines provinces, les auteurs byzantins peuvent révéler une connaissance appréciable, encore que toujours parcellaire, de l'adversaire musulman du Maghrib. Eux qui, nous l'avons dit, paraissent insensibles au changement de titulature en 910, qui croient toujours à l'existence d'une métropole nommée Carthage, qui connaissent à peine les noms personnels des souverains fatimides,[20] soulignent soigneusement que les «Sarrasins de Sicile» sont d'origine africaine, tout comme les émirs conquérants des villes dalmates (Budva, Kotor), ou l'émir Soldan de Bari, sous le règne de Basile I^er^: ce dernier au reste, vaincu par les Francs, se retire «dans son pays, l'Afrique»?[21] La mouvance politique des terres conquises en Sicile et en Italie méridionale par rapport à l'«Afrique» est en effet bien affirmée, surtout dans les sources d'origine occidentale comme la *Vie de saint Nil de Rossano*: celle-ci donne l'image d'une Sicile où prédomine, à Palerme, un émir auquel elle donne le titre de *phylarchos*, dont les bureaux sont encore peuplés de scribes chrétiens, ce qui a pour effet de rendre plus aisés les échanges de prisonniers,[22] mais dont la dépendance de l'Afrique, ce «noeud de vipères» est nettement considérée comme regrettable: Nil, qui critique violemment le métropolite Blattôn d'avoir été à «Carthage» échanger des prisonniers et d'avoir même passé une alliance familiale avec le «roi des Sarrasins», ne répugne pas lui-même à envoyer ses moines à Palerme pour obtenir, moyennant cadeaux, la libération d'autres détenus.[23] Déjà, la *Chronique grecque de Cambridge* soulignait comment, en 889–890, «les Sarrasins de Sicile ont déclenché une emeute contre l'Afrique», mettant par là-même en relief une

[19] La date de cette famine est possible à établir grâce aux renseignements de la *Chronique de Cambridge*: cf. M. G. Stasolla, *Italia euro-mediterranea nel Medioevo: Testimonianze di scrittori arabi* (Bologna, 1983), p. 178.

[20] Ducellier, «Visions byzantins.» On rappellera que le Mahdī 'Ubayd Allāh est nommé Phatloum (déformation possible du nom même des Fatimides?), et que seul le khalife al-Qâ'im est désigné sous un nom à peu près reconnaissable (*Abulcharé*).

[21] Ducellier, «Visions byzantines.» Sur Soldan, cf. *De administrando*, 29: 129–34. Il s'agit de l'émir Sūrān (ou Sawdān), le troisième émir berbère de Bari (al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb futūḥ al-buldān*, in Stasolla, *Italia*, p. 268).

[22] *Vie de saint Nil de Rossano*, P. G. CXX, col. 120–21, où l'auteur semble bien prendre le titre porté par l'émir de Palerme (*Amèras*) pour un nom propre.

[23] Sur ces épisodes, sans doute datables du milieu du X^e^ siècle, mais certainement pas du règne de 'Ubayd Allāh (mort en 934), cf. J. Gay, *L'Italie méridionale et l'Empire byzantin* (Paris, 1904), p. 282. Sur d'autres témoignages locaux de familiarité entre chrétiens et musulmans, Gay, *L'Italie méridionale*, pp. 255ff.

situation officielle et son évolution vers une autonomie croissante de l'île.[24] On sait au reste que le relâchement des liens entre Afrique et Sicile se fait encore plus net avec l'avènement des Fatimides: quand Kédrénos relate l'alliance de Michel IV avec l'émir de Palerme al-Ahal et le soulèvement du frère de ce dernier, Ibn Ḥafṣ, en 1035, il fait entièrement abstraction de l'obédience à laquelle les musulmans siciliens sont en principe tenus envers le représentant du khalife fatimide, l'émir ziride de Kairouan.[25]

C'est qu'en effet, si ses sujets d'Italie du sud savent trouver à l'occasion la route de «Carthage», le gouvernement central n'a que de bien rares occasions de traiter avec le souverain qui y règne. Lorsque, après la stabilisation du régime fatimide en Afrique, les attaques musulmanes reprennent en Italie vers 925, il est bien peu probable que Constantinople ait l'initiative dans les diverses tractations de détail qui semblent avoir été généralement menées par les gouverneurs locaux: seules les sources latines et musulmanes mentionnent alors la prise de la ville d'Oria, et la trêve qui s'ensuit paraît avoir été l'oeuvre du seul stratège de Calabre.[26]

C'est pourtant à cette époque qu'on relève un des très rares épisodes qui impliquent l'existence de rapports directs entre Constantinople et le khalifat africain, et il n'est pas indifférent qu'il se situe dans le cadre, alors fort hostile, des relations bulgaro-byzantines. Rappelons que nous sommes dans les dernières années du règne de Syméon, au moment où l'énergique réaction de Romain Lécapène a mis un frein à sa politique conquérante depuis la trêve de 924; or, si l'on a souvent souligné, pour ces années terminales, les attitudes et prétentions impériales du tsar bulgare, on a assez rarement mis en valeur leurs implications par rapport au monde musulman. D'abord, soulignons que le prétexte invoqué par Syméon pour ne pas exécuter les clauses de 924, c'est que l'empereur serait incapable de défendre, en cas d'attaque musulmane, les places de la mer Noire qu'il devait lui rétrocéder,[27] une façon pour le tsar de se poser en défenseur de tous les chrétiens contre leur ennemi traditionnel, ce qui est éminemment le rôle de l'empereur légitime. Le plus intéressant est pourtant la tentative que Syméon semble alors avoir faite pour mettre sur pied une alliance avec les

24 Stasolla, *Italia*, p. 174.

25 La Sicile se révolte contre le Mahdī dès 912 (Dachraoui, *Le califat fatimide*, pp. 136–37). Sur l'esquisse d'alliance de 1035, Kedrenos, P. G. CXXII, col. 248.

26 Sous l'année 6434 (924–925), la *Chronique grecque de Cambridge* souligne significativement que la trêve a été passée «avec le peuple de Calabre» dont les seuls cadres mentionnés sont l'évêque Lāwuh (Léon) et le «walī» (stratège) de Calabre; Stasolla, *Italia*, p. 176. Cf. aussi Gay, *L'Italie méridionale*, pp. 206–207 où l'on trouvera la référence aux autres sources arabes et latines, ainsi qu'aux «mémoires» du juif Sabbatai Domnolo. Cf. Dachraoui, *Le califat fatimide*, p. 155.

27 Nicolas Mystikos, Correspondance, P. G. CXI, col. 185–96.

Fatimides, afin de prendre l'Empire entre deux feux: sans doute parce que, si peu de temps après son arrivée au pouvoir, il est peu convenable de souligner l'entente du Mahdī avec un souverain chrétien, l'épisode ne semble pas avoir laissé de trace dans les sources musulmanes, mais nous n'avons aucune raison de douter du récit qu'en fait Skylitzès, d'autant qu'il a le mérite de planter un décor bien connu: *le statu quo* plutôt pacifique qui caractérise, au X^e^ siècle, les rapports islamo-byzantins en Italie méridionale: ne rapporte-t-il pas que «tant que la région fut entre les mains de gouverneurs sensés et justes, non seulement les sujets menèrent une existence et une vie sans souci, mais le tribut fut versé sans réticence aux Sarrasins», mais que «chaque fois que le pouvoir fut confié à des hommes injustes et cupides, non seulement les gouvernés furent maltraités, mais les conventions avec les Sarrasins furent violées»?[28] Sans doute le tribut dont parle Skylitzès est-il celui que, en 925, Byzance s'était engagée à payer à la suite de l'épisode d'Oria: le même auteur rapporte au reste que «en raison des troubles qui agitaient le pays», Romain Lécapène avait dû en suspendre le paiement, ce qui, vers 926, avait évidemment dû indisposer le khalife africain. C'est précisément dans ce climat qu'intervient la tentative de Syméon, qui suppose donc une bonne connaissance des rapports réels entre Byzance et les musulmans en Italie: c'est lui en effet, si on en croit Skylitzès, qui prend l'initiative d'envoyer une ambassade en Afrique, et c'est au retour que les ambassadeurs bulgares, accompagnés d'envoyés fatimides auprès de Syméon, sont capturés par la flotte byzantine; l'affaire se terminera par l'emprisonnement des Bulgares et le renvoi des musulmans auprès de leur maître que l'empereur aurait en outre comblé de cadeaux, l'amenant non seulement à renoncer à toute alliance avec Syméon, mais encore à diminuer le tribut de moitié.[29]

Si cette tentative a été généralement passée sous silence, c'est sans doute parce qu'il apparaît peu croyable que le tsar bulgare ait pu être assez bien informé des relations, très locales en somme, de Byzance avec les Fatimides, pour imaginer une alliance à ce point subtile. C'est oublier à la fois l'importance ancienne des Slaves dans le monde musulman d'Occident et les possibilités de contacts avec les Fatimides que, malgré des révoltes

[28] Skylitzès – Kedrenos, P. G. CXXII, col. 89.

[29] Skylitzès – Kedrenos, P. G. CXXII, col. 91. Dachraoui, *Le califat fatimide*, p. 156, qui ne semble attacher que peu d'importance à cet épisode. Le tribut qui aurait été à l'origine de 22 000 *nomismata* aurait été ramené à 11 000, chiffres bien entendu incroyables. Cf. M. Canard, «Arabes et Bulgares au début du X^e^ siècle», *Byzantion*, XI, 1936, pp. 213 – 23.

répétées, la domination du tsar sur la Serbie pouvait lui assurer.[30] Sans nul doute, les conquêtes africaines en Dalmatie et la longue impunité des flottes musulmanes en Adriatique avaient, depuis le VIII^e^ siècle, favorisé la mise en place d'une véritable traite des esclaves slaves: telle est probablement l'origine de ce *Ṣaqāliba* qui, comme en Espagne, jouent au Maghrib un rôle souvent déterminant au X^e^ et au XI^e^ siècles; en Afrique même, ne voit-on pas, en 946, un véritable corps de la garde khalifale composé de Slaves dits *Markusiyūn* contribuer largement à la défaite du révolté Abū Yazīd?[31] Image marquante d'un fait au reste bien connu: dans le khalifat africain, juste après les Berbères Kutāma, pilier du régime, les Slaves occupent certaines des plus considérables charges civiles et militaires et, chose sans doute encore plus importante, fournissent au Mahdī et à ses successeurs les plus notables de leurs hommes de confiance, voire des exécutants de leurs besognes les plus délicates et les plus secrètes,[32] au point d'être, pour le khalife al-Qā'im, «comme les apôtres de Jésus et les *anṣār* (auxiliaires) de Muhammad».[33] Certes, le problème des origines exactes de ces Slaves reste à éclaircir mais, à la différence de l'Andalus, dont les Slaves proviennent sans doute plutôt des rafles germano-franques opérées en Europe centrale, la quasi-inexistence de tout rapport entre Aghlabides, puis Fatimides, avec le monde franc rend plus probable l'hypothèse de leur provenance balkanique, par l'intermédiaire des opérations de piraterie dont l'Adriatique est le théâtre dès le VIII^e^ siècle: on sait que cette piraterie ne verra son terme que vers l'an mil, lorsque les Vénitiens réussiront à rétablir une relative police des mers sur les côtes dalmates.[34]

Il apparaît donc que, si la tentative d'alliance de Syméon avec le khalifat fatimide s'est révélée possible, c'est surtout parce que le tsar bulgare disposait d'un point de contact ancien avec le monde musulman d'Afrique, le bassin Adriatique où nombre de ses sujets, volontaires ou involontaires, venaient alimenter l'important élément slave sur lequel reposait le khalifat fatimide: il est en effet très probable que ces Slaves africains entretenaient des rapports avec leurs territoires d'origine, et ils étaient en tout cas bien

[30] Sur les affaires de Serbie, cf. entre autres, Nicolas Mystikos, Lettre 23, P. G. CXI, col. 149–57.

[31] Dachraoui, *Le califat fatimide*, p. 191 et, pour d'autres exemples, index *sub voce* Slaves.

[32] Ibn Khaldun, *Kitāb al-'Ibar*, t. II, 521–23, Bulāq, 1286 H.; Dachraoui, *Le califat fatimide*, pp. 299–300.

[33] A côté de bien d'autres noms prestigieux, le plus célèbre de ces «Slaves de service» est le grand général Ǧawhar qui, après avoir été le principal responsable des conquêtes maghrébines, sera aussi le vainqueur de l'Égypte pour le compte d'al-Mu'izz; Dachraoui, *Le califat fatimide*, pp. 367–68, avec les références aux sources.

[34] Exposé de cette politique dans R. Cessi, *Storia della Repubblica di Venezia* (rééd. Firenze, 1981), pp. 84–93.

placés pour servir d'intermédiaires en vue de tractations politiques. Dans le même temps, si l'autre puissance musulmane d'Occident, le khalifat de Cordoue, ébauche au contraire un rapprochement avec Byzance et ne semble entretenir aucun rapport avec aucun État slave, c'est à la fois parce que les souverains d'al-Andalus voient dans l'Empire grec un allié utile contre leurs rivaux fatimides en Afrique et parce que leurs éléments *Ṣaqāliba* sont avant tout prélevés sur les tribus slaves peu organisées d'Europe centrale et ne sauraient jouer un rôle de liaison avec les États slaves balkaniques, qui auraient du reste eu bien du mal à entrer en contact avec une puissance aussi lointaine, dépourvus qu'ils étaient de toute force navale digne de ce nom.[35] Du point de vue byzantin, et pour un temps durable, le khalifat africain représente donc à la fois une menace directe pour les provinces italiennes et un redoutable allié potentiel d'un monde slave, surtout vu à travers les Bulgares, et dont la christianisation n'avait guère modéré les ambitions: si l'on passe sur les innombrables hostilités locales entre Byzance et Fatimides en Italie méridionale, l'affrontement prend une dimension méditerranéenne lorsque se noue, en 949, la grande alliance entre Constantinople et Cordoue, dont la victime désignée est bien le khalifat africain; on sait qu'elle devait permettre aux Grecs d'attaquer en Sicile, cependant qu' 'Abd al-Raḥmān III devait s'en prendre aux Fatimides dans le Maghrib central, mais qu'elle aboutit aux désastres de 951–952, dont le point culminant est la prise de Gerace par les musulmans et la trêve humiliante aux termes de laquelle les Grecs se voient contraints à payer un nouveau tribut et à tolérer l'existence d'une mosquée à Reggio de Calabre.[36] En juin 952, le Porphyrogénète se voyait donc obligé de demander la paix au khalife al-Manṣūr qui, de son côté, ne tenait guère à rester exposé à la double menace byzantine et andalouse; mais, malgré un aimable accueil à l'ambassade impériale et de somptueux cadeaux faits à l'empereur,[37] il ne pouvait s'agir que d'une trêve, car l'alliance gréco-andalouse n'avait pas été abandonnée: c'est seulement parce que Byzance est prise à la gorge par le danger hamdanide en Syrie qu'une nouvelle trêve est passée avec les Fatimides en

[35] Les relations entre Constantinople et Cordoue sont anciennes et remontent, semble-t-il, au règne de l'émir 'Abd al-Raḥmān II qui, en 840, reçoit une ambassade byzantin; cf. E. Lévi-Provençal, «Un échange d'ambassades entre Cordoue et Byzance au IX^e siècle», *Byzantion*, 12, 1937, pp. 1–24; sur l'importance et l'origine des Slaves d'al-Andalus, E. Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, t. II (Paris, 1953), pp. 160–63; Clement, «La perception», p. 8.

[36] Dachraoui, *Le califat fatimide*, pp. 215–17, avec la bibliographie antérieure.

[37] Al-'Azīzī Abū 'Alī Manṣūr, *Sīrat al-ustādh Ğaudhar*; trad. M. Canard, *Vie de l'ustadh Jawdhar* (Alger: Publications de l'Institut d'études orientales de la faculté d'Alger, 1957), p. 88; Dachraoui, *Le califat fatimide*, pp. 216–17.

957–958, à la suite d'une ambassade grecque à Manṣūriya,[38] que la reconquête byzantine de la Crète sous Romain II empêche d'ailleurs d'arriver à son terme: dès 960, Byzance et les Fatimides sont à nouveau en termes hostiles.[39] Notons seulement, pour éclairer ce qui suit, que la Crète, ancienne conquête andalouse, mais d'obédience abbaside, était alors en fait dans la mouvance de l'Égypte ikhšīdide et que c'est cette dernière qui, bien incapable alors de venir en aide aux Crétois, semble avoir invité ceux-ci à solliciter le secours d'al-Mu'izz: l'opinion égyptienne, qui avait déjà été fort marquée par l'attaque byzantine sur Damiette, en 953, était donc très sensible au danger grec, et la propagande fatimide saura parfaitement exploiter la situation: ce n'est donc pas pour rien que Ǧawhar insiste, lorsqu'il reçoit, en 969, la capitulation de la population égyptienne, sur le rôle protecteur que les Fatimides entendent assurer, dans leur nouveau territoire, contre les entreprises byzantines.[40]

Le contentieux byzantino-fatimide est donc lourd et ancien en 969, et il ne peut en principe que s'envenimer, puisque nous sommes au moment où Byzance vient enfin de triompher de son vieil ennemi hamdanide: en Syrie, un contact direct entre les deux puissances est maintenant établi, bien autrement important pour les Grecs que le front fluctuant des provinces italiennes. Dès 970, les Byzantins ont à repousser, sous Antioche, les premières attaques fatimides,[41] c'est-à-dire au moment même où vient de se ranimer pour eux le front slave, depuis la rupture avec les Bulgares en 967 qui, comme on le sait, avait eu pour principal résultat d'imposer Svjatoslav et la Rus' dans la zone danubienne.[42] Vers 969–971, Fatimides et Slaves semblent donc, vus de Byzance, ressusciter les dangers du temps de Syméon: c'est l'affaire rus' qui empêche Jean Tzimiskès d'intervenir personnellement en Syrie lors des premières attaques fatimides, que l'empereur sait juger à leur juste valeur puisque, entre 971 et 974, les campagnes qu'il mène contre les musulmans sont dirigées sur le khalifat de Bagdad et ses dépendances. Dans ce contexte, il semble évident que deux gestes de Tzimiskès sont à mettre en relation avec le rapprochement du danger fatimide: en 971, c'est sous la pression de Byzance que le doge vénitien

38 Dachraoui, *Le califat fatimide*, pp. 243–44, avec les références à la *Sīrat* de Ǧaudhar et au *Magalis* d'al-N'umân.

39 Dachraoui, *Le califat fatimide*, p. 244–50, et «La Crète dans le conflit entre Byzance et al-Mu'izz», *Cahiers de Tunisie*, 26–27, 1959, pp. 305–308.

40 Texte intégral dans Maqrīzī, *Itti'āẓ al-ḥunafā' bi-akhbār al-a'imma al-Fātimiyyīn al-khulafā'* (Le Caire, 1367/1948), p. 149; Dachraoui, *Le califat fatimide*, pp. 257–58.

41 Elles sont rendues moins vives par la nécessité qu'ont d'abord les Fatimides de vaincre les Qarmates qui se rendent alors maîtres de Damas. Cf. Dachraoui, *Le califat fatimide*, pp. 264–65; Yaḥyā d'Antioche, P. O. XVIII, 5, 139.

42 Léon le Diacre, P. G. CXVII, col. 749, 769.

Pietro Candiano interdit l'exportation des armes et des bois de charpente vers les pays musulmans, et sans doute Tzimiskès equisse-t-il, en 972, un nouveau rapprochement avec le khalife de Cordoue, al-Ḥakam II, puisqu'une ambassade grecque est alors reçue dans la capitale andalouse.[43] Au reste, la brillante expédition de 975, qui devait mener Tzimiskès jusqu'aux abords de Jérusalem, ne fut qu'une démonstration passagère: on savait maintenant à Byzance que le vieil ennemi fatimide était solidement implanté dans une région vitale pour l'Empire. Sans insister sur le détail d'opérations bien connues, rappelons seulement que la guerre musulmane en Syrie s'imposa à Basile II pendant toute la première partie de son règne, se combinant avec les interminables campagnes contre la Bulgarie et les grandes révoltes aristocratiques: si les chocs de 980 et de 981 restent localisés et ne semblent pas entraîner d'intervention directe des Fatimides dans la région d'Alep, il n'en est pas de même en 986, quand l'émir de cette ville, Sa'ad al-dawlah, répudie sa soumission à Byzance et se place sous l'obédience du Caire. A la veille de la conversion de la Rus', l'épisode est intéressant à plus d'un titre: il révèle la faiblesse temporaire de Basile, qui se voit contraint de passer avec le khalife al-'Azīz un traité assez humiliant,[44] mais aussi la modération des Fatimides, qui auraient pu profiter plus amplement de l'occasion favorable. Ils ne le feront qu'en 992, obligeant Basile à quitter brutalement le front bulgare pour intervenir en Syrie: ses victoires de 995, puis celles de 998–999, sont de brillantes contre-attaques destinées à rétablir une paix bien nécessaire compte tenu du problème bulgare, puisqu'une ambassade byzantine est au Caire dès 997 et obtiendra enfin une trêve de dix ans avec al-Ḥakīm en 1001.[45]

Contrairement donc à ce qu'on a pu imaginer, l'installation du vieil ennemi fatimide en Égypte et en Syrie n'a pas pour conséquence d'aigrir encore les relations entre les deux puissances. Pour Byzance, l'urgence est bien alors dans les Balkans, et ce sont la Rus' et la Bulgarie qui interdisent à l'Empire de mener une véritable politique face aux Fatimides. De leur côté, ces derniers sont bien peu disposés à mener une guerre sans merci aux *Rūms*: jamais il ne les attaquent directement et, surtout, nous n'avons pas

[43] Sur le décret de Pietro Candiano, cf. G. L. F. Tafel–G. M. Thomas, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig*, t. I (Wien, 1856), 17–25; sur l'ambassade à Cordoue, qui est précisement datée du 21 ǧumādā 361 (10 mars 972), et qui est dirigée par un certain Constantin al-Mulqī (transcription incertaine), Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muqtabis*, in *Anales palatinos del califa de Cordoba al-Hakam II por 'Isâ ibn Ahmad al-Râzî*, trad. E. Garcia-Gomez (Madrid, 1967), pp. 93–94. A part une pension accordée par le khalife à l'ambassadeur, il ne semble en être sorti rien de positif.

[44] Il intervient sans doute à la fin de 987; cf. F. Dölger, *Regesten*, pt. 1 (Munich, 1924), no. 770.

[45] Yaḥyā d'Antioche, P. O. XVIII, 5, 184.

trace d'un quelconque projet d'entente entre Égypte et Slaves qui aurait pu renouveler d'un manière tangible la menace conjointe de 925–926. Nous ne croyons pas utile d'insister ici sur le célèbre épisode de la *Chronique des temps passées* dans lequel on voit Volodimer, à la veille de sa conversion, se faire exposer successivement les mérites respectifs du christianisme, de l'islâm et du judaïsme:[46] nous pensons, à la suite de bien d'autres, qu'il ne s'agit ici que d'une discussion académique introduite par le chroniqueur.[47] Au reste, il n'y a rien à tirer du titre de *Kagan* que les *Annales de Saint-Bertin* et certaines sources Rus' tardives attribuent aux princes Rus'[48] et un texte, peu exploité, du géographe Marwazī, tout fantastique qu'il soit en situant la conversion de la Rus' au christianisme en 912 et en prétendant que Volodimer et son peuple sont ensuite passés à l'Islam, a au moins le mérite de souligner d'où aurait pu venir une influence musulmane sur la Rus': c'est au Khwārazm que Volodimer est censé avoir alors recours,[49] et il n'est nullement question d'une quelconque liaison avec les Fatimides.

On peut d'ailleurs juger du peu d'animosité des deux adversaires à la lecture des textes byzantins du XI^e^ siècle. Quand on songe au ton apocalyptique qu'adoptent les auteurs latins pour relater la persécution des non-musulmans par al-Ḥakīm, à partir de 1009, on est frappé par les termes mesurés avec lesquels un Skylitzès en rend compte: il semble au reste si peu concerné par l'épisode qu'il confond Ḥakīm avec son père en lui donnant le nom d'Azizios; on en peut d'ailleurs déduire que c'est al-'Azīz, sous le règne de qui avait été passé le traité de 987, qui avait laissé le plus cuisant souvenir dans l'imagination collective byzantine.[50] Le temps n'est pas loin où, en attendant la conquête seldjoukide, Byzance cessera de voir en l'Islam son principal ennemi, au point de critiquer vivement les souverains qui, comme Romain III Argyre, tentent de reprendre l'offensive contre lui en Syrie.[51]

[46] *Povĕst' vremennyx lĕt'*, éd. et trad. en russe moderne D. S. Lixačev, 2 vols. (Moscou–Léningrad, 1950), vol. 1, pp. 74–75.

[47] Comme le pense A. P. Vlasto, *The Entry of the Slavs into Christendom* (Cambridge, 1970), p. 256.

[48] J. P. Arrignon, «Remarques sur le titre de Kagan attribué aux princes russes d'après les sources occidentales et russes des IX–XI^{e} siècles», *Zbornik radova vizantijškog instituta*, XXIII (Belgrade, 1984), pp. 63–71, où l'on trouvera les références à l'abondante bibliographie récente relative à la titulature kiévienne.

[49] V. Minorsky, éd, *Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir Marvazī on China, the Turks and India* (Londres, 1942), section 15, à la date de 300H/912; Vlasto, *Entry*, p. 395, note 81.

[50] Skylitzès–Kedrenos, P. G. CXXII, col. 108 et 233.

[51] On soulignera en particulier les réflexions très dures à ce sujet de M. Psellos, *Chronographie ou Histoire d'un siècle de Byzance*, Romain III, VIII, éd. et trad. E. Renauld, t. I. (Paris, 1967), pp. 36–37.

Les relations de Byzance avec le khalifat fatimide n'ont certes jamais joué un rôle déterminant dans les destinées de l'Empire grec. Ne les sous-évaluons pourtant pas, car elles peuvent être considérées comme la pierre de touche des nouveaux choix qu'il opère précisément dans la deuxième moitié du X^{e} siècle. Après l'affaiblissement général du monde musulman, la conversion des peuples slaves et les guerres bulgares font définitivement basculer le centre d'interêt de Constantinople vers l'Europe balkanique et orientale, et sans doute le désengagement byzantin en Asie Mineure, si net au XI^{e} siècle, est-il, dès cette époque, plus clair qu'on ne l'imagine généralement. A terme, le *statu-quo* avec les Fatimides, qui va de pair avec l'expansion vers le monde slavo-rus', préfigure le statut strictement européen qui sera celui de Byzance dans les derniers siècles du Moyen Age.

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La politique culturelle et religieuse de Byzance à l'égard des Slaves balkaniques

GEORGI BAKALOV

Le présent article traite des relations culturelles et religieuses entre les Slaves balkaniques et Byzance dans la période de la christianisation des Bulgares et de la fondation d'une Église bulgare autocéphale. Du point de vue historique, cet événement s'inscrivait dans le vaste programme byzantin d'intégration culturelle et religieuse des Slaves dont l'étape finale fut la christianisation de la Rus'.

Le point de départ de cet article réside dans l'idée de l'élaboration d'un modèle culturel et religieux commun à Byzance, à la Bulgarie et à la Rus' de Kiev, dont Byzance a été, bien entendu, le créateur. A cet égard, il y a lieu de souligner que le fait d'attribuer à la Bulgarie un simple rôle d'intermédiaire dans la mise en oeuvre de ce modèle, est inacceptable. Le regretté Ivan Dujčev a fait de son mieux pour rectifier cette conception erronée. En fait, nous nous laisserons guider par l'idée que les Bulgares, après leur conversion au christianisme au milieu du IX^{e} siècle, se sont initiés à la culture byzantine de leur propre manière pour lui conférer une originalité et une valeur particulières. Ce n'est qu'alors qu'ils l'ont transmise, après le «Siècle d'or» de leur culture, aux autres Slaves orthodoxes, dont à Rus' de Kiev.[1]

* * *

Historiquement, les relations byzantino-slaves ont commencé après l'établissement des Slaves du groupe Sud-Est dans la Péninsule balkanique au VI^{e} et au début du VII^{e} siècle. Jusque-là Byzance les traitait dans l'esprit de sa politique traditionnelle envers les barbares. S'étant fixés dans la Péninsule, les Slaves ont pour une longue période limité le pouvoir de l'Empire sur de vastes territoires, présentant notamment une importance

[1] Cf. sur les problèmes des relations culturelles byzantino-slaves, l'étude de I. Dujčev, «Légendes byzantines sur la conversion des Bulgares», *Sborník prací filosofského fakultetu Brněnského Universitetu*, t. X. řada hist. 8 (1962): 7–17 (= *Sbornik J. Macourek*); «Le testimonianze bizantine sui SS Cirillo e Metodio», *Miscellanea Franciscana*, LXIII, 1 (1964): 3–14; «Quelques traits spécifiques de la civilisation bulgare aux IX^{e}–X^{e} siècles», *Revue des études sud-est européennes*, XV, fasc. 1 (1971): 63–73.

stratégique: Constantinople–Serdica–Singidunum. Pour faire front à Byzance, ils ont formé des «Sclavinies» que certains historiens considèrent inexactement comme le prototype des futures formations étatiques.

Les Slaves balkaniques n'avaient pas, à la difference des Goths de la période précédente, l'ambition d'anéantir l'Empire. Les visées destructrices leur étaient étrangères. Ils se sont installés dans les Balkans pour se mettre à l'abri et assurer leur subsistance. Toutefois, Constantinople s'est refusée à admettre leur présence et le gouvernement byzantin envisagé une politique qui pourrait être qualifié de «coercitive», visant à chasser les Slaves des provinces conquises et à les repousser hors du *limes* du Danube.

C'est l'idée de Justinien I^er^ le Grand (527–565) de la reconquête de l'Occident qui a déjoué les plans du gouvernement byzantin. Mais les lourdes pertes en hommes et en matériel se sont avérées inutiles. A la suite de la victoire des Vandales, des Ostrogoths et des Visigoths, Byzance a essuyé de graves revers qui ont compromis sa politique étrangère. Or, l'exténuation et la malchance ne sont seules responsables de sa défaite en Occident. Au VI^e^ siècle, l'organisation culturelle, économique et politique des territoires de l'ancien Empire romain d'Occident différait à bien des égards du modèle socio-politique byzantin. Ainsi donc, après avoir fait trois siècles durant des efforts pour reconstituer le monde romain, Byzance a dû reprendre la place que l'histoire lui avait assignée—celle de l'Empire de l'Orient gréco-romain.

A la fin du VI^e^ et au début du VII^e^ siècle, les Balkans constituaient une réelle menace pour Constantinople. La campagne d'Occident a détourné pour longtemps l'attention de l'Empire de la Péninsule. De ce fait, lorsque, au début du VII^e^ siècle l'empereur Maurice (582–602) prit des mesures pour expulser les Slaves de cette région, il était déjà trop tard. Se reposant sur le passé et n'ayant pas une politique nette à l'égard des Slaves, Byzance a recouru à la force espérant bien en faire des sujets obéissants et des contribuables fidèles. La résistance des Slaves s'est heurtée à une forte organisation politique.

Les idées d'universalisme, héritées de l'Empire romain, ont inculqué aux Byzantins un sentiment durable de continuité. Par là même, ils ne pouvaient pas consentir à céder un pouce de leurs territoires. La foi dans la souveraineté sacrée du basileus n'a pas été aussi ferme, mais elle engageait souvent l'Empire dans des conflits prolongés et inutiles. Différents peuples ont à maintes reprises frustré Byzance de vastes territoires, mais elle s'est toujours efforcée de les recouvrer. Mue par sa riche expérience politique, elle s'est vue pourtant obligée de se résigner à la réalité.

Un autre aspect de la politique byzantine envers les Slaves consistait à les faire quitter les régions très peuplées pour s'établir dans des régions reculées. Ainsi, les habitants de la Thrace et de la Macédoine se sont fixés en Asie Mineure, et ceux d'Arménie et de Cappadoce—dans les terres évacuées par les Slaves. Mais cette mesure n'a pas abouti aux résultats escomptés. Les Slaves établis en Asie Mineure se conduisaient incorrectement, et plus tard les Pauliciens professaient en Thrace leur doctrine hérétique et causaient du désordre.

Pendant la seconde moitié du VII^{e} siècle, Byzance a su rétablir son pouvoir dans la plus grande partie de la Péninsule, à l'exception de la Mésie et des territoires riverains du Danube où sa présence resta toute formelle. Dans les autres régions les Slaves ont fini par se soumettre à l'administration byzantine et, une fois convertis au christianisme, semblaient devenir des sujets fidèles. Il est difficile de dire quel aurait été leur sort pendant les siècles suivants si, à cette époque, n'avait pas été fondé l'État bulgare. Les affirmations de certains historiens selon lesquelles les Slaves étaient menacés dans le cadre de l'Empire d'hellénisation sont gratuites. Le principe ethnique était sans importance dans cet Empire multinational. Sous ce rapport, il importe de souligner que Byzance ne s'est jamais préoccupée du problème de la formation de sa propre nation, ni de celui de l'union des différentes ethnies peuplant ses territoires. Cela tient dans une large mesure au fait que le nom d'Empire byzantin ne saurait évoquer aucune nationalité déterminée. Ce nom exprimait l'acception religieuse et politique des concepts de «Romain» et de «chrétien». Ces termes ne se trouvaient liés que par la citoyenneté romaine et la soumission à une loi commune incarnée par l'empereur lui-même.

Toute ethnie désireuse de faire partie de la communauté byzantine devait être obligatoirement orthodoxe. Sa langue, son mode de vie et ses moeurs n'intéressaient point Constantinople. Certes, ceux qui voulaient faire carrière ou s'initier à la culture byzantine devaient connaître la langue grecque ce qui signifiait l'adoption consciente d'une civilisation plus avancée.

L'adhésion des Slaves de Thrace et de Macédoine à la communauté culturelle et politique byzantine a obligé l'Empire à chercher une méthode autre que la contrainte. L'expérience historique lui avait appris que l'identité culturelle faisait suite à l'identité politique. Après la crise du VIII^{e} et du début du IX^{e} siècle, engendrée par la perte des territoires orientaux et l'iconoclasme, Constantinople décida d'assimiler les Slaves par l'intermédiaire de leur christianisation et de leur incorporation dans la sphère de l'*oikoumenè* culturelle et religieuse byzantine.

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Le IX^e siècle est l'un des plus tumultueux dans l'histoire de l'Europe du sud-est. De violents conflits ont opposé l'Orient et l'Occident, d'éminents hommes d'État, hommes politiques, ecclésiastiques et réformateurs se sont fait valoir.[2] Dans les relations politiques entre l'Europe et le monde méditerranéen, ce sont les grandes puissances de cette époque—Byzance, l'Empire des Francs et le califat des Arabes—qui jouaient le rôle dominant. Après trois siècles environ, l'Empire d'Occident a été rétabli par le roi des Francs, Charlemagne, portant un coup dur à la suzeraineté incontestable de Byzance. En fait, celle-ci avait plutôt à craindre l'alliance de l'Église romaine avec les puissants souverains francs. Constantinople redoutait à juste titre cette alliance entre le pape et la plus grande force politique en Occident qui portait préjudice à la présence byzantine en Italie. Bien plus, le problème des Slaves était toujours à l'ordre du jour.

Ayant triomphé de l'opposition de Byzance, au début du IX^e siècle, la Bulgarie s'est emparée de vastes territoires au nord-ouest et s'est trouvée dans le voisinage des Francs. Les combats permanents de Byzance avec les Arabes en Orient permirent à l'État bulgare d'étendre ses territoires au sud-ouest et de se diriger vers la Macédoine et la Thrace, peuplées principalement de Slaves. Sous le khan Kroum (803–814), l'État bulgare a affiché son ambition d'unir les Slaves balkaniques. Telle fut sa mission historique dans les Balkans dont l'accomplissement devait garantir la survie de la minorité turco-bulgare dans le cadre d'un État.

Byzance a envisagé de riposter à la politique d'expansion de l'État bulgare dans des territoires d'importance stratégique. L'échec de la campagne de Nicéphore I^er en 811 et sa mort ont été à l'origine d'un conflit prolongé. La politique étrangère de la Bulgarie au sud et au sud-ouest visait la conquête de territoires peuplés de Slaves que Byzance voulait à tout prix contrôler. Ces territoires constituaient pour longtemps la «pomme de discorde» entre les deux États. Dans cette lutte Byzance essaya de gagner des alliés en la personne des Slaves balkaniques. Elle a réussi dans une certaine mesure avec les Serbes, mais les Slaves du «groupe bulgare» témoignèrent leur sympathie à la Bulgarie.

La Bulgarie a été le premier et le plus puissant État slave du début du Moyen Age. Aussi, de nombreux problèmes de la Renaissance des Slaves—la formation d'un État, développement culturel, appartenance

[2] V. Gjuzelev, *Knjaz Boris Părvi* (Sofia, 1969), p. 19; D. Petkanova, *Denica na slavjanskija rod* (Sofia, 1983), p. 5; D. Angelov, «Kiril i Metodi i vizantijskata kultura i politika», *Konstantin-Kiril Filosof. Bălgarski i slavjanski părvoučitel* (Sofia, 1983), pp. 83–84.

religieuse—ont-ils marqué son histoire. La Bulgarie a pris position directement ou indirectement face à tous les grands événements dans le sud-est européen, surtout face à la christianisation des Slaves par Byzance.[3]

La Moravie a été christianisée avant la Bulgarie. Mais la politique étrangère de l'Empire germanique y créa une situation tendue où la présence du clergé allemand ne cadrait plus avec les intérêts de l'État. La confrontation inévitable avec l'Allemagne poussa la Moravie à s'allier en 862 avec Byzance. L'année suivante, Byzance y envoya Cyrille et Méthode avec une mission de l'évangélisation, ne pouvant alors faire davantage, dans la mesure où la guerre avec les Arabes en Orient retenait son attention.

La christianisation de la Moravie faisait partie du programme byzantin d'intégration culturelle et religieuse des Slaves. Byzance visait à s'introduire ainsi dans la structure politique des États néophytes et à subordonner leur politique à ses propres intérêts. La Moravie correspondait parfaitement à cette ambition, car elle était un point stratégique sur le Moyen-Danube et se trouvait dans le voisinage immédiat de l'Église romaine, rivale.

Dans la lutte entre l'Église d'Orient et l'Église d'Occident pour gagner les Slaves, Byzance a eu recours à une arme nouvelle et efficace—l'écriture slave. La politique souple de Constantinople qui faisait preuve de tolérance à l'égard des «langues non sacrées» l'a mise dans une situation plus favorable que l'Église romaine.[4] L'écriture slave a été à l'origine d'une langue nouvelle qui a contribué à la cohésion de la communauté slave. Ce fait a facilité la réalisation des projets de l'Empire de créer un modèle culturel et religieux slave à l'instar du modèle byzantin.

Est-ce que Byzance se prononçait contre l'introduction de l'écriture slave en Bulgarie? Lors des fouilles récentes dans le village de Ravna on a mis au jour des inscriptions bilingues gravées, postérieures à l'introduction officielle de la langue slave dans le service religieux, qui nous ont aidé à répondre à cette question. Il n'y a pas lieu d'admettre que Byzance aurait créé l'écriture slave à l'intention de la seule Moravie. Il est vrai qu'à l'époque de la christianisation des Bulgares on officiait en grec, mais c'était au début du séjour de Cyrille et de Méthode en Moravie et l'écriture slave

[3] V. Gjuzelev, «Bulgarisch-fränkische Beziehungen in der ersten Hälfte des IX. Jahrh.», *Byzantinobulgarica*, 2 (1966): 15–41.

[4] Au sujet de l'iconoclasme Photius écrit qu'il est permis d'avoir «différentes traductions de l'Écriture Sainte, faites en différentes langues», cf. J. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova amplissima collectio* (Florence et Venise, 1759–1798), t. XVI, p. 6. Une idée semblable est défendue aussi par Jean Chrysostome à la fin du IV[e] siècle: cf. Dujčev, «Vizantija i slavjanite», *Kirilo-Metodievska enciklopedija*, vol. 1 (Sofia, 1985), pp. 428–38.

était peu connue en Bulgarie. A en croire la *Vie de Clément d'Ohrid*, le prince Boris attendait avec impatience l'arrivée en Bulgarie des disciples de Cyrille et de Méthode. De toute évidence, Boris portait un grand intérêt à la mission slave en Moravie et cherchait le moment propice pour la faire venir en Bulgarie. L'affirmation que le conflit avec Byzance en 894 a été fomenté par Constantinople pour riposter à l'introduction de la langue slave dans l'office religieux va à l'encontre des témoignages historiques de cette époque. Ces derniers prouvent catégoriquement que la cause de la guerre résidait dans le transfert du marché bulgare de Constantinople à Thessalonique, ce qui porta atteinte aux intérêts commerciaux de la Bulgarie.

Cette digression vient démontrer que Byzance menait une politique conséquente. La voie vers l'intégration culturelle des Slaves passait inéluctablement par leur christianisation. Les contacts noués sur cette base ne pouvaient pas ne pas favoriser la pénétration des idées et la formation d'un modèle.

* * *

La politique de christianisation de Byzance était fondée sur les idées formulées aux V^{e}–VI^{e} siècles de la «mission terrestre» de l'Empire byzantin. La sauvegarde de la religion chrétienne et la christianisation des païens ont été érigées en politique d'État, en devoir sacré des empereurs. Dans aucun autre domaine, la théorie de «la symphonie» des deux pouvoirs suprêmes n'a eu d'effet aussi spectaculaire. Cela tenait au fait qu'à Byzance l'État et l'Église étaient intimement liés. L'État voyait dans l'Église un instrument de sa politique sociale et l'Église, de son côté, ne pouvait remplir sa mission que par l'entremise de l'État. Les peuples christianisés par le patriarcat de Constantinople non seulement ont embrassé la religion professée par l'Église d'Orient, mais ont aussi subi l'influence directe de l'État byzantin.[5]

La large participation du pouvoir laïc à l'administration et à la vie de l'Église a beaucoup impressionné les peuples voisins de l'Empire. A la différence de l'Occident, l'Église de l'Orient résidait à Byzance, dans la capitale impériale, et son chef était paré de l'auréole du basileus. La dignité impériale ne représentait qu'une forme particulière du culte divin. Les dignitaires de la Cour impériale n'étaient pas de simples serviteurs, ils

[5] P. Moutaftchiev, «L'Orient et l'Occident dans le Moyen Age européen», *Annuaire de l'Université de Sofia. Faculté historico-philologique*, t. XX, 2 (1925): 7–8.

officiaient.[6] La conviction que l'Empire byzantin avait été appelé à préserver et à propager la religion chrétienne a donné une auréole de mysticisme à ses souverains.[7]

On peut déduire de ces faits que la christianisation selon le modèle byzantin impliquait l'initiation des néophytes au modèle politique de l'Empire. A cet égard, nous voudrions citer le patriarche Photius qui a écrit en 867 à propos de la «première christianisation des Rhōs» qu'ils «. . .ont remplacé leur doctrine impie par la pure religion chrétienne se rangeant ainsi au nombre des *sujets* [la cursive est de moi–G. B.] et des amis de l'Empire».[8] Autrement dit, Byzance procédait à la christianisation des peuples pour les intégrer bon gré mal gré dans l'Empire.[9]

Selon toute vraisemblance, les peuples slaves néophytes ne se rendaient pas compte de toute la force de l'«union dogmatique» à Byzance entre l'Église et l'État. Mais ils réalisaient que le pouvoir religieux n'était qu'en apparence subordonné au pouvoir laïc. De ce fait, tout État faisant partie de l'*oikoumenè* byzantino-slave, une fois surmontées les difficultés d'ordre intérieur, se hâtait de créer sa propre Église indépendante.

Dans le programme de christianisation mis au point par Photius et son entourage, la Bulgarie représentait une étape importante de la pénétration dans le monde slave. Les Byzantins considéraient qu'une Bulgarie christianisée serait moins dangereuse pour l'Empire. Constantinople espérait que la christianisation contribuerait à faire de la Bulgarie un allié sûr, un satellite de l'Empire.

Il serait exagéré de dire que la christianisation de la Bulgarie n'a été effectuée que sur l'initiative de Byzance. Au milieu du IX^e^ siècle, la Bulgarie païenne vit se créer des conditions favorables à l'adoption du christianisme. La politique de centralisation des khans Kroum, Omourtag, Malamir, Presijan et Boris aplanissait peu à peu les disparités religieuses et juridiques au sein de la société slavo-bulgare. Or la religion et les pratiques rituelles païennes empêchaient l'union des Slaves. De même le bilinguisme: la majorité de la population parlait le slave, mais l'élite et une petite couche de la population—la langue hunno-bulgare. Il y a lieu de mentionner ici encore une cause de la réorientation religieuse de la Bulgarie. Le paganisme ne permettait pas à l'État bulgare de faire valoir son grand prestige militaire et politique. A plus forte raison, le manque de

[6] G. Vernadsky, «Vizantijskoe učenie o vlasti carja i patriarxa», *Recueil d'études dédiées à la mémoire de N. P. Kondakov* (Prague, 1926), p. 116.

[7] A. Šmeman, «Sud'ba vizantijskoj teokratii», *Pravoslavnaja mysl'*, fasc. V (Paris, 1947), pp. 130–46.

[8] J. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* (cite infra *P. Gr.*), t. 102, col. 736–37.

[9] Šmeman, «Sud'ba», p. 135.

contacts avec les peuples chrétiens de l'Orient et de l'Occident aurait pu l'acculer à un isolement culturel et politique.

C'est le prince Boris qui se rendit nettement compte de la situation de son pays et des perspectives de son développement. Faisant grand cas de ses mérites, l'historiographie bulgare le considère à juste titre comme l'un des hommes d'État les plus clairvoyants de son pays.[10]

Au Moyen Age, la conversion au christianisme était qualifiée de moyen d'égalisation sur le plan politique et culturel.[11] Le cas de la Bulgarie vient corroborer ce fait. Sans la christianisation et l'introduction de l'écriture slave, l'essor de la culture bulgare aux IX^{e}–X^{e} siècles aurait été impensable.

La religion chrétienne avait marqué de son empreinte les terres bulgares bien avant la conversion de 864. La littérature paléochrétienne prouve que Paul a été le premier apôtre du christianisme dans la Péninsule balkanique. Ce témoignage est daté d'ordinaire de l'an 51. Quant au IV^{e} siècle, nous disposons d'amples informations sur les nombreuses chaires épiscopales dans toutes les grandes villes de l'Illyrie, de la Macédoine, de la Thrace et de la Mésie.[12] La colonisation massive par les Slaves a troublé la vie ecclésiastique. La plus grande partie de la population autochtone active s'est établie dans les régions côtières qui se trouvaient sous le contrôle du gouvernement byzantin. L'implantation des Slaves accompagnée de leur christianisation a cependant ravivé la vie ecclésiastique dans les plus grandes villes.

Dans la hagiographie des quinze martyrs de Tiberiopolis, l'archevêque bulgare d'Ohrid au XI^{e} siècle, Théophylacte, mentionne plusieurs temples détruits et des représailles exercées par les Bulgares païens à l'égard des Slaves chrétiens. Théophylacte affirme qu'à cette époque les Slaves avaient déjà été éblouis par «la lumière de l'Évangile».[13] Après l'annexion de vastes territoires de la Thrace et de la Macédoine, peuplés de Slaves christianisés, l'élément chrétien dans l'État bulgare s'est consolidé.

La religion chrétienne a pénétré en Bulgarie également par le canal des guerres avec Byzance. Les prisonniers de guerre prêchaient la religion chrétienne et, de ce fait, étaient persécutés. Le succès de cette propagande religieuse est confirmé par l'emprise qu'elle exerçait jusqu'à la cour royale.

[10] Étude monographique complète sur le règne du Prince Boris I, cf. Gjuzelev, *Knjaz Boris*.

[11] P. Nikolov, «Konstantin Filosof–Kiril i Metodij i slavjanite», *Izvestija na cărkovnoistoričeski i archiven institut*, t. III (Sofia, 1985), p. 10.

[12] A. Čičulain, *Sv. Boris, knjaz bălgarski: Negovoto kulturno-istoričesko i cărkovno-narodnostno značenie*, t. I (Sofia, 1914), p. 31.

[13] Migne, *P. Gr.*, t. 126, p. 189.

Le fils du khan Omourtag (814–832), Enravota, fut chrétien et s'est vu privé de la couronne.[14]

La tolérance pour la plupart des religions païennes était un trait caractéristique des Bulgares, païens eux aussi. Les persécutions menées dans les années 20 et 30 du IX^{e} siècle ne visaient pas la religion chrétienne, mais son esprit byzantin. Les souverains païens de la Bulgarie n'envisageaient pas le christianisme dans son universalité, mais dans sa qualité de religion officielle de l'Empire byzantin. Pour y faire face, ils remettaient en honneur la tradition turco-bulgare et la religion de leurs ancêtres.[15]

La conviction enracinée dans les milieux dirigeants de la Bulgarie païenne que le christianisme aurait ouvert les portes à l'influence politique de Byzance rendait extrêmement difficile la tâche du prince Boris. D'autant que cette crainte n'était pas sans fondement.

La christianisation des Bulgares et la lente introduction du christianisme dans le pays ont été étudiées à fond dans plusieurs ouvrages.[16] Les spécialistes ont mis en évidence bien des faits et des événements et ont fixé la date de la christianisation—en l'an 864.[17] Plus loin je me pencherai spécialement sur ce côté du problème qui touche les relations slavo-byzantines dans un aspect plus large.

A en croire les *Annales de Fulda*[18] et la *Chronique de Reginon*,[19] le prince Boris avait tout d'abord l'intention d'accepter le christianisme par les mains du clergé allemand. Cette décision du prince correspondait au regroupement des forces en Europe du sud-est qui opposa la Bulgarie et l'Allemagne à Byzance et à la Moravie. L'orientation pro-occidentale de Boris, a jeté Byzance dans l'inquiétude. Une christianisation éventuelle par le clergé allemand aurait été une victoire incontestable de l'Église romaine et aurait porté préjudice à la politique de Byzance à l'égard des Slaves. Ce fait fut à l'origine du conflit qui éclata au printemps de 864. Byzance ne consentait à signer une «paix durable» avec la Bulgarie qu'à la condition que le khan, la cour et le peuple se convertissent au christianisme. Au cours des négociations à Constantinople, la délégation bulgare se fit baptiser.

14 Enravota fut attiré par la religion chrétienne grâce au prisonnier de guerre le byzantin Kinnamos, pris par les bulgares à Pliska, au cours des campagnes de Khan Kroum contre Byzance. Cf. Migne, *P. Gr.*, t. 126, p. 192.

15 G. Bakalov, «Za njakoi osobenosti na bălgarskata xanska titulatura», *Vekove*, 2 (1981): 67.

16 Cf. V. N. Zlatarski, *Istorija na bălgarskata dăržava prez srednite vekove*, t. I/2 (Sofia, 1971^{2}), pp. 29–280; *Istorija na Bălgarija*, t. II (Sofia), pp. 213–19; Gjuzelev, *Knjaz Boris*, pp. 59–129.

17 *Istorija na Bălgarija*, t. II, p. 216.

18 *Annales Fuldenses*, ed. G. H. Pertz (Hannovre, 1891), p. 65.

19 Migne, *P. Gr.*, t. 192, pp. 677–96.

En 865 commença la christianisation massive des Bulgares. La présence d'une mission byzantine provoqua l'indignation de l'opposition païenne qui, sous prétexte de son attachement au paganisme, redoutait le renforcement de l'influence byzantine. Les rebelles cherchèrent à détrôner le souverain et à modifier la politique religieuse.[20] Les mesures d'urgence, prises par Boris et les cruelles représailles exercées à l'égard des chefs de la révolte ont paré au danger que représentait le rétablissement du paganisme. Il était clair aux yeux du prince que le seul moyen de venir à bout de ces difficultés était de créer une Église indépendante sur laquelle Constantinople n'exerce que des droits formels. Dans ces conditions, l'organisation de l'Église bulgare se conformait au modèle du patriarcat de Constantinople qui avait introduit dans le pays un clergé nombreux. L'hellénisation du clergé et sa dépendance du patriarcat oecuménique portaient atteinte à la souveraineté de l'État.[21] Le règlement prompte du problème religieux bulgare s'est avéré une tâche ardue. Seules Rome et Constantinople avaient le droit d'instituer une Église autocéphale; or Constantinople savourait sa victoire et n'avait aucune intention d'autoriser les Bulgares à créer une Église indépendante. Aussi Boris sonda-t-il l'Église romaine.

En l'été de 866, des délégués du prince bulgare remirent au pape Nicolas Ier un grand questionnaire portant sur le statut de l'Église où était posée avec délicatesse la question de l'institution d'un archevêché bulgare indépendant. Le pape a répondu en détail aux questions posées.[22] A la question fondamentale: est-ce que la Bulgarie pourrait créer une Église indépendante? Le pape a évoqué cette possibilité dans un proche avenir. Des légats du pape arrivèrent en Bulgarie et Boris révoqua les clercs byzantins. Une mission romaine oeuvra en Bulgarie de 866 à 870, ce qui provoqua la colère de Constantinople.

Le revirement du prince Boris a fait l'objet de maintes études. Il nous est difficile d'expliquer son attitude: cherchait-il en la personne du pape un protecteur de Église qui n'aurait pas heurté les intérêts de l'État, ou bien voulait-il contraindre Constantinople à satisfaire les revendications bulgares?

[20] *Annales Bertiniani*, *MGH SS*, vol. 1, pp. 473–74.

[21] Le programme de la reconstitution de l'Empire romain fut proclamé par Procope, adepte du patriarche Photius, au Concile de Constantinople en 879–880. Lors des débats sur la question de l'Eglise bulgare, Procope a declaré qu'il se remet à la Grâce divine et aux prières du patriarche Photius afin que tous les peuples se soumettent à l'empereur byzantin et que l'Empire byzantin recouvre ses anciennes frontières. Cf. A. P. Každan, «Social'nye i političeskie vzgljady Fotija», *Konstantin-Kiril Filosof* (Sofia, 1971), p. 96.

[22] D. Detschev, *Responsa Nicolai I papae ad consulta Bulgarorum* (Sofia, 1940^2 = *Universitetska Biblioteka*, vol. 214).

A cause de leur dépendance vis-à-vis de l'Église locale de Rome, Nicolas I^{er} et son successeur Hadrien II commirent une grave erreur qui a abouti à l'exclusion de la Bulgarie de la juridiction de l'Église d'Occident: les relations entre la Bulgarie et Rome se sont refroidies à la suite du refus du pape de sacrer Formose de Porto et le diacre Martin, candidats au siège archiépiscopal proposés par Boris. Le prince comprit, en effet, qu'il n'était pas autorisé à choisir le chef de son Église. Alors, il porta de nouveau son regard vers Constantinople où le patriarcat oecuménique avait été rendu plus indulgent, après la présence de clercs romains en Bulgarie pendant quatre ans.[23]

De plus, en 867, d'importants changements étaient intervenus à Constantinople. Un coup d'État avait amené au pouvoir l'empereur Basile 1er et Ignace était redevenu patriarche. C'est dans ces conditions que le concile de 869–870 conféra, à la surprise de Rome, la juridiction de l'Église bulgare au patriarcat oecuménique.[24] Il ne fait pas de doute que Boris y a contribué.

La réorientation de Boris a été dictée par les intérêts de l'État. Il se rendait bien compte que Byzance n'aurait jamais consenti à avoir pour voisin un État soumis au Saint Siège. Examinant les relations bulgaro-byzantines au Moyen Age, Ivan Dujčev a abouti à la conclusion que les conflits entre les deux États s'étaient toujours situés sur le plan militaire et politique et non pas culturel et religieux.[25] De toute évidence, l'harmonie culturelle entre les deux pays découlait de l'intégration de la Bulgarie dans la communauté orthodoxe byzantine. La préférence accordée à Constantinople a été dictée par d'autres considérations aussi. Dans ses relations de courte durée avec l'Église romaine, Boris a fini par se persuader que les papes ne tenaient pas compte de la volonté des princes. Le modèle byzantin était plus conforme à la politique de centralisation du souverain bulgare. L'Église d'Orient admettait, malgré une certaine réserve, la création d'Églises indépendantes, ce qui permettait de les mettre sous la coupe du souverain local.

Les événements des décennies suivantes ont confirmé la justesse de l'orientation de Boris. En 880, la Bulgarie eut son propre archevêché, promu en 918 par le tsar Syméon en partriarcat, reconnu par Byzance en 927. C'était une éclatante victoire diplomatique qui contribua à placer les deux États sur un pied d'égalité. Après Byzance et l'Allemagne, la

[23] F. Dvornik, *The Photian Schism: History and Legend* (Cambridge, 1948), pp. 119ff.

[24] Anastasius Bibliothecarius, «Epistolae sive prefationes», in *MGH, Epistolae* (Berlin, 1912–1928), t. 7, p. 413.

[25] Dujčev, «Vizantija i slavjanite», p. 427.

Bulgarie est devenue le «royaume barbare» le plus stable en Europe. La Bulgarie a embrassé les idées byzantines, plus que tout autre État slave christianisé. Certes, le prince bulgare n'a jamais été dénommé «byzantin» ni le patriarche, «oecuménique»; ils n'en avaient pas moins les mêmes pouvoirs que leur homologues à Byzance.

* * *

L'accueil chaleureux réservé aux disciples de Cyrille et de Méthode en Bulgarie en 886 a favorisé la création d'une Église bulgare indépendante. Ainsi a vu le jour une riche littérature, de traduction et originale, religieuse et laïque, qui a contribué à la christianisation des autres peuples slaves et a joué le rôle de propagateur du modèle culturel et religieux byzantin. Nous tenons toutefois à préciser que la participation bulgare à ce processus ne peut pas être limitée uniquement à l'étape initiale de la christianisation des Slaves.[26] La période historique séparant la christianisation des Bulgares de celle de la Rus' n'etait pas suffisamment longue pour permettre la création d'un modèle culturel durable, prêt à être transféré à la Rus'. Dans la période envisagée, la contribution bulgare se réduisit à l'accomplissement de la christianisation et à la création de la littérature religieuse nécessaire.

Il est difficile de dire de quand datent les relations bulgaro-Rus'. Faute de données historiques, nous pourrions supposer que la représentation bulgare à Constantinople entretenait des contacts avec les commerçants Rus' qui s'y rendaient souvent. Ces relations pourraient être dues aussi au fait que, pour aller à Constantinople, les Rus' traversaient les terres bulgares, à proximité de la capitale, Grand Preslav.[27]

Nous sommes fondé à affirmer que les Bulgares n'ont pas pris part à la «première christianisation de la Rus'» au IX^{e} siècle. Eux-mêmes étaient christianisés depuis peu; l'écriture, et par là, la liturgie slave faisaient encore défaut. Peut-être est-ce là que réside l'une des causes de l'échec de cette première christianisation de la Rus'. A la fin du X^{e} siècle, la situation était toute autre: la Bulgarie disposait déjà d'une littérature religieuse et son utilisation après l'acte de 988 était tout à fait logique. Qui plus est, au cours de la christianisation, les Bulgares auraient été les traducteurs des clercs byzantins.[28] Un témoignage indirect de la participation bulgare à la

26 E. Mixajlov, «Kievska Rusija i Bălgarija prez X vek», *Sb. Rusko-bălgarski vrăzki prez vekovete* (Sofia, 1986), pp. 62–63; I. Dujčev, «Centry vizantijsko-slavjanskogo sotrudničestva», *Trudy otdela drevnerusskoj literatury*, t. 29 (1975): 114–17.

27 *Istorija Vizantii* (Moscou, 1967), t. I, p. 229.

28 S. P. Obnorskij, «Jazyk dogovorov russkix s grekami», *Jazyk i myšlenie*, 7–8 (Moscou, 1936), p. 102.

christianisation des Rus' est le sacre du premier métropolite de Kiev Michel, un Bulgare.[29]

A la fin du X^{e} siècle, la christianisation des Slaves orthodoxes était achevée.

Du fait de l'éloignement de la Rus' et de la «deuxième invasion turque», ses relations avec Byzance ont pris fin. Tout le Moyen Age durant, la juridiction du patriarcat oecuménique sur l'Église de la Rus' resta symbolique. La transformation de l'Église de Moscou en patriarcat à la fin du XVI^{e} siècle ne fut qu'une confirmation formelle d'une pratique existant depuis longtemps.

Dans les relations byzantino-slaves, la Bulgarie occupe une place toute particulière. Les contacts culturels et religieux alternaient avec des conflits permanents. De là la complexité de ces relations qui a fait l'objet de nombreuses controverses. Aujourd'hui, nous ne pouvons ne pas reconnaître que l'histoire a accordé la primauté aux relations pacifiques. Or la Bulgarie et, grâce à elle, d'autres peuples slaves se sont initiés à la civilisation la plus avancée à cette époque, qui a servi de base à la communauté culturelle et religieuse byzantino-slave au Moyen Age.

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[29] E. Mixajlov, «Kievska Rusija», p. 70.

Byzantine Political Ideology and the Rus' in the Tenth–Twelfth Centuries

ANTONIO CARILE

"The Rhos are a Scythian people, dwelling toward the northern Taurus, hostile and coarse," wrote Theophanes Continuatus.[1] A similar description except for the changed final phrase, "hostile and wild," was applied by John Scylitzes and John Zonaras. This is the way that the Rus' are represented in connection with their raid in 860 against the Byzantine Empire, a fact reported or hinted about by some Byzantine sources: Photius, George Monachus, Symeon Magister, Leo the Grammarian, Nicetas, the biographer of the patriarch Ignatius, and later by Cedrenus.[2]

For all the social position and the intellectual quality of the writers John Scylitzes and John Zonaras, statesmen connected to the military aristocracy, the former in Isaac I Comnenus's time, the latter in Alexius I Comnenus's time,[3] their words about the *Rhos* (=Rus') derive not from first-hand knowledge, but from a text of the second half of the tenth century, that is, from the anonymous continuator of the chronicle of Theophanes, a member of a circle of historians working under the patronage of Constantine VII

[1] Theophanis Continuati, *Chronographia*, ed. I. Bekker, *Theophanes Continuatus, Ioannes Cameniata, Symeon Magister, Georgius Monachus* (Bonn, 1838) (Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae, 43), IV, 53, pp. 196, l. 6–197, l. 10 = *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Graeca*, ed. J.-P. Migne (hereafter *PG*), 109, col. 209 D.

[2] Ioannis Skylitzae, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. J. Thurn (Berlin and New York, 1973) (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, 5), p. 107, l. 45–46; H. Ahrweiler, *L'idéologie politique de l'Empire byzantin* (Paris, 1975), p. 38. On the first contacts between the Byzantines and Rus', see *Bulletin d'Information et de Coordination de l'Association Internationale des Études Byzantines* 5 (1971): 44ff. See also the encyclical of Photius for the eastern patriarchs edited in J. N. Valettas, Φωτίου. . .πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Ἐπιστολαί (hereafter Photius, *Ep.*) (London, 1864; reprint ed., Hildesheim, New York, 1978), p. 178 (= *PG* 102, cols. 736 D–737 A). Cf. also the latest edition by B. Laourdas and L. G. Westerink, *Photii. . .Epistulae et Amphilochia*, I (Leipzig, 1983), *Ep.* 2, 293–305 = p. 50 (hereafter Laourdas–Westerink). Cf. the homilies III and IV in B. Laourdas, Φωτίου Ὁμιλίαι (Thessalonica, 1959), pp. 29–52 and the translation of C. Mango, *The Homilies of Photius Patriarch of Constantinople* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), pp. 74ff.

[3] Ioannis Zonarae, *Epitome historiarum*, ed. L. Dindorf (Lipsiae, 1868–1875), III, pp. 404, l. 6–405, l. 1; Ioan. Skyl., *Syn hist., Constantinos ho Monomachos*, 9, pp. 442, l. 87–445, l. 71 (Thurn) = Ioan. Skyl., *Syn. hist.*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1839) (CSHB, 5), II, pp. 566–72. H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, I (Munich, 1978; = *Byzantinisches Handbuch* 1 [1978]), p. 416.

Porphyrogenitus. The emperor himself had composed either the materials or the draft of book V of the chronicle.[4] In the words of Theophanes Continuatus, John Scylitzes, Cedrenus, and John Zonaras, there is perhaps an echo of Euripides's verse: taurike xenoktonia ekeine ("the famous habit to kill guests"), which Ihor Ševčenko identifies as a quotation of Gregory of Nazianzos through Pseudo-Nonnus's commentary.[5] The Rus' are placed in the category of Scythian peoples, an act that for an aristocrat, skilled in military treatises from Maurice to Leo VI, meant the quotation of a chapter that was included in military handbooks as far back as the sixth and seventh centuries.

When did this categorization take place? Our first source is the *Life* of Saint George of Amastris, whose biographer, Ševčenko maintains, is the deacon and skeuophylax of Saint Sophia, Ignatius (770/80–845), "fellow-traveller" of the Iconoclasts; Wanda Wolska-Conus disagrees with the identification. The two disparate positions imply a discrepancy in dating the text of more or less twenty years, that is, from before 842 for Ševčenko to after 860 for Wolska-Conus. The *Life* of Saint George of Amastris describes the Rhos as "barbarians. . .very wild and cruel without any hint of humanity, beastly in behavior, brutal in deeds. . ." in keeping with the unfavorable stereotype of barbarity in itself, but omitting any Scythian identification.[6] Photius, in his encyclical makes a linguistic counterpoint between "barbarikon" and "hemerotes," so that the meaning of the word "anhemeron" used by Theophanes Continuatus lies in the sphere of "barbarikon," a category in which Photius also included the Bulgarians converted to Christianity, "who have driven themselves back from the demons and from their ancestral orgies,"[7] as well as the Rhos "who have put everyone behind in cruelty and bloodthirsty bias."[8] The Rhos conversion to Christianity meant to Photius the overcoming of barbarity and a historical

4 Hunger, *Die Literatur*, p. 362.

5 I. Ševčenko, "Hagiography of the Iconoclastic Period," in *Iconoclasm: Papers given at the Ninth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies*, ed. A. Bryer and J. Herrin (Birmingham, 1977), p. 124; Ps. Nonni, *Collectio*, *PG* 36, col. 989D.

6 *Vita of St. George of Amastris*, ed. V. G. Vasilievskij, in *Trudy*, III (Petrograd, 1915), pp. 64–68; Ševčenko, "Hagiography," pp. 123, 125. W. Wolska-Conus, "De quibusdam Ignatiis," in *Travaux et Mémoires* 4 (1970): 342–51.

7 Photius, *Ep.*, n. 4 § 3, p. 168 ll. (1–3) (Valetta) = *Ep.* 2, 48–50, p. 41 (Laourdas–Westerink): Βαρβαρικόν. . .ἡμερότητα;. . .ὥστε τῶν δαιμονίων καὶ πατρῴων ἐκστάντες ὀργίων. . .

8 Photius, *Ep.*, n. 4 § 35, p. 178 ll. (5–6) (Valetta) = *Ep.* 2, 295, p. 50 (Laourdas–Westerink): εἰς ὠμότητα καὶ μιαιφονίαν πάντας δευτέρους ταττόμενον.

passage from darkness to light;[9] he made no comparisons or references to the Scythians.

The placing of the Rhos in the Scythian category consequently happened after the second half of the ninth century.

I. THE ETHNOLOGY OF THE SCYTHIAN PEOPLE

The word "Scythian" recurs indiscriminately in Byzantine ethnography as a bequest of ancient human geography: in the fifth and sixth centuries the word usually refers to the Huns. The Byzantine words for "Scythian" and for "Hun" tended to become equivalent after the fifth century for a great number of East European tribes and peoples, whose geographical and cultural unity was nothing more than a Byzantine postulate, as Moravcsik and Zástěrová have pointed out.[10] The terms included Kutrigurs, Utigurs, Ulzigurs, and "Burugundioi," according to Agathias;[11] Transcaucasian Turks in the sixth and seventh centuries; Avars between the seventh and tenth century; Khazars in the ninth and tenth centuries; Bulgarians between the eighth and fourteenth century; Hungarians between the ninth and eleventh century; Pečenegs and Uzes in the eleventh and twelfth centuries; Cumans between the eleventh and fourteenth century; Seljuks in the eleventh century; Mongols and Tatars between the thirteenth and sixteenth century; and Osmanlis between the fourteenth and sixteenth century.[12] The Continuator of Theophanes in the mid-tenth century, John Scylitzes in the eleventh century, and John Zonaras in the twelfth century also placed the Rus' in this category,[13] despite the fact that they were not nomadic. The ethnological muddle went so far that the word "Scythian" became a mere geographical expression (northern) in contrast to the category of "nomads" also used by John Scylitzes.

The Rhos (= Rus') themselves are "a Scythian people, dwelling toward

[9] Photius, *Ep*., n. 4 § 35, p. 178, l. (2–3) (Valetta) = *Ep*. 2, 292, p. 50 (Laourdas–Westerink): νεοφώτιστον τῶν Βουλγάρων. . .πλήρωμα.

[10] B. Zástěrová, "Zur Problematik der ethnographischen Topoi," in J. Herrmann, H. Koepstein, R. Mueller, *Griechenland—Byzanz—Europa: Ein Studienband* (Berlin, 1985), p. 16; Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, vol. 2: *Sprachreste der Türkvölker in den byzantinischen Quellen*, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1958), pp. 13–17.

[11] Agathiae Myrinaei *Historiarum libri quinque*, ed. R. Keydell (Berlin, 1967; CFHB, 2), V, 11, 2, pp. 176,31–177,4; Agathias, *The Histories*, trans. J. D. Frendo (Berlin, New York, 1975), p. 146.

[12] Moravcsik, *Sprachreste*, pp. 279–83.

[13] Ioan. Skyl., *Syn. hist*., pp. 147; 282; 285; 290; 291; 297–300; 305–309; 430–32 (Thurn).

the northern Taurus, hostile and wild'';[14] in this sense, every Slavic people mentioned by Scylitzes is Scythian.[15] This category of ''Scythian peoples'' had been worked out on the basis of the most ancient texts inside the literary and political circle of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, the polite host of Princess Ol'ga in 957.

Thanks to the *Excerpta de legationibus* of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, that is, through an ethnologically conscious reading by a cultural circle with wide-ranging historical and philological interests in the mid-tenth century, we have obtained a fragmentary text of Menander Protector's *Historia*. Menander was a jurist of the second half of the sixth century who composed a historical work, a continuation of Agathias, for the years 558–582.[16] The ''Scythian'' temperament is marked by deceptive fickleness, according to a contemporary ethnographical notation in Maurice's *Strategikón*: ''the Scythian character is treacherous,''[17] an unfavorable

14 Ioan. Skyl., *Syn. hist.*, p. 107, 45–46 (Thurn).

15 Ioan. Skyl., *Syn. hist.*, p. 147, 8 (Thurn): Croats and Serbs; pp. 71, 73, 76, 297; Bulgarians.

16 The *protictor* is the commander of the palatine guard, dependent on the *magister officiorum* till 624, who had among other subordinate officials the *protictores*, a group of bodyguards known between the third and sixth century. Cf. N. Oikonomides, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IX^{e} et X^{e} siècles* (Paris, 1972), pp. 329–30; 111,13; 159,1; 169,6; 171,26; 282. Ca. 842 the roga of the *protictor* was calculated to be one gold pound, that is, eight times superior to the pay of a common soldier, but half of that of a count or of the chartulary of the same corps, who stood at eighth rank of roga in a ladder having eleven; W. T. Treadgold, *The Byzantine State Finances in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries* (New York, 1982), pp. 104, 111. On Menander, see G. K. Lamprakes and Ph. N. Pankalou, Ἕλληνες καὶ Τοῦρκοι στὸν VI αἰῶνα. Πρώτη ἑλλήνο τουρκικὴ ἐπαφή. Ἰουστινιανός, Ἰουστῖνος Β, Μπου-Μιν καγκάν (Διλζίβουλος) (Athens, 1934), pp. 173–87 (abstracts from *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, IV, ed. K. Müller and Th. Müller, 5 vols. [Paris, 1857–; Scriptorum Graecorum Bibliotheca]), and pp. 123–69 on the treaties between Byzantines and Turks in the sixth century; K. Trüdinger, *Studien zur Geschichte der griechisch-roemischen Ethnographie* (Basel, 1918), pp. 41, 44, 51, 57, 6l.

17 See the little treatise on the ''Scythians'' in Mauricii *Strategicon* (*Das Strategikon des Maurikios*, ed. G. T. Dennis and trans. E. Gamillscheg [Vienna, 1981; CFHB, 17], XI, 2, pp. 360–68), and *Maurice's Strategikon. Handbook of Byzantine Military Strategy*, trans. G. T. Dennis (Philadelphia, 1984), pp. 116–18. The quotation of Menander has been taken from *Excerpta historica iussu imp. Constantini Porphyrogeniti confecta*, ed. U. Ph. Boissevain, C.de Boor, and Th. Buettner-Wobst, vol. 1: *Excerpta de legationibus*, ed. C. de Boor, pt. 1 (Berolini, 1903), p. 450, 32–33; *Memoriae populorum olim ad Danubium, Pontum Euxinum, Paludem Maeotidem, Caucasum, Mare Caspium, et inde magis ad septemtriones incolentium e scriptoribus historiae byzantinae*, ed. I. G. Stritter, vol. 3 (St. Petersburg, 1778), § 4, p. 45. The subject of Menander is related to the Caucasian Turks. The question of the ''Scythian'' origin of the Turks is a constant one in Byzantine ethnography until Laonicus Chalcocondyles. See Laonici Chalcocondylae, *Historiarum Demonstrationes* (E. Darkó, *Laonici Chalcocondylae Historiarum Demonstrationes*, 2 vols. [Budapest, 1922–27]), I, pp. 9, l. 10–11, l. 9, and translation in K. Dieterich, *Byzantinische Quellen zur Länder- und Völkerkunde*, vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1912), pp. 12–13.

example of *Randvolkidealisierung*, holds another description.

In agreement with the cultural atmosphere witnessed by Menander, the ethnographical category of Scythian peoples also stands out in Maurice's *Strategikón*. This war manual was written by a soldier with a direct knowledge of the Persian and Balkan borders, who includes a sketch of the military practice of the Persians, Slavs, and Scythians in his book XI, the last of the original work.

Dennis, the work's last editor, agrees with Hunger and Wiita in dating the text between 575 and 628.[18] The manuscripts ascribe the work to the emperor Maurice, to Urbicius, and to a Maurice who is intended to be a contemporary of the emperor. In 1906 Aussaresses was inclined to ascribe the work to the emperor himself, an attribution which subsequent scholars have denied. In 1977, Wiita tried to show that the author was Maurice's step-brother Philippicus, the *magister militum per Orientem* of 583. Dennis has recently reasserted Aussaresses's ascription.[19]

The sixth-to-seventh-century handbook, written in eleven books (the twelfth book is a later addition), is closely related to the circles of Leo VI and Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus. It is, in fact, the starting point for properly Byzantine treatises on the art of war, because it was included in the official collection of war manuals handed down to us in the Mediceo-Laurentianus codex Graecus 55,4, a volume of the encyclopaedia promoted by Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus himself. On the other hand, the *Strategikón* of Maurice was used as a text on the art of war by Leo VI (866–912), Constantine VII's father. The *Problemata* is a manual of war presenting a series of problems in the form of questions, settled by textual quotations from the *Strategikón* and the *Tactical Constitutions* in twenty books, which includes, in rewritten form, texts quarried from the same handbook.[20]

Maurice characterizes the "Scythian" culture by an intertwining of a people's fecundity, freedom, heedlessness towards the arts and crafts that are the *technai* of the ancient ethnological culture of the Hellenistic age, and military prowess "engrossed in nothing less than standing with valor

18 Moravcsik, *Sprachreste*, pp. 417–21; Hunger, *Die Literatur*, pp. 344–46; A. Dain, "Les Stratégistes byzantins," in *Travaux et Mémoires* 2 (1967): 17–92.

19 Dennis, *Maurice's Strategikon*, p. XVI. F. Aussaresses, "L'auteur du Strategicon," in *Revue des Études Anciennes* 8 (1906): 23–40; J. E. Wiita, *The Ethnika in Byzantine Military Treatises* (Ann Arbor, London, 1977), pp. 30–49; Dennis, ibid., p. XVII.

20 A. Dain, *Leonis VI sapientis Problemata* (Paris, 1935), pp. 7–9; Dain, "Les Stratégistes," pp. 354–55.

against enemies."[21] This statement is a commonplace that goes back to Herodotus's digression on the Thracians, but, greatly diffused, it became part of the traditional image of the northern barbarian.[22] Maurice states that the elements constituting the "Scythian" style of life are nomadism and governance by fear: "These nations have got a monarchical form of government and undergo inhuman forms of punishment from their chiefs if they make an error; they are ruled not by love but by fear, and they endure with valor hard work and suffering."[23]

The rule of fear is in antithesis to the precepts of Byzantine political ideology expressed by Agapetus for Justinian, in which the subjects' "favor" is linked to "the grace of (the imperial) beneficence." "He who is subject against his will seizes the opportunity to rebel; he who is ruled by the ties of favor maintains a secure obedience to the ruler."[24]

Arrianus (95–175), *livre de chevet* into Byzantine aristocratic culture, which is greatly enhanced by the history and myth of Alexander the Great,[25] had already spread among the Scythian Abii an idealization of Scythian justice and austerity; the Scythians' egalitarianism was poles apart from autocracy, linked perhaps to the idealization of the Scythians in Ephorus,[26] a polemic against Alexander the Great's despotism, according to Rostovtsev, which came down from Clitarch's history and which percolated subsequently into the ethnographical myth of the uncorrupted savage. This myth expressed the egalitarian and cosmopolitan ideals of Stoicism

21 Maur., *Strat.*, XI, 2, 9–10, p. 360; Zástěrová, *Zur Problematik*, p. 19.

22 Zástěrová, *Zur Problematik*, p. 17.

23 Maur., *Strat.*, XI, 2, 13–14, p. 360; see Zástěrová, *Zur Problematik*, pp. 19–20.

24 Agap., *Ekth.*, cols. 19–35 = *PG* 86, cols. 1169, 1176.

25 R. Merkelbach, *Die Quellen des griechischen Alexanderromans* 9 (Munich, 1954). The date is disputable according to L. Cracco Ruggini, "Il negro buono e il negro malvagio nel mondo classico," in *Conoscenze etniche e rapporti di convivenza nell'antichità*, a cura di M. Sordi, *Contributi dell'Istituto di Storia Antica*, VI (Milan, 1979), p. 110, n. 11. G. Cary, *The Medieval Alexander* (Cambridge, 1954); D. J. Ross, *Alexander Historiatus: A Guide to Medieval Illustrated Alexander Literature* (London, 1963). Arriani *Anabassi*, ed. A. G. Roos (Teubner, 1907/1928), IV, 1, I–IV, 11, 9; M. Rostovtsev, *Skythien und der Bosporus*, vol. 1: *Kritische Übersicht der schriftlichen und archaeologischen Quellen* (Berlin, 1931), pp. 13–94, 88. Strabonis *Geographia*, ed. A. Meineke, vols. 1–3 (Teubner, 1852), VII, 3, 7 C, p. 301; A. Graf, "Antik hatások a korai byzánci irodalom etnográfiai tudósításaiban," in *Egyetemes Philologiai Közlöny* 57 (1933): 104; Trüdinger, *Studien zur Geschichte*, p. 144. See, too, Graf, "Antik hatások," p. 29, n. 14 and 27; p. 30 Athen. XII 27; p. 232, no. 38. A. Dihle, "Zur hellenistichen Ethnographie," in *Entrétiens sur l'Antiquité classique*, VIII (Geneva, 1962), p. 215; *Antike und Orient. Gesammelte Aufsaetze*, ed. V. Poeschl and H. Petersmann (Heidelberg, 1984), p. 29. See Philonis Alexandrini *Opera quae supersunt*, vol. 1: *Legum allegoriae* (Berlin, 1896; reprint 1962), II, 67, p. 103, for *gnōmē ametablētos* as an ideal quality of the Ethiopians in contrast to the Scythians.

26 On Ephorus, see Trüdinger, *Studien zur Geschichte*, n. 7, pp. 140–41.

inherited by the new Sophist philosophy.[27] Byzantine historiography of the sixth century, from Agathias to Procopius, had destroyed this kind of idealization of the Scythian form of government which, according to Byzantine political ideology, was shaped into the base rule of "democracy," that inferior type of government against which Aristotle had argued in *Politica*, III, c. X, 1–2. This type of rule was rejected in Byzantine ideological treatises in order to show the superiority of the monarchical form, mitigated by government by the best, a hope expressed in the *Dialogue on Political Science*, a text of the sixth century which was attributed to Peter Patritius.[28] The connection between a people's military valor, warlike disposition, and fecundity is an interpretative principle adopted, as already stated, by Theophylact Symocattes, a prominent member of the Byzantine ruling class under Heraclius (who appointed him eparch of Constantinople), and author of a world history, in continuation of that of Menander from 582 to 602.[29]

Leo VI transcribes Maurice's text, composed in the timeframe of an anti-Persian alliance around 576 between the Turks of the Crimean Kaganate and the Romans, according to Menander and Theophylact Symocattes. Leo VI applies the same text to the Magyars and Bulgars in the Balkan Peninsula during the second half of the ninth century and early tenth century. Leo stresses ethnographical peculiarities already stereotyped as Scythian in the sixth and seventh centuries:

> We shall say at this point that the situation and the army of the Turks [= Magyars] differs little or not at all from that of the Bulgars. It is a big and free nation that worries about just one thing, beyond every other source of richesse and wealth, that is, to act with valor against its enemies."[30]

This anthropological connection between "fecundity" and "freedom" resulted in a warlike disposition toward looting that dates back to Sozomenus, Agathias, and John of Ephesus with regard to the embassy to the Transcaucasian Turks in 569.[31] The same conceptual line stretches back from the first half of the fifth century to John of Ephesus, to Menander, to Theophylact Symocattes. The same text recurs from Maurice to Leo VI and to Nicephorus Uranus, who in his *Tacticá*, a monumental compilation

27 Curt. Ruph. VII, 6, 11; Rostovtsev, *Skythien*, p. 94.

28 *Menae patricii cum Thoma referendario de scientia politica dialogus*, ed. C. M. Mazzucchi (Milan, 1982), p. XIII; cf. A. Pertusi, "I principi fondamentali della concezione del potere a Bisanzio. Per un commento al dialogo 'Sulla scienza politica' attribuito a Pietro Patrizio (secolo VI)," in *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio Muratoriano* 80 (1968): 1–23.

29 Theophylacti Simocattae *Historiae*, ed. C. de Boor (Lipsiae, 1887), VII 7, 13; VII, 8, 5; IV, 10, 1; I, 8, 5.

30 Leonis imperatoris *Tactica*, ed. R. Vary (Budapest, 1917–1922), p. 44.

31 Wiita, *Ethnika*, p. 123; Johan. Ephes., VI, 23.

in 178 chapters of the last twenty years of the tenth century, in chapter 50, entitled *On the Turks*, copies chapter XVIII of the *Tacticá* of Leo.[32] The *Sylloge tacticorum*, an anonymous text, formerly ascribed to Leo VI or to his brother Alexander, composed in the mid-tenth century, before Nicephorus Phocas's and Nicephorus Uranus's works,[33] makes the same connection in describing the wars between the Triballoi (= Bulgarians) and the Scythians, who in the quoted passage seem to be the Pečenegs.

The use of the "Scythian" category for the Rus', however, seems to be ascribed to the circle of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus. This paper is not concerned about a plausible correspondence between the image of the nomadic peoples of the steppe, as depicted in Byzantine ethnography between the sixth and the ninth century under the ancient label "Scythian," and the real life of the Rus'. Zástěrová's assumption that classic patterns about barbarity exert a conclusive influence on the image, ideologically determined, of the "Scythian" peoples,[34] although elaborated for nomadic peoples, is more valuable when this category is applied to non-nomadic peoples.[35] The fifth-century Huns, the Avars of the sixth to seventh century, the Turks of Central Asia in the seventh to eleventh centuries, the Magyars of the seventh to ninth century, the Rus' of the tenth to twelfth century are placed by Byzantine ethnography into the same historical and cultural system, having the same characteristics as the material culture and ideological system. This historical and social simplification emphasizes the negative ideological prism inherent to the concept of the Scythian system. In the end, this entails a comparison of historical and institutional legitimacy between the unique civilization under the ideal political unity of the Roman emperor chosen by God, source of popular favor, "ruled by love,"[36] and the ethical and political disorder of the barbarians, which must be corrected through the adoption of the ethical, political, and civic values of the Byzantine world. This missionary program, as pointed out by Lechner, is an

[32] A. Dain, *La "tactique" de Nicéphore Ouranos* (Paris, 1937), p. 20. Leo, *Tact.*, XVIII, 43–80. Wiita, *Ethnika*, p. 131.

[33] Dain, *Leonis IV*, p. 54. A. Dain, *Sylloge tacticorum quae olim "inedita Leonis tactica" dicebatur* (Paris, 1938), 87, 6, p. 129.

[34] E. H. Parker, "The Origin of the Turks," *English Historical Review* 11 (1896): 433, and observations to the article by J. B. V. Bury, "The Turks in the Sixth Century," *English Historical Review* 12 (1897): 417–26.

[35] Maur., *Strat.*, XI, 2, 3 = Leo. *Tact.*, 45; K. Lechner, *Hellenen und Barbaren im Weltbild der Byzantiner: Die alten Bezeichnungen als Ausdruck eines neuen Kulturbewusstseins* (Dissertation, Referent F. Dölger) (Munich, 1954), p. 114; Wiita, *Ethnika*, p. 124.

[36] Cf. A. Carile, "Bild und Wirklichkeit der türkischen Welt in der byzantinischen Geschichtsschreibung bis zum XII. Jahhunderts," in idem, *Immagine e realtà del mondo bizantino*, Milano (in press).

expansionist one, well-fitted to the Balkan policy of the empire in the ninth and tenth centuries; it expresses the conceit of a cultural awareness nourished more by a comparison between civility and barbarity than by an historical verification of the peculiarities of the northern societies. The adverse bias of this stereotype is shown by Alexius Comnenus, who in 1091 asserts: "Though Scythians, they are at least human beings through and through."[37] In the ethnographical reflections of aristocrats of the ninth to twelfth century, the fecundity of the race, its warlike disposition, and personal and political independence represent a concatenation of logical categories, to which Nicephorus Bryennius adds dietary habits as an explanation of fecundity. The ethnographical categories of the sixth century are broadened, preserving the functionality of the Scythian pattern in the more common variation of antithesis to civilization, rather than in the less common one of positive antithesis and model of primary simplicity in social relationships.

Heir to the stereotypes and functions of Hellenistic ethnography, the human geography of Byzantine culture is not useful to the spread of knowledge, but is more useful to a political program that promotes the ecumenical role of Byzantine society above any other society, according to the universal, metahistorical, and religious scheme expressed in the ideology of *basileia*. An entire century of ethnographical analyses in Byzantine historiography between Trüdinger[38] and Bibikov,[39] could be summarized in the ascertainment of the prevelance of the literary aspect in texts written to circulate on a high cultural level. The dialectics springs from an instrumental use of knowledge derived from literature.

Ethnology and political ideology from the mid-tenth century to the first half of the twelfth century supplied the tools to place the Rus' people within the *Weltanschauung* of the Eastern Roman world through the ethnological category of "Scythian people," a literary frame going back as far as the Hellenistic age. In the tenth century this category had taken on a denial of political legitimacy marking its exclusion from the Byzantine *oecumene*. The Christianization and entry of the grand princes of Kiev into the *familia regis* meant, on the contrary, the full civic and historical legitimation of the Rus' people from the point of view of the Byzantine *oecumene*.

[37] Annae Comnenae *Alexias* (Anne Comnène, *Alexiade*, ed. B. Leib, 3 vols., Paris, 1937–45), VIII, 6, II, p. 144, 15–17; Lechner, *Hellenen und Barbaren*, p. 115.

[38] Trüdinger, *Studien zur Geschichte*.

[39] M. V. Bibikov, "Das 'Ausland' in der byzantinischen Literatur des 12. und der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts," in *Griechenland—Byzanz—Europa* (Berlin, 1985), pp. 61–72.

II. OL'GA'S RECEPTION AND VOLODIMER'S MARRIAGE

In Photius's eyes, the request for a bishop and shepherd by the Rus', after the raid of 860, implied their passage from barbarian disorder, which had brought an assault on the Byzantine Empire, to the "role of subjects and guests/supporters (*proxenoi*), which marked their entrance into the transcendent order of the empire.[40] Ol'ga's reception, according to Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, allows us to put the princess of Kiev into the hierarchical frame of the Eastern empire. Ol'ga is called "archontissa Rhosias"; the same title, in the ninth and tenth centuries, was attributed to the Bulgar khans.[41] In the *Responsa* of Pope Nicolas I of the year 866, the authority of the Bulgar khan was qualified as that of "rex."[42] This higher hierarchical position in ideological connection with the empire has a correspondence in the title "rex gentis Rhos," which the *Annales Bertiniani* in 839 ascribe to the Rus' ruler. The title "rex" expresses the idea of territorial sovereignty in relation to, and dependent on, that of the empire.[43] Bruno of Querfurt, missionary to the Pečenegs in 1006, qualifies Volodimer simply as the man at the top of the feudal-vassal pyramid, according to his Western point of view, calling him "senior Ruzorum," without attributing to his title of sovereignty any specific place in the Western political hierarchy. Thietmar of Merseburg, on the other hand, discusses the hierarchical order between *Rex Ruscorum Vlodomerus* and Bolesław, *dux* of Poland.[44]

The Byzantine political ideology contemplates the subjection of all to the highest authority. Unique is the emperor. All kings and princes and all other sovereigns derive legitimacy of power from the emperor, an idea

40 Photius, *Ep.* n. 4 § 55, p. 178 ll. (10–11) (Valetta).

41 See the letter of Photius to the khan Boris/Michael in 865–866. Ed. J. N. Valettas (as in fn. 2 above), pp. 200–248 = *Ep.* 1, pp. 1–39 (Laourdas–Westerink); English translation in D. Stratoudaki White and J. R. Berrigan, Jr., *The Patriarch and the Prince* (Brookline, 1982), p. 39. For its date see I. Dujčev, "I 'Responsa' di papa Nicolo I ai Bulgari neoconvertiti," *Aevum* 42 (1968): 403, n. 1, in contrast to R. Browning, *Byzantium and Bulgaria: A Comparative Study Across the Early Medieval Frontier* (London, 1975), pp. 147–865; Also see V. Beševliev, "Die byzantinischen Elemente in den protobulgarischen Inschriften," in H. Hermann, H. Koepstein, and R. Müller, *Griechenland—Byzanz—Europa* (Berlin 1985), pp. 93–96; the title in six Bulgarian epigraphs was "ho ek theou archōn," which Marquart explained as a translation of an ancient Türk title.

42 *Responsa Nicolai ad consulta Bulgarorum*, I, in *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Latina* (hereafter *PL*), 102, col. 978 D: regem vestrum.

43 G. Maniscalco Basile, *La sovranità ecumenica del gran principe di Mosca: Genesi di una dottrina (fine XV–inizio XVI secolo)* (Milan, 1983), p. 21.

44 Maniscalco Basile, *La sovranità*, p. 22; *PL*, 144, cols. 977–79, *Annales de saint-Bertin*, ed. F. Grat et al. (Paris, 1964), pp. 30–31; *Thietmari Merseburgensis episcopi chronicon*, *MGH*, SS, 3, pp. 859–60. R. Holtzmann, in *MG Script. Rer. German.*, n.s., 9 (1935).

reflected by a fictitious hierarchical order and by the custom of precedence based on the degree of relationship.[45] Patriarch Nicolas I of Constantinople sometimes entitles the Bulgar sovereign "archon" and sometimes "ho ek theou archon."[46] Ol'ga, as "archontissa," is placed into the rank of the *zostai*; gifts of silver coins are made to her as well as to the members of her retinue.[47] She received a golden plate rimmed with gems bearing 500 *miliarisia*, or almost 42 (41.7) *nomismata*. According to an official text of 899, the *Cletorologion* of Philotheos, the *zostai* were at a high level on the eighteen degrees of precedence, that is, fifteenth in order of precedence, behind the *curopalates*, the *nobelissimos*, and the *kaisar*.[48] The Rus' sovereign occupied the same political position; Volodimer did not bear any Byzantine courtly title despite his marriage to Anna Porphyrogenita. This fact is borne out in the letter of Patriarch Ioasaph II to Tsar Ivan IV Vasil'evič of 1561, where he affirms (falsely) that Grand Prince Volodimer, grandson of Porphyrogenita Anna, had been crowned *basileus* by Constantine IX Monomachus, thanks to his imperial kinship. Stressing dynastic ties, the patriarch affirms that Anna had brought her imperial blood into the family of the grand prince, entitling him to become emperor.[49] This late interpretation has no confirmation in John Scylitzes: he makes note of the imperial marriage of Prince Volodimer but he does not bestow on him any title other than that of *archon*, later *katarchon*.[50] In fact, Volodimer's baptism and marriage marked his entry into the *familia regis*, raising him from the rather low rank of *philos, amicus*, derived from the concept of *philia, amicitia*. In Byzantine political ideology this was the token of a spontaneous and effective recognition of the emperor's sovereignty,[51] an elevation from *philos* to

45 A. Pertusi, "Insegne del potere sovrano e delegato a Bisanzio e nei paesi di influenza bizantina," in *Simboli e simbologia nell'alto Medioevo, XXIII Settimana di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto Medioevo, 3–9 aprile 1975*, II (Spoleto, 1976), p. 557.

46 Nicholas I Patriarch of Constantinople, *Letters*, Greek text and English translation by R. J. H. Jenkins and L. G. Westerink (Washington, 1973), n. 3, 2; 4, 38; 5, 1; 6, 1–11, 1, attributed by the editors to the period 912?/925, see ibidem, p. XXX.

47 Const. Porphyr. *De cer.* II, 15 in *PG* 112, col. 1112 A; col. 1112 B–C.

48 Oikonomides, *Les listes*, p. 95, 22. Pertusi, "Insegne," p. 559.

49 W. Regel, *Analecta byzantino-russica* (St. Petersburg, 1891–1898; reprinted New York, s.d.), pp. 75–76. The Christianization alone is stressed by J. Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia* (London, 1981), pp. 3, 14. G. Maniscalco Basile, "La leggenda dei succesori di Augusto e dei doni del Monomaco. Genealogia e sovranità ecumenica," in *Da Roma alla Terza Roma*, vol. 3: *Popoli e spazio romano tra diritto e profezia* (Naples, 1986), pp. 532–33.

50 Ioan. Skyl., *Syn. hist.*, p. 336, l. 90; p. 367, l. 72; p. 430, l. 41.

51 F. Dölger, "'Familie der Koenige' im Mittelalter," in idem, *Byzanz und die europäische Staatenwelt* (Ettal, 1953), pp. 38–39, 51, 64–65 (philos), pp. 40–41, 46–48, 52–53 (brother); pp. 41–43, 67 (son). G. Ostrogorsky, "The Byzantine Emperor and the Hierarchical World Order," *Slavonic and East European Review* 35 (1956): 1–14. P. Classen, "La politica di Manuele Comneno tra Federico Barbarossa e le città italiane" in *Popolo e stato in Italia*

"brother," a title historically bestowed only on the kings of the Saxons and Bavarians, the kings of the *Regnum Langobardorum seu Italiae*, and the kings of Germany and France. The highest title and position was that of "son" bestowed on the princes of Great Armenia, Alania, and Bulgaria, among whom the grand prince Volodimer was included as a "spiritual son" of Basil II because of his baptism.[52] The letters of Patriarch Nicolas II Mystikos (901–907 and 912–925) clarify the concept of the relationship between *basileia* and earthly powers.

Unity of faith bestows on the body of peoples the sole head of Christ, so that they live in a *koinonia* in which there are "fathers," "sons," and "brothers." The emperor is the chief of the family of peoples and sovereigns, and the worldly sway of the *basileia* is shaped into a *patria potestas*.[53] This is not a real political dependence, but an ideological subordination in the theoretical unity of nations as one empire. This civilized community Obolensky has described by the contemporary metaphor of commonwealth.

To grasp the importance of this entry into the imperial family, it is enough to consider how the Rus' were regarded in the treaty with Oleg in 907. By its terms, the Rus' could enter Constantinople in groups of no more than fifty men without weapons; they were obliged to stay in the Saint Mamas quarter under the control of an imperial officer, after having been registered.[54] This forced estrangement was stronger in periods of trade and travel, as witnessed in Byzantium's treaty of 911 with Oleg and of 944 with Igor'. These contacts impressed the Rus' with the prestige of Byzantine culture and of eastern urban life expressed in the magical spiritual force of

nell'età di Federico Barbarossa, Alessandria e la Lega Lombarda, XXXIII Congresso Storico subalpino, Alessandria 6–9 ottobre 1968 (Torino, 1970), pp. 275–77; P. Lamma, "Aldruda, contessa di Bertinoro in un panegirico di Eustazio di Tessalonica," in *Atti e Memorie della Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Provincie di Romagna*, n.s., 3 (1951–1952), pp. 59–72; idem, *Oriente e Occidente nell'alto Medioevo. Studi storici sulle due civiltà* (Padua, 1968), pp. 289–390, n. 1; F. Dölger, *Byzantinische Diplomatik* (Ettal, 1956), p. 395, n. 41; idem, "Byzanz und das Abendland vor den Kreuzzügen," in *Relazioni del X Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche* 3 (1956): 111 = idem, *Paraspora* (Ettal, 1961), p. 105, n. 109; J. Ferluga, "La ligesse dans l'Empire byzantin," *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta* 8 (1964): 97–123.

52 J. Ferluga, "Lista adresa za strane vladare iz Knjiga o Cerimonijama," *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta* 12 (1970): 157–77 (with a summary in Italian).

53 A. Pertusi, "Il pensiero politico e sociale bizantino dalla fine del secolo VI al secolo XIII," in *Storia delle idee politiche economiche e sociali*, ed. da L. Firpo, II, 2 (Torino, 1983), pp. 716–19.

54 F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des Oströmischen Reiches von 565–1453*, vol. 1: *Regesten von 565–1025* (Munich and Berlin, 1924), n. 549, p. 65.

Constantinople.[55] Entry into the imperial Constantinopolitan family represented for the grand prince of Kiev not only a hierarchical elevation among earthly princes: according to Byzantine political ideology, it began the process of *imitatio imperii*, not *translatio imperii*. The latter phenomenon took place only in the sixteenth century; it had not yet happened about 1393 when Patriarch Anthony IV rebuked Grand Prince Vasilij I Dimitrievič (1389–1425) because he had written: "We have a church, we no longer have an emperor."[56] I am not informed about the insignia and garments adopted by the Kievan court, but I see a sign of this *imitatio imperii* in the exauguration of heathen Kiev, with the theatrical destruction of the idol of Perun and the building of the Cathedral of the Mother of God, the church of the prince distinct from the one already existing at least by 944, the Christian church of Saint Elias. Volodimer's son and successor Jaroslav (1016–1054), seemed to stress the consciousness and the will of the *imitatio imperii*. He built the metropolitan church of Saint Sophia in Kiev, by then the Christian capital of Rus', as a sign of imperial dignity in imitation of Justinian I.[57]

The mosaic at the southwestern entrance of the endonarthex of Saint Sophia in Constantinople, completed only between 986 and 994, represents the empire. Mary on the throne with the Child is the historical patron of the imperial city; the Mother of God sits between Constantine the Great, the founder of the imperial city of Constantinople, and Justinian I, builder of Saint Sophia. Constantine offers to the protection of the Virgin a model, or perhaps a symbol, of Constantinople, Justinian, and Saint Sophia.[58] In 986 Basil II was fighting against the aristocracy of Asia Minor. The battle

[55] Dölger, *Regesten*, n. 556, pp. 66–67; n. 647, p. 80.

[56] For the editions of the letter, see A. Carile, "La Romania fra territorialità e ideologia," in *Atti del III Seminario Internazionale di Studi Storici "Da Roma alla Terza Roma,"* Studi, III (Naples, 1986), p. 411, n. 8; E. Barker, "Social and Political Thought," in *Byzantium from Justinian I to the Last Palaeologus: Passages from Byzantine Writers and Documents* (Oxford, 1957), pp. 39–40; S. Runcimann, *The Great Church in Captivity: A Study of the Patriarchate of Constantinople from the Eve of the Turkish Conquest to the Great War of Independence* (Cambridge, 1968), pp. 71–76 (discussion about the historical meaning of this text); G. Ostrogorsky, *Storia dell'impero bizantino* (Torino, 1968), pp. 494–95; D. Obolensky, *Il Commonwealth bizantino. L'Europa orientale dal 500 al 1453* (Bari, 1974), pp. 376–77; J. Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy, 1198–1400* (New Brunswick, 1979), p. 255. D. M. Nicol, *Church and Society in the Last Centuries of Byzantium* (Cambridge, 1979), pp. 4–5; H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im Byzantinischen Reich*, 2nd ed. (Munich, 1977), p. 37. J. Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia* (Cambridge, 1981), pp. 254–55.

[57] Obolensky, *Il Commonwealth bizantino*, pp. 287–88.

[58] A. Carile, "Consenso e dissenso fra propaganda e fronda nelle fonti narrative dell'età giustinianea," in *L'imperatore Giustiniano: Storia e mito*, G. G. Archi (Milan, 1978), pp. 83–85. D. T. Rice and M. Hirmer, *Arte di Bisanzio* (Florence, 1959), fig. 129, p. 85.

culminated a year later, in 987, with the defeat of the rebel Bardas Phokas, brought about with the military aid of Volodimer, which helped determine the ideological and familial alliance of the grand prince of Kiev with the emperor. The association of Constantine and Justinian with Basil II and their veneration of the Mother of God, historical patron of the imperial city, at this moment implies renewal of the empire (symbolized by Constantine) in an antiaristocratic mode (symbolized by Justinian), in consonance with the fiscal policy culminating in the ἀλληλεγγυον (1002).

The Porphyrogenita Anna and her advisers knew well the meaning of the iconographic theme of the figures of Constantine and Justinian, whose historical fortunes in Byzantine literature were ambiguous and contradictory: Saint Sophia was a sign of the imperial city of Constantinople on the same level as the city itself. The occurrence of the titles *isapostolos* and *vtoryi Konstantinъ* already in the texts of the eleventh century,[59] titles connected with his function as Christianizer of his people, made the grand prince comparable to the emblematic figure of Constantine, founder of the imperial city.

The *imitatio imperii*, in the scheme of Basil II, is carried out in Rus' through the grand prince's approach in similarity to the figures of Constantine and Justinian.

The baptism of the Rus' people and the entry of the grand prince of Kiev into the imperial family opened the same ideological and political perspectives that favored the forming of the Bulgarian Empire.

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[59] G. Revelli, *Boris e Gleb: Due protagonisti del Medioevo russo (Le opere letterarie ad essi dedicate)* (Abano Terme, 1987), p. xii.

Rus'-Byzantine Princely Marriages in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries

ALEXANDER KAZHDAN

There is a common opinion that, after the baptism of Prince Volodimer of Kiev, the Kievan state became a member of the Constantinopolitan commonwealth, closely connected with and even imitating Byzantine political and cultural patterns. The thesis is evidently correct insofar as the church relationship was concerned, and, since in the Middle Ages the church was the most vocal part of society, the concept of thorough Byzantinization was silently transferred on the secular dominion of the Kievan state as well. How well-founded, however, is this logical operation? To what extent did the Kievan village, or craftsmanship, or military organization, or political structure imitate those of Constantinople? The problem merits many monographs, and I have no claim to solve it in a brief paper. Touched upon here is a very limited question, that of princely marriages. My task is to determine whether the Rus'-Byzantine princely marriages of the eleventh and twelfth centuries occupied an exceptional place in the life of both states and—to put it differently—whether the Byzantine connections of the Rurikids were exceptionally close.

It is striking how insignificant a trace emigrés from Rus' to Byzantium in the eleventh and twelfth centuries left. Prince Oleg of Černihiv was captured by the Khazars in 1079 and handed over to Byzantium, where he lived several years in Constantinople and on the island of Rhodes. Under Manuel I, Princes Vasil'ko and Mstislav, exiled by Andrej Bogoljubskij, were rewarded in Byzantium: Vasil'ko received four "towns" and Mstislav the district of Otskalana; eventually, Vasil'ko's possessions were transferred to the "Tauroscythian *dynastes*" Vladislav, who moved to Byzantium with his family and retinue. Under Manuel I, Ivan Berladnyk settled in Thessalonike where he, probably, was poisoned in 1162. In about 1180 Jurij, the son of Andrej Bogoljubskij, arrived in Constantinople in search of support against his former wife Thamar of Georgia, who had banished him. Less known is a certain Theodore who calls himself "Rhos from a royal kin." He is mentioned in an epigram of the twelfth century.[1] John the Rhos left a

[1] S. Lampros, "Ho Markianos kodix 524," *Neos Hellenomnemon* 8 (1911): 153bis, no. 254.

lead seal of the eleventh or twelfth century;[2] he entered the Byzantine elite and was granted the title of *protovestes*.

Even though statistical conclusions are impossible, it is obvious that emigrés from the Kievan state stood both in number and in their significance in the Byzantine establishment of this period far below Armenians, Normans, Bulgarians, or Turks.

The marriages of the Rurikids were studied in detail by N. de Baumgarten; the list he established includes twelve marriages from the mid-tenth century through 1200 (p. 69).[3] Let us, first, examine the evidence he collected.

The first two women in this list are two wives of Volodimer. One of them is a legendary Greek woman, "épouse paienne [sic!] de St. Wladimir," formerly the spouse of his brother Jaropolk. Another is an unquestionably historical person, the famous Anna, the porphyrogenite sister of Basil II.[4] Skylitzes informs us clearly that Basil made Volodimer his brother-in-law (*kēdestēs*), by marrying his sister Anna to the Kievan prince; later on he mentions that Anna, the emperor's sister, died in "Rosia" after her husband Volodimer.[5] The evidence concerning the marriage of Anna was repeated, after Skylitzes, by Zonaras.[6] An independent testimony of the marriage is to be found in Thietmar of Merseburg (8:72), who, however, calls Volodimer's Greek wife Helena.

The Kievan Chronicle mentions Anna several times. In contradiction to Skylitzes, it reports, however, that Anna died in 1011.[7] Baumgarten (p. 8, fn. 1) accepts this date without indicating the contradiction; he does not mention Greek sources on Anna's death even in a monograph devoted to the last marriage of Volodimer. Baumgarten hypothesizes that after Anna's demise Volodimer married the third daughter of Count Cuno of Oeningen, and from this union Dobronega-Maria, wife of Kazimierz I of Poland, was born.[8] The hypothesis has no support in Thietmar, to whom Baumgarten refers. Thietmar speaks of the marriage of Volodimer's son (probably Svjatopolk) to a daughter of "our persecutor Bolesław" (the Polish king);

[2] V. Laurent, *La collection C. Orghian* (Paris, 1952), no. 69.

[3] N. de Baumgarten, *Généalogies et mariages occidentaux des Rurikides russes du X^e au XIII^e siècle* (Rome, 1927).

[4] About Anna see D. and A. Poppe, "Dziewosłęby o porfirogenetkę Annę," *Cultus et cognitio* (Warsaw, 1976): 451–68.

[5] Ioannes Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. J. Thurn (Berlin and New York, 1973), pp. 336.89–90, 367.71–72.

[6] Ioannes Zonaras, *Epitome historiarum* 3, ed. Th. Büttner-Wobst (Bonn, 1897), p. 553.1–2.

[7] *PSRL*, 1:129, 2:114.

[8] N. de Baumgarten, "Le dernier mariage de S. Vladimir," *Orientalia christiana* 18, no. 2 (1930): 166f.

earlier, Thietmar (4:58) also speaks of Bolesław's third daughter as given to a "son of 'king' Volodimer."

D. Oljančyn rejects Baumgarten's hypothesis that "Volodimer the Great married, after Anna's death, another woman who gave him Dobronega-Maria."[9] He retains the date of 1011, however, for Anna's death, and so does V. Pašuto,[10] both ignoring Skylitzes. Is it so easy to disregard the Byzantine historian? The Kievan Chronicle places the evidence concerning Anna in a lacuna between 997 and 1014 that is filled with five notes on princely deaths and one note about transferring relics—can we be sure that these meager notes are original?

Whatever the date of Anna's decease, her marriage is well chronicled in various independent sources. Yet it was contracted before—not after—the conversion of Kievan Rus', and in no case can be considered the result of a close relationship established after the year 988. What do we know about princely marriages after the conversion?

The third person in Baumgarten's list is "the daughter of emperor Constantine [IX Monomachos] from his first marriage" who in 1046 became the spouse of Prince Vsevolod and then the mother of Volodimer Monomach (= Monomax).

There is no doubt that Vsevolod's wife was of Greek stock; Kievan sources call her a Greek empress (*carica*) (*PSRL*, 1: 160); according to Metropolitan Nikephoros, her son Volodimer Monomax "mingles imperial (*carskie*) and princely blood."[11] In the beginning of Monomax's *Poučenie*—unfortunately, in a corrupted phrase—we read that Volodimer received his surname Monomax from his mother [and father?] (*PSRL*, 1: 240). If we accept these statements as true, the natural conclusion is that Vsevolod's wife was a daughter of Constantine IX Monomachos. This conclusion was drawn already by later Rus' chroniclers, who without hesitation define her as a daughter of the Greek emperor Constantine Monomachos and even reveal her name, Anastasia.[12] However, not a single Greek source mentions the existence of Constantine IX's daughter, even though the story of his life and erotic adventures is well known, due, primarily, to Michael

[9] D. Oljančyn, "Zur Regierung des Grossfürsten Izjaslav-Demeter von Kiev," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 8 (1960): 398.

[10] V. Pašuto, *Vnešnjaja politika Drevnej Rusi* (Moscow, 1968), p. 122.

[11] A. Dölker, *Der Fastenbrief des Metropoliten Nikifor an den Fürsten Vladimir Monomach* (Tübingen, 1985), p. 24.

[12] V. G. Brjusova, "K voprosu o proisxoždenii Vladimira Monomaxa," *Vizantijskij vremennik* (hereafter *VizVrem*) 28 (1968): 127–35. N. Šljakov, "O poučenii Vladimira Monomaxa," *Žurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosveščenija* 329 (1900): 122, fn. 2, without any reference, identified Volodimer's mother as Anna, Constantine IX's daughter.

Psellos. She definitely was not born to him by the empress Zoe, who had no children. We may hypothesize that Vsevolod's wife was born by Constantine's previous spouse or by his mistress Skleraina, who herself was identified by W. Seibt as *protospatharissa* Maria, the daughter of Skleros mentioned in the Peira.[13] The difficulty is that in either case Vsevolod's wife would not be a *carica*.

V. L. Janin and G. G. Litavrin, supported by A. Soloviev, drew attention to a Greek seal of a certain *archontissa* Maria, titled in the legend "MO.ACHE," which these scholars interpreted as "Monomache."[14] They also believed that they had discovered on this seal the name of Vsevolod's spouse in that the seal bears the effigy of the apostle Andrew, after whom Vsevolod took his Christian name. The reading *Monomache*, however, is far from certain; it is much simpler to read instead *monache*, i.e. nun.[15] She could have been a nun at a convent of St. Andrew, not a spouse of Andrij-Vsevolod. And finally, Maria is not dubbed archontissa "of Rosia" but simply "the very noble archontissa." In this case, the seal loses its relation to the enigmatic wife of Vsevolod.

Thus we do not know who Vsevolod's spouse was. Only in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Russian texts does she appear as Constantine IX's daughter. It would be more prudent to assume that Vsevolod was married to a lady from the house of the Monomachoi, a relative of Constantine IX.

The fourth Greek spouse in Baumgarten's list is Theophano Mouzalonissa, who allegedly married Oleg of Černihiv before 1083. Testimony to this marriage is the seal of Theophano Mouzalonissa with the name *archontissa Rossias*, which was published by G. Schlumberger.[16] Xr. Loparov discovered in a late source—a manuscript of the eighteenth century, the Synodikon of Ljubeč—a note that the name of the wife of the great [sic!] prince Mixail-Oleg of Černihiv was Feofanija.[17] This entry is suspicious in that both the title of the great prince and the name of Feofanija are missing in the previous edition of the Synodikon of Ljubeč, which was probably based on other manuscripts; moreover, according to the Synodikon of Kiev, Feofanija was the spouse of another Mixail of Černihiv who

13 W. Seibt, *Die Skleroi* (Vienna, 1976), pp. 71–76.

14 V. L. Janin and G. G. Litavrin, "Novye materialy o proisxoždenii Volodimira Monomaxa," in *Istoriko-arxeologičeskij sbornik* (Moscow, 1962), pp. 204–221; A. Soloviev, "Marie, fille de Constantin IX Monomaque," *Byzantion* 33 (1963): 241–48.

15 See A. Poppe, "La dernière expédition russe contre Constantinople," *Byzantinoslavica* (hereafter *BSl*) 32 (1971): 267, fn. 181.

16 G. Schlumberger, *Sigillographie byzantine* (Paris, 1984), pp. 432f., 683.

17 Xr. Loparov, "Vizantijskaja pečat' russkoj knjagini," *VizVrem* 1 (1894): 159–166; V. Zotov, *O černigovskix knjaz'jax po Ljubeckomu sinodiku* (St. Petersburg, 1892), pp. 24–29.

died in 1246. V. Zotov thought that Feofanija was Oleg's wife, but he called her a "Cuman princess." Ignoring all these confusions and relying on a sheer coincidence of names, Loparev—notorious for his unfounded hypotheses—came to the conclusion that Oleg, during his stay in Constantinople and Rhodes, took in marriage a noble lady of the house of the Mouzalon.

Unfortunately, the only piece of evidence concerning Oleg's stay on Rhodes comes from a pilgrim from Rus', Daniil, who visited Rhodes at the beginning of the twelfth century and was told by local inhabitants there that Oleg spent two years on the island. Even though separated from Oleg by less than one generation, they did not mention his wedding, and we do not know whether the Feofanija in the Synodikon of Ljubeč was Greek or not. In 1963 I was ready to accept Loparev's hypothesis;[18] I am not be so definite now. We do indeed know several seals calling certain Rurikids archons of "Rosia," but we know as well that "Rosia" was also a settlement near Matracha and that the term archon could designate a Byzantine governor. The preservation of the Greek family name makes it at least suspect that Theophano was a Kievan princess. As for the date of the seal, I leave it to professionals to determine; the family of the Mouzalon was flourishing in Byzantium in the thirteenth rather than the eleventh century. Be that as it may, we are not on solid ground with this case of princely marriage.

The fifth item in Baumgarten's list is Janka of Kiev who allegedly was the fiancée of Constantine Doukas in 1074. The source of this statement, even though he is not indicated by Baumgarten,[19] was no less a scholar than V. Vasil'evskij,[20] who identified Vsevolod, prince of Kiev (d. 1093), as the addressee of two letters dispatched by Michael VII to an unnamed ruler concerning the betrothal of Michael's son Constantine. Vasil'evskij, however, was wrong. The text of the document devoted to the betrothal of Constantine[21] was published by P. Bezobrazov.[22] It is explicitly addressed to Robert (Guiscard) and not to Prince Vsevolod; the emperor's son (not brother, 'frère', as he is called by F. Chalandon),[23] Constantine, was engaged to "your daughter" (p. 141.15–16). The political situation that

18 A. Kazhdan, "Vizantijskij podatnoj sborščik na beregax Kimmerijskogo Bospora v konce XII v.," in *Problemy obščestvenno-političeskoj istorii Rossii* (Moscow, 1963), p. 94f.

19 See also Baumgarten, *Généalogie*, p. 24, fn. 2, where he refers directly to chronicles and letters.

20 V. Vasil'evskij, *Trudy*, vol. 2, pt. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1909), p. 36f.

21 Now in Michael Psellos, *Scripta minora*, vol. 1 (Milan, 1936), pp. 329–24.

22 P. Bezobrazov, "Xrisovul imperatora Mixaila VII Duki," *VizVrem* 6 (1899): 140–43.

23 F. Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1922), p. 260.

caused this agreement has been studied by various scholars,[24] and here there is no need to return to this question. The engagement of Janka should be eliminated from Baumgarten's list.

Next in Baumgarten is "Barbe" Komnene, who allegedly married Svjatopolk of Kiev ca. 1103. The late V. Pašuto followed Baumgarten.[25] X. Loparev is even more audacious: he makes Barbara a daughter of Emperor Alexios I.[26] We have a full list of Alexios I's children,[27] and there was no Barbara among them. Baumgarten refers in this connection (p. 11, fn. 3) to the chronicle of Ortlib (*MGH* SS 10, p. 90f.) who conveys only that an unnamed Greek nobleman married his daughter to the "king of the Rutheni." The story of the arrival in Kiev of Barbara, Alexios I's daughter, is contained only in the seventeenth-century tale of the relics of the great martyr Barbara.[28]

In the *Pověst' vremennyx lět* (*PSRL* 1: 280; 2: 256) it is related that in 1104 a daughter of Volodar', prince of Peremyšl, married "carevič Oleksinič"; literally, "the son of Emperor Alexios." Alexios I had several sons: John (born on 13 September 1087), the future emperor John II; *sebastokrator* Andronikos (born on 18 September 1091; D. Papachryssanthou suggested 1098);[29] *caesar*, later *sebastokrator*, Isaac (born in January 1093); and Manuel (born in February 1097). The last is known only from the list of Alexios's children;[30] even his sister Anna Komnene does not mention him, and probably he died very young.

John II, who married a Hungarian princess, Irene-Piriska, is out of the question. Baumgarten identified the unnamed *carevič* as *sebastokrator* Isaac;[31] Loparev considers him to be either Andronikos or Isaac;[32] K. Barzos prefers Andronikos to Isaac, who in 1104 was only eleven.[33]

The typikon of the nunnery of the Theotokos "Full of Grace" (Kecharitomene) founded by Irene Doukaine, Alexios I's widow, prescribes memorial rites for her two daughters-in-law (*nymphai*)—*sebastokratorissa*

24 See, e.g., H. Bibicou, "Une page d'histoire diplomatique de Byzance au XI^e^ siècle," *Byzantion* 29/30 (1960): 43–75.

25 Pašuto, *Vnešnjaja politika*, p. 87.

26 X. Loparev, "Brak Mstislavny," *VizVrem* 9 (1902): 419, no. 9.

27 P. Schreiner, *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, vol. 1 (Vienna, 1975), p. 55f.

28 See Bishop Evgenij in *Kirill Turovskij, Tvorenija* (Kiev, 1880), p. VIII, n. 1.

29 D. Papachryssanthou, "La date de la mort du sébastokrator Isaak Comnène," *Revue des études byzantines* (hereafter *REB*) 21 (1963): 251.

30 A. Kazhdan, "Die Liste der Kinder des Kaiser Alexios I. in einer Moskauer Handschrift," in *Beiträge zur alten Geschichte und deren Nachleben*, vol. 2 (Berlin, 1970), pp. 233–37.

31 See also Pašuto, *Vnešnjaja politika*, p. 85.

32 Loparev, "Brak Mstislavny," p. 419, no. 6.

33 K. Barzos, *He genealogia ton Komnenon*, vol. 1 (Thessalonike, 1984), p. 234, fn. 30.

Irene and *kaisarissa* (the wife of *caesar*) Irene.[34] We have no additional information on these women; we know only that the spouse of Andronikos died before her husband.[35] The typikon of the Kecharitomene does not mention the change of names of either Irene, even though a Maria-Xene and a Theodora-Irene are mentioned in other places of the typikon.[36] The lack of a second name, however, does not prove or disprove anything: Volodar's daughter could have had the baptismal name Irene, or the typikon could have omitted her change of name. At any rate, there is no support here for the version in the Kievan Chronicle.

Loparev also hypothesizes that a daughter of Vseslav (of Polock) married another son of Alexios I in 1106.[37] I do not know the source of his information. Baumgarten (p. 32, table 8) lists seven sons of Vseslav but not a single daughter; and Pašuto, who speaks *en passant* of Vseslav,[38] says nothing about a daughter of his.

The eighth marriage in Baumgarten's list is that of Leo Diogenes and "Princess Marina of Kiev." The only evidence of this marriage is the entry of the Laurentian Chronicle under 1116 mentioning that Leon Diogenovič, "zjat'" of Volodimer Monomax, was killed during his expedition against Alexios I. Vasil'evskij[39] concluded that Leo married not Volodimer's daughter Maria (Marina in Baumgarten, p. 22, table 5, no. 12), but Volodimer's sister—whoever she was: the word *zjat'*, like the Greek *gambros*, designated both son-in-law and brother-in-law. The problem is, however, who was this Leon Diogenovič?

The emperor Romanos IV Diogenes had several sons. One of them, Constantine, was a courageous warrior but had an unpraiseworthy character, if we believe Bryennios.[40] He married Theodora, a daughter of *kouropalates* John Komnenos (p. 85.22–23) and a sister of the future emperor Alexios I. Bryennios says (p. 207.5–9) that he perished in 1074/5 in a battle against the Turks near Antioch.

Strangely enough, Anna Komnene, who was Theodora's niece, conveys that it was Leo Diogenes who was killed by an arrow near Antioch.[41] Anna also calls his widow, Theodora, Alexios's sister (p. 191.9). Thus

34 P. Gautier, "Le typikon de la Théotokos Kécharitôménè," *REB* 43 (1985): 123.1837–41.
35 P. Gautier, "Le obituaire du typikon du Pantokrator," *REB* 27 (1969): 249f.
36 Gautier, "Le typikon," p. 125.1853–54 and 1863–65.
37 Loparev, "Brak Mstislavny," p. 419, no. 8.
38 Pašuto, *Vnešnjaja politika*, p. 110. In the index (p. 438) our Vseslav, son of Brjačeslav, is obviously confused with another Vseslav, son of Vasil'ko, who lived a century later.
39 Vasil'evskij, *Trudy*, 2, 1: 47f.
40 Nicéphore Bryennios, *Histoire*, ed. P. Gautier (Brussels, 1975), p. 87.2–3.
41 Anne Comnène, *Alexiade*, ed. B. Leib (Paris 1937–45), 2:190.22–24.

Constantine in Bryennios and Leo in Anna Komnene is one and the same person. It is generally accepted[42] that Anna committed an error and that the Diogenes who died in 1074/5 was Constantine, not Leo.

Anna speaks of Leo Diogenes in a different context, too. She relates that when Romanos IV died, he left behind two sons—Leo and Nikephoros (p. 172.18–19). She does not mention Constantine, probably because he was killed soon after Romanos's death in the summer of 1072. Anna says that Alexios I cared about the two brothers, and that Leo, a man of noble temper, was satisfied with his fate, whereas Nikephoros, wrathful and passionate, kept plotting against the emperor (p. 173.22–28). Finally, on 29 June 1093 or 1094, Nikephoros was blinded (p. 183.28). Anna notes that she has no clear knowledge of these events (p. 184.5–6). She knows, however, that Nikephoros left the capital for his estate and devoted his time to scholarship. Soon thereafter she tells a story about a man of ignoble origin who assumed the name of Leo (probably Constantine) Diogenes and began claiming the throne (p. 190.10–15). This man arrived at Constantinople (the *polis*) from the East (*ex anatoles*) and would visit the mansions of the city pretending that he had not been killed at Antioch (p. 190.19–24).

The impostor, says Anna, did not stop talking nonsense "in the streets and lanes," and his behavior urged Theodora, the widow of Diogenes, to interfere. Anna does not reveal how Theodora acted, but probably she announced that the pretender was not her husband. Anyhow, Alexios arrested the man and banished him to Cherson (p. 191.6–16). Diogenes (or pseudo-Diogenes) escaped from Cherson, joined the Cumans and together with them invaded Byzantine territory. Anna again stresses that the man was an impostor and makes Nikephoros Bryennios disclaim the alleged relationship (p. 196.28–197.3). Finally, Diogenes was lured into a trap, captured and blinded (p. 201.22). The story is precisely rendered in *Pověst' vremennyx lět* under 1095: the Polovci (Cumans) together with the son of Diogenes attacked the Greek land, but the emperor took "Devgenič" captive and blinded him (*PSRL*, 1:226–27; 2:217). The story has been analyzed by Vasil'evskij and by Mathieu and does not need further examination.

The usurper of 1095 had no connection with Kiev, but Leo Diogenes of 1116, of whom Greek sources say nothing, evidently had. He cannot be identified with Leo, the son of Romanos IV, who according to Anna was a loyal subject of her father; he was not the impostor of 1095 who was blinded by Alexios and, probably, perished in a Byzantine prison or monastery; we do not know his destiny. In Kievan chronicles he is

42 M. Mathieu, "Les faux Diogènes," *Byzantion* 22 (1952/53): 134f.

characterized as the son-in-law (or brother-in-law) of Monomax, not the son of the emperor ("caesar"). Quite a different formula was used by Orderic Vitalis, who says that Bohemund, in 1105–1107, supported a *filius Diogenis Augusti*—according to Mathieu, an impostor.[43]

In sum, we can say that the *gambros* of Monomax was certainly not the real son of a Byzantine emperor (not even of a deposed one); he may have been a relative of the house or an impostor.[44]

The ninth in Baumgarten's list is the union of Andronikos Komnenos and Irene-Dobrodeja concluded in 1122. Baumgarten (p. 25, fn. 26) refers to two articles: one is the above-quoted work by Loparev, the other is by S. Papadimitriu.[45] Neither of these scholars mentions the name Andronikos. According to them, it was Alexios who was the oldest son and co-emperor of John II. Pašuto, incidentally, also referring to the article by Papadimitriu, calls the husband of Irene-Dobrodeja Andronikos.[46]

Once again, information concerning this marriage comes to us only from the Kievan chronicles. They convey that a daughter of Prince Mstislav (a son of Volodimer Monomax) was married in 1122 to a *car* or *carevič*.[47] The rendering of the Hypatian Chronicle (*PSRL*, 2:286), *car*-emperor, even though accepted by Tatiščev, is obviously erroneous, for John II had another spouse, the Hungarian princess Irene-Piriska. If we take the evidence of late chroniclers concerning *carevič* at face value, we must conclude that the daughter of Mstislav married one of John II's sons. We know quite a bit about the wife of Andronikos.[48] She was very active both politically and as the patroness of a literary circle; in the numerous poems dedicated to her there is not a single hint of her northern origin.

Both Loparev and Papadimitriu identified the husband of Mstislavna as John II's oldest son, Alexios.[49] Papadimitriu has demonstrated that Loparev, by a series of fantastic guesses, created a false biography of Mstislavna, and invented for her the name of Zoe. There is no need to return to his scrutiny of Loparev's mistakes, particularly since G. Litavrin

43 Mathieu, "Les faux Diogènes," p. 137f.

44 See also I. U. Budovnic, "Vladimir Monomax i ego voennaja doktrina," *Istoričeskie zapiski* 22 (1947): 96–98.

45 S. Papadimitriu, "Brak russkoj knjažny Mstislavny Dobrodei s grečeskim carevičem," *VizVrem* 11 (1904): 73–98.

46 Pašuto, *Vnešnjaja politika*, p. 187.

47 Papadimitriu, "Brak russkoj knjažny," p. 73.

48 Besides Barzos, *He genealogia*, 1:362–79, see O. Lampsides, "Zur Sebastokratorissa Eirene," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* (hereafter *JÖB*) 34 (1984): 91–105; E. Jeffreys, "The Sebastokratorissa Eirene as Literary Patroness," *JÖB* 32 (1982): 63–71.

49 About Alexios see Barzos, *He genealogia*, 1:339–348; G. Ostrogorsky, "Autokrator Joannes II und Basileus Alexios," *Seminarium Kondakovianum* 10 (1938): 172f.

also rejected Loparev's constructions.[50] The question is, however, whether Mstislavna really became the spouse of Alexios. Barzos, who accepts Loparev's conclusions (probably without knowledge of Papadimitriu's article), draws attention to several Greek texts referring to the wife of Alexios.[51] First, she was mentioned in the typikon of the Pantokrator; that means that she died before 1136. The typikon, however, gives no name for her. A scholion to the histories of John Tzetzes defines Kata-Katae, the daughter of the Georgian king Demetrios, as the spouse of Alexios. Barzos solves this difficulty by assuming that Kata was the second wife of Alexios. In some unpublished notes on the manuscripts from Sinai, he discovered two names of Alexios' spouses—Irene and Eudokia (not Kata!); the name Irene also appears in an anonymous epigram.

All these data, precious though they are, do not shed any light on the Kievan past of the princess. It is very risky to conclude anything on the basis of the unpublished notes collected by Pachomios of Sinai in 1928. The only sure thing is Alexios's marriage to a Georgian princess. It could be she who was renamed Irene and died before 1136, or it could be another woman. Mstislavna was married to a *carevič*, but who was this *carevič*? In far-away Kiev, the title could be generously applied to any member of the Komnenian clan. The Greek sources do not mention a Kievan princess becoming Alexios's wife. Of course, this is an *argumentum ex silentio*. But negation owing to silence is not worse than an assumption despite silence.

The third son of John II, Issac, born ca. 1113,[52] is, probably out of the question, for he was very young in 1122. As far as his marriages are concerned, his first wife was Theodora and the second one was Irene Diplosynadene.[53]

The tenth marriage in Baumgarten's list is that of Jurij Dolgorukij to an unnamed Greek woman, or—as he puts it elsewhere—"vraisembablement Byzantine d'origine" (p. 22, fn. 16). The only source Baumgarten could refer to was N. M. Karamzin, who wrote: "It is probable that the second spouse of Jurij (George) was of Greek extraction since she left for Constantinople."[54] The argumentation is very shaky, especially in the context of the Hypatian Chronicle's entry under 1162 relating, as noted above, that the

50 G. G. Litavrin, "Vizantijskij medicinskij traktat XI–XIV vv.," *VizVrem* 31 (1971): 249–51.
51 Barzos, *He genealogia*, 1: 343, fn. 25.
52 Barzos, *He genealogia*, 1: 391.
53 Barzos, *He genealogia*, 1: 396, fn. 28.
54 N. M. Karamzin, *Istorija gosudarstva Rossijskogo*, 1 (St. Petersburg 1842), note to part 2, p. 161, fn. 405.

sons of Jurij (Mstislav and Vasil'ko) emigrated to Constantinople together with their mother and Vsevolod, their younger brother. The emigration was, as Vasil'evskij has already indicated,[55] one element of an alliance built by Manuel I against Hungary. We have no data concerning Jurij's marriage to a Greek princess. Loparev did not include this groundless evidence in his list of marriages.

The eleventh marriage is that of Euphemia, daughter of Prince Glěb of Bilhorod and Černihiv, who in 1194 allegedly married a certain Angelos. Pašuto identifies her fiancé as, "probably," Alexios IV.[56] Alexios would have been the only Byzantine prince in 1194, other than the newborn Manuel.[57] Nonetheless, Alexios is not a good candidate; his adventures are well known, as described by Niketas Choniates, and there is no word about his marriage. Again, the generous term in the Kievan Chronicle, *carevič* (*PSRL* 2:680) deceived Pašuto. M. Levčenko, evidently more cautious, wrote that "in 1193 Svjatoslav of Kiev's granddaughter married a member of this dynasty."[58]

But did she marry? The chronicle says only that Svjatoslav arrived in Kiev and that there he received a message from matchmakers saying they were coming to take Euphemia Glěbovna, his granddaughter, "for the carevič." We do not know the result of this embassy.

The last in Baumgarten's list is Anna who ca. 1200 married Roman, prince of Volhynia and Halyč. She was, according to Baumgarten, a relative of Emperor Isaac II (p. 23, table 5, no. 47) or Alexios III (p. 47, table 11, no. 1); since they were brothers, there is no contradiction between the statements. The problem is that these statements are accompanied only by questionmarks, not references, and I do not know what source, if any, Baumgarten had. Loparev did not include Anna in his list, and Pašuto, who made a special study of Anna's activity,[59] mentions only her Polish and Hungarian relations.[60] Anna's Greek origin and her relation with the dynasty of the Angeloi is probably only one of Baumgarten's conjectures.

Thus the list of Baumgarten should be considerably contracted. Janka, Barbara, Jurij's anonymous wife, and Anna of Halyč should be eliminated completely; Anastasia-Maria was not Constantine IX's daughter; Theophano Mouzalonissa, even if she married a Kievan prince, was not an

55 Vasil'evskij, *Trudy*, vol. 4 (Leningrad, 1930), p. 45.

56 Pašuto, *Vnešnjaja politika*, p. 201. See also F. Cognasso, "Un imperatore bizantino della decadenza," *Bessarione* 19 (1915): 278f.

57 Ch. Brand, *Byzantium Confronts the West* (Cambridge, Mass, 1968), p. 96f.

58 M. V. Levčenko, *Očerki po istorii russko-vizantijskix otnošenij* (Moscow, 1956), p. 497.

59 V. Pašuto, *Očerki po istorii Galicko-Volynskoj Rusi* (Moscow, 1950), pp. 194–200.

60 Pašuto, *Vnešnjaja politika*, p. 347, fn. 1.

imperial relative; Leo Diogenes was an impostor, and Euphemia did not marry Alexios IV.

In Baumgarten's list there are at least three cases when the chronicles dub the fiancé of a Kievan princess *carevič*. In our search for these imperial fiancés we have not found a single Byzantine "prince" who could suitably fit this definition. We can suggest, then, that the term *carevič* was used by Kievan chroniclers in a vaguer sense than "the son of an emperor." We can also suggest that the *carica*, Vsevolod's spouse, was not actually a princess.

But it was not only the Kievan wives of *careviči* who left no trace in the Greek sources. What is especially astonishing is that none of the Kievan marriages, after that of Anna-Volodimer, is reported or even mentioned in a single Greek text. The whole of Baumgarten's information is furnished, short of his imagination, by Kievan narrative sources.

The question to ask now is whether this "silence about foreign spouses" was a general or particular phenomenon. Were the Byzantines of the eleventh and twelfth centuries inclined to skip the foreign origin of their princely mates, or did they disregard their Kievan connubial connections?

It would be very helpful to have a "Byzantine Baumgarten" even if it were permeated with errors and fantasies. We have nothing of this kind. But, for our purpose of comparison, we fortunately do not need a comprehensive list of foreign marriages—even casual examples will do.

Surely the wives of emperors attracted the attention of writers. The Georgian princess Maria was called by Byzantine contemporaries the "Alanian" and eventually by Tzetzes the "Abasgissa."[61] Even though the ethnic definition is not precise (the Byzantines confused Alans, Abasges and Iberoi), Maria's Caucasian origin is stressed in various sources.

Irene, Manuel I's first wife (Bertha von Sulzbach), was, according to Niketas Choniates, a noble woman from the "Alamanoi"; Kinnamos calls her a descendant of kings, and in the title of the funeral speech written by Basil of Oxrid she is named "the lady from the Alamanoi." Prodromos also calls her "from the Alamanoi."[62] The foreign origin of Manuel's second wife has been described at length: Choniates calls her a daughter of

61 About Maria, see I. M. Nodia, "Gruzinskie materialy o vizantijskoj imperatrice Marfe-Marii," in *Vizantinovedčeskie etjudy* (Tbilisi, 1978), pp. 146–55. Cf. Nodia's article (with a false transliteration of her name) in *Actes du XV^e Congrès international d'études byzantines*, vol. 4 (Athens, 1980), pp. 138–43; M. Mullet, "The 'Disgrace' of the Ex-basilissa Maria," *BSl* 45 (1984): 202–211.

62 Niketas Choniates, *Historia* (hereafter Nik. Chon.), ed. J. A. van Dieten (Berlin and New York, 1975), p. 53.58; Ioannes Cinnamus, *Epitome rerum*, ed. A. Meineke (Bonn, 1836), p. 36.2–3.

''Petebinos'' (Raimond of Poiters), satrap of Antioch; twelfth-century poets know her as an Italian or the lady of the land of Antioch; and Constantine Manasses devoted a poem to the embassy dispatched to Palestine for ''the scion of the Charites produced by the golden city of Antioch.''[63] About Alexios II, Choniates explicitly says that his wife was the daughter of ''the ruler of the Franks,'' and the title of the discourse of Eustathios of Thessalonike on their wedding reads: ''On the arrival to the capital of the imperial bride from Frankia.''[64]

We have some information about foreign marriages of Byzantine aristocrats as well: thus Bryennios says explicitly that Isaac Komnenos married Ekatherina, ''the oldest daughter of the emperor of the Bulgarians, Samuel.''[65] Nikephoros Basilakes speaks at length about the origin of Alexios I's nephew Adrianos Komnenos—his mother was of Alanian (Georgian) origin.[66] Manuel's daughter Maria married, according to Choniates, a son of the marquis of Monferrat.[67] In Kallikles's funeral epigram on Rogerios, the poet relates that the deceased originated from the Frankish land and adds that Emperor Alexios I gave him everything: the sea of gold, glory, the title of *sebastos* and marriage into a noble family.[68]

We can stop here, although far from exhausting the list of Byzantine marriages to foreigners: the Byzantines did not shun mention of their princely connubial connections with foreigners. To make this point clearer, let us take a single country, Hungary, a convenient case in point. Hungary was not a great power, such as France or Germany; it was not as close to Constantinople as Italy, Bulgaria, or Armenia, formerly parts of the empire; it was, finally, not an Orthodox country, although, as D. Obolensky formulates it, ''at St. Stephen's court the traditions of Eastern and Western Christianity, and the influences of the Byzantine and the German empires, met and were fairly evenly balanced.''[69] In other words, the situation of Hungary within the Byzantine commonwealth was comparable with that of the Kievan state, and we could expect that the Byzantine influence, ''evenly

63 Nik. Chon., p. 115.55–56; Lampros, ''Ho Markianos kodix,'' p. 126, no. 109.15; 145, no. 221.13; K. Horna, ''Das Hodoiporikon des Konstantin Manasses,'' *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* (hereafter *BZ*) 13 (1904): 343.51–82.

64 Nik. Chon., p. 275.13–14; *Fontes rerum byzantinarum*, ed. V. Regel, N. Novosadskij (reprint, Leipzig, 1982), 1:80.13–14.

65 Bryennios, *Histoire*, p. 77.11–12.

66 Niceforo Basilace, *Encomio di Adriano Comneno*, ed. A. Garzya (Naples, 1965), p. 34.196–204.

67 Nik. Chon., p. 171.18.

68 Nicola Callicle, *Carmi*, ed. R. Romano (Naples, 1980), no. 19.10 and 31–35.

69 D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth: Eastern Europe, 500–1453* (London, 1971), p. 158.

balanced" by the Western (German) impact, would be weaker in Hungary than in Orthodox Kiev. However, what we learn about Byzantine-Magyar princely marriages[70] contradicts this theoretical supposition.

Nikephoros III bestowed his niece Synadene in marriage to the "krales Oungrias," as the Continuator of Skylitzes puts it.[71] Whether this *krales* was really a king of Hungary and the wedding took place in 1075, before Nikephoros became basileus,[72] or whether the *krales*, like *carevič* in the Kievan chronicles, was a pretentious name for a Hungarian noble,[73] is irrelevant to our purpose; what matters here is the fact that Synadene was married to a Hungarian and that the Greek chronicler found it important to add this information to the story he cribbed from Attaleiates.

Irene-Piriska, the daughter of the Hungarian king Laszlo I, married John II. Cinnamos flatly calls her "a child of Vladislavos," whom he defines as king of Pannonia.[74] Prodromos praises her once, not without exaggeration, as "the queen of all western peoples,"[75] and even more elaborately in the poem on the coronation of her son, in which he enumerated the people that supposedly would obey her.[76]

Stephen, a brother of King Géza II (1141–1162) and the ephemeral king of 1163, fled to Constantinople and in 1161 married there Maria, a beautiful daughter of *sebastokrator* Isaac and a niece of Manuel I; the marriage is testified to by Choniates and Cinnamos.[77]

Alexios-Béla, "from Oungria," was betrothed to Maria, Manuel I's daughter. The betrothal did not last, but Béla married, Choniates relates, a relative of the emperor's wife, Anne of Chatillion.[78] When Anne died, Béla tried to marry Manuel's sister Theodora, the widow of Andronikos Lapardas; according to Balsamon (*PG* 137: 1132, col. B, C), the request of the

70 On some of these marital unions, see R. Kerble, *Byzantinische Prinzessinen in Ungarn zwischen 1050–1200 und ihr Einfluss auf das Arpadenkönigreich* (Vienna, 1979).

71 *He synecheia tes Chronographias tou Ioannou Skylitzes*, ed. Eu. Tzolakes (Thessalonike, 1968) p. 185.23–25.

72 Thus Ch. Hannick and G. Schmalzbauer, "Die Synadenoi," *JÖB* 25 (1976): 129, following Gy. Moravcsik.

73 A. Kazhdan "Iz istorii vizantino-vengerskix svjazej vo vtoroj polovine XI v.," *Acta antiqua Academiae scientiarum Hungaricae* 10 (1962): f. 1–3, 163–66.

74 Cinnamus, *Epitome rerum*, p. 9.12 and 24.

75 Theodoros Prodromos, *Historische Gedichte*, ed. W. Hörandner (Vienna, 1974), no. 25.95.

76 Prodromos, *Historische Gedichte*, no. 1.85–99. See M. Mathieu, "Cinq poésies byzantines des XI^{e} et XII^{e} siècles," *Byzantion* 23 (1953/4): 140–42. On Irene-Piriska, see Gy. Moravcsik, *Szent László leánya és a bizánci Pantokrator-monostor* (Budapest and Constantinople, 1923), pp. 67–69.

77 Kirble, *Byzantinischen Prinzessinen*, pp. 101–130; Barzos, *He genealogia*, p. 2:314–26.

78 Nik. Chon., p. 112.66, 170.12–14. See Gy. Moravcsik, *Studia byzantina* (Budapest, 1967), p. 306.

krales Oungrias was denied.[79] A little later, Béla married his daughter Margaret-Maria to Isaac II; again, Choniates calls the bride a daughter of Béla, king of Hungary, and the same explicit titulature recurs in his epithalamy and his *stichoi* on this event.[80]

Boris, a son of King Koloman (and a grandson of Volodimer Monomax), arrived in Byzantium during John II's reign. We read in Cinnamos (p. 117.20–21.) that he was married to a noble woman. Who this noble woman was, we can only guess. Odo of Deuil believed her to be a niece of John II.[81] D. Polemis hypothesized that she belonged to the family of the Doukai.[82] N. Wilson and J. Darrouzès published fragments of a document mentioning the *paroikoi* of the *kralaina* Arethe;[83] the document is enigmatic in many respects, including that its year does not coincide with its indiction. Scholars prefer the date of the year (1098/9) and tentatively identify Arethe with Synadene. On the contrary, V. Laurent choses the indiction, corrects the year, and concludes that the document was issued in 1157/8 and that Arethe was the spouse of Boris, Koloman's son.[84] All conclusions of this kind are extremely hypothetical, and we cannot even be sure that Arethe was of Hungarian origin or related to a Hungarian *krales*.

In any case, Byzantine sources of all sorts speak of marital relations with Hungarians. Their silence with regard to Kievan connections cannot be explained simply by Byzantine haughtiness. The natural explanation is that intermarriages with Kievan princes did not occupy any significant place in the high diplomacy of the Constantinopolitan court of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

There is another facet to the problem. Might we suppose that Byzantine connubial connections, however rare, would occupy a relatively important place in Kievan society, being more numerous than connections with "unbelievers" such as the Cumans-Polovcy, or "westerners" such as the Poles or Germans? This is not the case. I have no intention of checking any other "cluster" of Baumgarten's list here, short of the Byzantine one; I do not question his trustworthiness in spheres beyond my modest

79 Moravcsik, *Studia*, pp. 309–312.

80 Nik. Chon., p. 368.44–45. See his *Orationes et epistulae*, ed. J. A. van Dieten (Berlin and New York, 1972), p. 35.1–33, 44 tit. See also Brand, *Byzantium*, p. 335, fn. 13; J. A. van Dieten, *Niketas Choniates Erläuterungen zu den Reden und Briefen nebst einer Biographie* (Berlin and New York, 1971), pp. 87–91.

81 Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem*, ed. V. G. Berry (reprint, New York, 1965), p. 34.

82 D. Polemis, *The Doukai* (London, 1968), p. 123.

83 N. Wilson and J. Darrouzès, "Restes du cartulaire de Hiéra-Xérochoraphion," *REB* 26 (1968): 34.15–18.

84 V. Laurent, "Arété Doukaina, la kralaina," *BZ* 65 (1972): 36–38.

knowledge. Let us take his numbers as they stand—for our purpose, this "approximate approach" has validity.

As we already know, Baumgarten registered twelve cases of Byzantino-Kievan marriages. Let us set aside, for now, the fact that we reduced his number, and let us compare *his* number with Baumgarten's observations of other Kievan marriages to foreigners. Baumgarten's data include: 16 Polish marriages, among which he lists kings Kazimierz I, Bolesław II, Bolesław III, Bolesław IV, Mieszko III, Kazimierz II; 13 Anglo-Scandanavian marriages, among them Harald to Elisabeth of Kiev, and Guida to Volodimer Monomax; 12 Cuman marriages; 10 German marriages, including that of Henry IV; 9 Hungarian marriages, among them those of kings Andrew I, Koloman, and Géza II; 7 Caucasian marriages; and an insignificant number of connections with Bohemia, Pomerania, and Silesia. France is represented by two marriages, but of the two French fiancés one was King Henry I.

Not only numerically, but especially in regard to importance, Byzantium cannot compete with western relations of Kievan Rus' in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

What can be said in conclusion? To me, the results are astonishing. Despite the celebrated event of 988, despite the Orthodox proclivity of the Kievan state, and despite the obvious Byzantine impact on Kievan religion, art, and literature, princely Kiev of the eleventh and twelfth centuries stood aloof from Constantinople. Byzantine sources ignore marital connections with Kiev. Hence, there was not a single union of real importance between the two countries, since the Byzantines were very loquacious concerning the marriages of their rulers and rulers' children. The *carevići* named in the Kievan chronicles are most probably fake—deliberately or through naive errors.[85] Those marriages that did take place involve primarily Byzantine impostors, Kievan exiles, or the members of the Byzantine second-rank elite. Both the Byzantines and the Rus' had royal connections with the West and Hungary—they had no connections at such a level between themselves.

Here I must stop and pose the same question I raised at the outset: how far did the "Byzantinization" of Kievan secular society reach after the baptism of 988? The answer must come from scholars of Kievan Rus', not from Byzantinists.

Dumbarton Oaks

[85] When applied to princes of Rus' of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the term *car'* and its derivatives had no "réalité institutionnelle" (W. Vodoff, "Remarques sur la valeur du terme 'tsar' appliqué aux princes russes avant le milieu du XV^{e} siècle," *Oxford Slavonic Papers* 11 [1978]: 39f.).

The Greek Metropolitans of Kievan Rus': An Evaluation of Their Spiritual and Cultural Activity

ANTHONY-EMIL N. TACHIAOS

The problem of ecclesiastical relations between Kievan Rus' and Byzantium has frequently engaged the attention of scholars, and continues to be a subject of wide-ranging and lively debate. It is closely bound up with the question of the presence of Greek metropolitans at the head of the Kievan church, for they were elected in Constantinople by the synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and sent to carry out their duties in the Rus' lands.[1] Since from the start the Church of Kiev was neither an independent nor an autocephalous church, but simply a metropolitanate of the Church of Constantinople, this particular situation naturally created singular problems of its own. These peculiarities reflected the dialectical relationship that existed between the Principality of Kiev and Byzantium.[2] Whenever Rus' church historians have discussed the relations between the Kievan church and the Patriarchate of Constantinople, it is upon precisely these problems that they have focused their attention.[3] As a result of this overemphasis of the dialectical relationship, the activity of the Greek metropolitans of Kiev, whether

[1] The Rus' church's dependence on the Patriarchate of Constantinople and the way in which the Metropolitan of Kiev and All Rus' was elected have received exhaustive treatment in T. Barsov, *Konstantinopol'skij patriarx i ego vlast' nad russkoju cerkoviju* (St. Petersburg, 1878), pp. 367–567, and P. Sokolov, *Russkij arxierej iz Vizantii i pravo ego naznačenija do načala XV veka* (Kiev, 1913). Concerning the way in which the Metropolitan of Kiev was elected by the Synod of Constantinople, see D. Obolensky's debatable but fundamental study, "Byzantium, Kiev, and Moscow: A Study in Ecclesiastical Relations," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 11 (1975): 23–78. Cf. A. V. Kartašev, *Očerki po istorii russkoj cerkvi*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1959), pp. 157–81; J. Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia: A Study of Byzantino-Russian Relations in the Fourteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1981), pp. 73–95.

[2] See M. V. Levčenko, *Očerki po istorii russko-vizantijskix otnošenij* (Moscow, 1956).

[3] The old view that the Church of Rus' was originally dependent not on Constantinople but on the Church of Bulgaria has been more or less abandoned. The chief exponents of the theory were M. D. Priselkov, *Očerki po cerkovno-političeskoj istorii Kievskoj Rusi X–XII vv.* (St. Petersburg, 1913), and V. Nikolaev, *Slavjanobălgarskijat faktor v xristianizacijata na Kievska Rusija* (Sofia, 1949). Cf. L. Müller, *Zum Problem des hierarchischen Status und der jurisdiktionellen Abhängigkeit der russischen Kirche vor 1039* (Cologne and Braunsfeld, 1959); A. Poppe, "The Original Status of the Old-Russian Church," *Acta Poloniae Historica* 39 (1979): 5–45. Concerning more recent research and literature on the subject, see G. Podskalsky, *Christentum und theologische Literatur in der Kiever Rus' (988–1237)* (Munich, 1982), pp. 11–30.

positive or negative, has been consigned to a position of secondary importance and generally neglected.

In the Kievan period, out of a total of twenty-three metropolitans serving the Church of Rus' between 988 and 1281, only two were local men, all the rest being Greeks.[4] This indicates that we are indeed dealing with a singular situation here, connected not only with the canonical relationship between this church and the Church of Constantinople, but also with the principality's own spiritual and cultural life. In the latter context, the significance of this singular situation is underscored by the fact that the Metropolitan of Kiev and All Rus' was a person of indisputable authority in the principality, playing not a decorative but a most decisive role. Thus, the presence of the Greek metropolitans in Kievan Rus' is eminently a fact provoking questions and debate. The Rus' church historian who has given most attention to the Greek metropolitans and attempted to evaluate their work—albeit only in rather general terms—is E. E. Golubinskij,[5] though he has been unable to consider them outside the context of the canonical dialectic of Greek-Rus' ecclesiastical relations or to rid himself of the prejudices born of his *a priori* position on this question. Oddly enough, however, Golubinskij is quite objective and fair in his assessment of the Greek metropolitans.[6]

It is not my intention to broach yet again the much-discussed subject of the Patriarchate of Constantinople's canonical jurisdiction over Kievan Rus' and then examine the Greek metropolitans as exponents of Byzantine policy among the Rus'. That would be a one-sided approach and a distorting factor in an accurate evaluation. What should prevail in an examination of this subject is not so much a historical interpretation as a phenomenological consideration of the presence of Greek metropolitans in the ancient

[4] The latest and most valid list of the metropolitans of Rus' was compiled by A. Poppe and published under the title "Die Metropoliten und Fürsten der Kiever Rus'," as an appendix to Podskalsky, *Christentum* (pp. 278–301). Poppe's strictly critical method allows him to correct numerous erroneous dates and other details about the metropolitans, and he supplements this with new data from his own research.

[5] In his classic and as yet unsuperseded work, *Istorija russkoj cerkvi*, vol. 1, pt. 1 (Moscow, 1901), pp. 257–332. The only person apart from Golubinskij to have attempted to appraise the work of the Greek metropolitans in Rus' is L. Müller, who touched on a number of the points examined here in his paper presented at the Thirteenth International Congress of Historical Sciences: L. Müller, "Russen und Byzanz und Griechen in Rus'-Reich," *Byzance et la Russie XI^e au XV^e siècle* (Athens and Paris, 1971), pp. 96–118 (Extrait du *Bulletin d'information et de coordination*, 5 [1971]).

[6] Although Golubinskij basically denies Constantinople's right to keep the Church of Rus' under its sway, in the final analysis he does acknowledge the contribution of the Greek metropolitans and considers them to have been the most highly educated men in the land in the period. See *Istorija russkoj cerkvi*, 1, pt. 1: 318ff.

Church of Rus'. It is a question that cries out for investigation in the light of different categories from those that have prevailed hitherto, so that one can avoid all the well-worn views.[7] This is because, in rejecting the Patriarchate of Constantinople's right to place the Church of Kiev under its jurisdiction as a mere metropolitinate, various historians have considered the Greek metropolitans in Rus' as always having been undesirable there; and consequently, anything relating to their activity has automatically been viewed with a jaundiced eye. If, however, their personalities could be separated from this *a priori* attitude, and their activity could be seen as that of a homogenous group of independently acting and thinking individuals, then they would quite naturally fall into a different historical context; a context that would not depend solely on the historian's positive or negative attitude to the canonical problem noted above. Once the Greek metropolitans of Kiev are considered as a group of church dignitaries, who comprised a heterogeneous element in the Rus' land in which they lived and acted, with shared spiritual and cultural characteristics, then it becomes clear that their activity there was not merely the expression of Byzantine church policy,[8] but also indicated the influx into this region of enormous reserves of knowledge, experience, and ideas, all stemming from the Byzantine Empire.[9]

All this applies to a deontological approach to the subject. If one attempted to form a clear idea about these Greek metropolitans now, one would be doomed to disappointment. Apart from the fact that the catalogue of these prelates has recently been most satisfactorily restored (thanks to A. Poppe), any further information about them is scanty, fragmentary, and confused. Thus, with regard to their backgrounds and personalities, and much more to their spiritual and cultural activity, the researcher is obliged to resort if not to mere conjecture, then at least to deductive reasoning and extrapolation on the basis of similar cases or established principles that held good in their time. Virtually nothing is known about the metropolitans' origins and the positions they occupied in Byzantine society. The oldest of them, Theophylaktos (988–1018), who was probably the first metropolitan, is known formerly to have been Metropolitan of Sebastia and probably a protégé of Emperor Basil II. Two others, Ephraim (1054/55–ca. 1065) and Georgios (ca. 1065–ca. 1076), are known to have been members of the

[7] G. Florovskij attempts a more theoretical evaluation of Greek influence in Rus' at this time in *Puti russkogo bogoslovija* (Paris, 1937), pp. 4–8.

[8] Kartašev, *Očerki*, pp. 158–60, sees the subordination of the Church of Rus' to the Patriarchate of Constantinople as just such an expression of Byzantine policy.

[9] See V. Ikonnikov, *Opyt issledovanija o kul'turnom značenii Vizantii v russkoj istorii* (Kiev, 1869), pp. 52ff.

imperial senate; the former, indeed, held a very high-ranking position. Georgios's successor, Ioannes II (1076/77–1089), was the uncle of the eminent Byzantine poet Theodore Prodromos; Ioannes III was a eunuch,[10] which means that he had been one of the emperor's intimate officials.[11] This is all we know about the background of the Greek metropolitans of Kiev. Scanty though it is, however, this information allows us to conclude that the imperial and patriarchal circles of Byzantium promoted to the metropolitan throne of Rus' individuals who had undergone a strict process of selection and chose them from among a number of likewise hand-picked candidates. By extension, it also indicates the importance Byzantium attached to this throne. The direct and indirect information we possess about the metropolitans of the Muscovite period corroborates this. The same observations apply equally to the metropolitans of both the Kievan and the Muscovite period, who were selected from among native Rus' candidates and were no less carefully chosen. All this leads to the conclusion that the throne of Rus' was the object of particular care and attention.

One question that scholars have not yet asked about the Greek metropolitans in Rus' is whether their presence might not have served some ulterior purpose beyond that of (as it is thought) keeping the country's church subject to the Patriarchate of Constantinople. In other words, did their presence there serve some "system" that had been introduced into Byzantine foreign policy at some earlier date? Such a question seems justified when one considers the Slavic project that had been inaugurated in Byzantium at the time of Emperor Michael III (if not earlier), and which had involved Cyril and Methodius and their associates.[12] The fruit of this project, the

[10] For biographical data and literature about these metropolitans, see Poppe, "Die Metropoliten und Fürsten," pp. 283–84, 285–86, 286–87.

[11] L. Brehier, *Les Institutions de l'empire byzantin* (Paris, 1970), pp. 109–111.

[12] The conversion to Christianity and acculturation of the Slavs had unquestionably been one of the empire's aims since long before the Moravian mission. It is worth noting the arguments on this subject produced by I. Dujčev in his article, "Văprosăt za vizantijsko-slavjanskite otnošenija i vizantijskite opiti za săzdavane na slavjanska azbuka prez părvata polovina na IX vek," *Izvestiia na Instituta za bălgarska istorija* 7 (1957): 241–63. Cf. A.-E. Tachiaos, "L'oeuvre littéraire de Cyrille et de Méthode d'après Constantine Kostenecki," *Balkan Studies* 14 (1973): 293–302. Unfortunately, the notion that Byzantium had already made a spiritual and cultural approach to the Slavs before Rostislav's envoys came to Constantinople has not yet been the object of serious study. The formation of Cyril and Methodius's team of translators on Mount Olympus in Bithynia was undoubtedly closely connected with the empire's Slavic project. In this context, A. S. L'vov presents some very interesting views in his article, "O prebyvanii Konstantina Filosofa v monastyre Polixron," *Sovetskoe slavjanovedenie*, 1971, no. 5, pp. 80–86. Cf. A.-E. Tachiaos, "Sozdanie i dejatel'nost' literaturnogo kruga Konstantina-Kirilla do moravskoj missii," in *Konstantin-Kiril Filosof* (Sofia, 1971), pp. 285–93.

purpose of which was to transmit Christianity and Byzantine culture to the Slavs, was the magnificent Moravian mission. If we do indeed view the presence of Greek metropolitans in Rus' as a kind of continuation of such a project—now adapted to the particular circumstances prevailing there—then their presence and activity must inevitably be seen as part of the process of "transplantation," the theory that D. S. Lixačev has advanced.[13] It should perhaps be pointed out here that, according to Lixačev, when the Slavs were converted to Christianity a host of Byzantine cultural elements were transplanted amongst them wholesale; elements which only later underwent a certain intellectual processing according to the Slavs' susceptiblity to them. Lixačev's theory opens up the way for the interpretation and evaluation of a broader spectrum of data; but in the present case, it allows us to regard the Greek metropolitans of Kiev as a "system" which assisted the transplantation process, or at least involved it in some way. For when they arrived in Rus', they brought with them not only people but also quantities of books and ecclesiastical paraphernalia, as well as advice and ideas, all of which contributed to the transplantation of forms and expressions of Byzantine ecclesiastical and spiritual life into the life and practice of the Rus'.

Quite different circumstances prevailed in the land of the Rus' from those Byzantium had experienced on previous occasions. Great Moravia had not been under Constantinople's ecclesiastical jurisdiction; it was simply a center of Byzantine missionary activity, which was trying to consolidate the existing church and Christianity on the basis of the written Slavic word. Although the duration of the Byzantine mission to Moravia was brief, it indicates that it was not the empire's intention to maintain a Greek clergy there. If one looks at the mission from a chronological point of view, it seems that the Byzantine clergy must very quickly have been replaced by native Moravians. In other words, whether or not its end was hastened by objective factors, the Cyrillo-Methodian mission to Great Moravia was of a temporary and, let us say, transitory nature. It worked to spread the written Slavic word, employing for the purpose Greeks who knew Slavic and Slavs with a good knowledge of Greek.

[13] Lixačev's views on the transplantation of Byzantine culture among the Slavs are chiefly to be found in the report he delivered at the Sixth International Congress of Slavicists in Prague in 1968: "Drevneslavjanskie literatury kak sistema," *VI Meždunarodnyj s"ezd slavistov: Doklady sovetskoj delegacii* (Moscow, 1968), pp. 5–48. A supplemented version of this paper exists in Bulgarian translation: "Staroslavjaskite literatury kato sistema," *Literaturna misăl* 13, no. 1 (1969): 3–38. Cf. D. S. Lixačev, *Razvitie russkoj literatury X–XVII vekov* (Leningrad, 1973), pp. 15–49; D. Obolensky, "Medieval Russian Culture in the Writings of D. S. Lixačev," *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, n.s. 9 (1976): 1–16.

Bulgaria was a clearly different case. Here the ruler consciously chose conversion to Christianity on behalf of a completely pagan people. In his letter to Boris, Patriarch Photius made it quite clear that the prelature to be established in Bulgaria would be Greek,[14] and, naturally, that church services would also be in Greek. Of course, Photius's decisive policy had an underlying motive. For a long time, the Byzantines considered Bulgaria as a Byzantine territory for potential re-conquest;[15] this is why the empire here applied the same policy as for the Slavs on its own territory—that is to say, it withheld freedom of the written Slavonic language.[16] Furthermore, part of Boris's state was under Constantinople's ecclesiastical jurisdiction anyway.[17] Thus it was that from 870 to 893 (when Clement was ordained Bishop of Velika) the ecclesiastical language the Greek clergy imposed in Bulgaria was Greek. At the same time, however, the Byzantine Slavic project was set in motion here by Boris himself, probably with no further control by the center from which it had originated.[18] Directly thereafter, the Bulgarian church became completely Slavicized, because Boris had been determined from the start to establish a national church in Bulgaria.

14 It is true that this is not stated *expressis verbis* in Photius's letter to Boris, but it is clearly implied in the twenty-eighth paragraph. See I. Valettas, Φωτίου του σοφωτάτου καὶ ἁγιωτάτου πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐπιστολαί (London, 1864), pp. 225–26. An English translation of the letter has been made by D. Stratoudaki-White and J. R. Berrigan, Jr. in *The Patriarch and the Prince: The Letter of Patriarch Photios of Constantinople to Khan Boris of Bulgaria* (Brookline, Mass., 1971), pp. 58–59. Cf. V. Zlatarski, *Istorija na bălgarskata dăržava prez srednite vekove*, vol. 1, pt. 2, new ed. (Sofia, 1971), pp. 103–104.

15 Emperor Romanos Lakapenos makes his position on this question quite clear in his letter to the Bulgarian ruler Symeon. I. Sakellion, "Ρωμανοῦ Βασιλέως τοῦ Λακαπηνοῦ ἐπιστολαί," Δελτίον ἱστορικῆς καὶ ἐθνολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος 1 (1883): 659–60. It is worth noting that the Byzantine conviction that the Bulgarian conquests were merely temporary did not change even in the following centuries, when the empire's boundaries had contracted considerably. The same idea is expressed in the fourteenth century by Nikephoros Gregoras (Ρωμαϊκὴ ἱστορία, Migne P. G., 148, col. 148.)

16 This principle was abandoned to a certain extent when Emperor Basil II founded the Archiepiscopate of Achrida. Although the Greek language enjoyed absolute prevalence within the Archiepiscopate, the emperor did not attempt to wipe out the Slavic educational tradition that had been created by Archbishop Clement.

17 In enumerating the probable ecclesiastical provinces of Boris's Bulgaria, Snegarov does not consult the *Notitiae episcopatuum* of the period, in which some of the dioceses in the region conquered by Boris are listed, naturally, as ecclesiastical eparchies of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. I. Snegarov, *Kratka istorija na săvremennite pravoslavni cărkvi* (Sofia, 1946), pp. 27–28. Cf. D. Cuxlev, *Istorija na Bălgarskata Cărkva*, vol. 1 (Sofia, 1910), pp. 83–149; Cf. J. Darrouzes, *Notitiae episcopatuum Ecclesiae Constantinoplitanae* (Paris, 1981), pp. 230–45, 248–61.

18 Cf. A.-E. Tachiaos, Πηγὲς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας τῶν ὀρθοδόξων Σλάβων (Thessaloniki, 1984), pp. 11–15; I. G. Iliev, "La Mission de Clément d'Ohrid dans les terres sud-ouest de la Bulgarie mediévale," *Études historiques* 13 (1985): 53–72.

In Rus' things developed otherwise. Here, too, it was the ruler who took the initiative in converting to Christianity, but the national church that was created was administered for centuries by foreign prelates, who kept the central power of the local church in their own hands, although Greeks pastored provincial dioceses, too.[19] Nonetheless, the Slavic project was preserved under another guise. The Greek clergy did not impose the Greek language, but actually did all it could to communicate with the people in their own, Slavic, tongue. The language of the liturgy was likewise Slavic, as was the language of spiritual teaching. The Byzantine Slavic project may be recognized here as differentiated into a pastoral task, which nevertheless aimed to transplant Byzantine spiritual and cultural elements into the life of the people of Rus'. The question quite naturally arises: can the project really have endured from the time of Great Moravia through to Kievan Rus'? It seems to me that it must have done. If we accept the existence of principles and methods in Byzantine diplomacy[20] —even though in the course of time these underwent superficial variations—then we must also accept that Byzantine ecclesiastical policy followed an established strategy in regard to the Slavs.

It was undoubtedly the Greek metropolitans of Rus' who actually put this strategy into practice. If one looks at them as a group, they clearly comprise a foreign body within the life of Rus'. Unlike Cyril and Methodius, the Greek metropolitans of Kiev apparently never learned the Slavic language, or at least did not learn it very well;[21] this ignorance inevitably kept them at a distance from the people, which was not the case with the Thessalonian missionaries. On the other hand, both this distance and the lack of direct contact must have encircled them with a kind of legendary aura, in addition to the prestige that in any case surrounded their high office. But with respect to the aims the Greek metropolitans of Kiev were expected to achieve, and the ulterior purposes they had to serve, clear analogies with the Cyrillo-Methodian mission may be drawn. The analogies lie in the spiritual instruction of the flock and its doctrinal entrenchment and protection.

The similarities in the methods employed are evident from the moment of Volodimer's baptism. In the *Pověst' vremennyx lět*, the account of his baptism is followed by a short *confessio fidei* treatise that the Greek clerics gave him. It says at this point: "When Volodimer had been baptized, they

[19] Golubinskij, *Istorija russkoj cerkvi*, 1, pt. 1:332–444, 666–700. Cf. A. Poppe, "L'organisation diocésaine de la Russie aux Xᵉ–XIIᵉ siècles," *Byzantion* 40 (1970): 165–217.

[20] On the subject, see D. Obolensky, "The Principles and Methods of Byzantine Diplomacy," *Actes du XII Congrès international d'études byzantines, Ochride 1961, Rapports*, vol. 2 (Belgrade, 1964), pp. 45–61.

[21] Cf. Müller, "Russen in Byzanz," pp. 114–15.

taught him the Christian faith, speaking thus: 'Let not the heretics lead you astray, but believe, speaking thus. . . .' "[22] The text that follows is a conflation of the Nicene Creed, a work by Michael Syncellus, and other texts which have not yet been identified.[23] The Greek metropolitan Theopemptos, on whose initiative probably the first Rus' chronicle was compiled in 1039,[24] ensured that it also included this tract, so that it would be permanently operative in the life of the Church of Rus'. The inclusion of this text in the Rus' chronicle immediately calls to mind the Cyrillo-Methodian biographical texts, which contain similar cases—and these, of course, are not fortuitous. Thus, for instance, chapters 10 and 11 of the *Vita Constantini* contain Cyril's discussions with the Jews in the land of the Khazars.[25] Evidently, either he had in mind a manual already in use in Byzantium, or just such a manual was compiled on the basis of these discussions. All the same, his brother Methodius wrote down what was said in the course of these discussions and translated it into Slavic, dividing it into eight chapters,[26] so that the newly enlightened Slavic world would have a ready-made manual at hand in the event of theological debate with the Jews. In the same category as this and the doctrinal treatise given to Volodimer is the disproportionately long introductory chapter to the *Vita Methodii*, which is both a missionary and a doctrinal text. It is unquestionably of Byzantine origin, and it is an alien addition to the rest of the biography. Incorporated into the biography of the archbishop of Moravia, it served to entrench the newly established Moravian church from a doctrinal point of view.[27]

These examples make it clear that the Byzantine policy followed a clear line: namely, that the Greek clergy introduced fundamental doctrinal texts into works concerning the beginnings of the ecclesiastical and spiritual life of the Slavs. Linked in this way with texts of vital importance for the Slavic peoples' future spiritual and national life, these confessions of faith acquired lasting authority and remained ever present and active in the ecclesiastical and national actuality of the Slavic nations.[28] The information

[22] *Povest' vremennyx let*, vol. 1. *Tekst i perevod*, ed. D. S. Lixačev (Moscow and Leningrad, 1950), p. 77.

[23] For relevant bibliography, see Podskalsky, *Christentum*, pp. 20–21.

[24] M. D. Priselkov has presented serious arguments in support of this view: *Očerki po cerkovno-političeskoj istorii Kievskoj Rusi X–XII vv.* (St. Petersburg, 1913), pp. 25ff., 82ff.

[25] P. A. Lavrov, *Materialy po istorii vozniknovenija drevnejšej slavjanskoj pis'mennosti* (Leningrad, 1930), pp. 15–24.

[26] *Vita Constantini*, chap. 10; Lavrov, *Materialy*, p. 21.

[27] Cf. A. Vaillant, *Textes vieux-slaves*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1968), p. 43.

[28] At this point it is worth bearing in mind Patriarch Photius's letter to the Bulgar ruler Boris, which, apart from its clearly exhortative nature, is also a genuine confessional text. The manuscript tradition of its Slavic version confirms what is said here. See V. Zlatarski, "Poslanieto na carigradskija patriarx Fotij do bălgarskija knjaz Boris," in the edition of his col-

and the doctrinal theses they encompassed were implanted once and for all in the consciousness of the Slav flock, whether in Moravia or, later, in Rus'.

The case of the confession of faith included in the *Pověst' vremennyx lět* leads one to wonder who translated it into Slavic. It is unlikely to have been the Greek metropolitan of Kiev himself, simply because he did not know the language. Most probably the metropolitan had by him a group of Greeks and Rus'—the former with a knowledge of Slavic and the latter knowing Greek—who worked under his orders and guidance. It would be quite unjustified to imagine that owing to his personal ignorance of the Slavic language the metropolitan had a very loose relationship with his flock and the prominent members of Rus' society. The available historical data do not support such a view at all. The metropolitan certainly had translators in his service, through whom he communicated with his entourage either directly or in writing.[29] The lack of Slavic, or at least of a good knowledge of Slavic, as has already been stated, was a permanent handicap not only for the metropolitans, but also for other Greeks who lived in Rus', such as Maxim the Greek, for instance. Their texts were usually word-for-word translations from Greek, clumsily done and consequently difficult to understand.[30]

Before we go on to look at the texts the Greek metropolitans produced, another factor should be noted, one which was of particular importance in the process of Byzantine transplantation of monasticism to Rus', and for which the metropolitans were chiefly responsible. This was the transplantation of expressive means and figurative forms, a feature which deserves special attention.[31] This process is reflected in the information in the *Pověst' vremennyx lět* for the year 1051 (information found in identical form in the Kievan Caves *paterik*)[32] about how the Kievan Caves Monastery got its name, and also in the account in the Kievan Caves *paterik*

lected works, *Izbrani proizvedenija*, ed. P. Petrov, vol. 1 (Sofia, 1972), pp. 206–229. In the final analysis, the confessional texts encountered in the Cyrillo-Methodian sources must have had some connection with the fundamental catechetical instruction that was worked out for the Slavs by the Patriarchate of Constantinople.

29 Cf. M. N. Tixomirov, *Istoričeskie svjazi Rossii so slavjanskimi stranami i Vizantiej* (Moscow, 1969), p. 181.

30 A case in point is that of Photius Monembasiotis, Metropolitan of Kiev from 1408 to 1431, who was a prolific writer for his time. For the reasons outlined above, his Rusian-language texts are obscure, and sometimes quite incomprehensible.

31 Cf. Lixačev, "Staroslavjanskite literaturi," pp. 30–33.

32 *Das paterikon des Kiever Höhlenklosters*, ed. D. Abramovyč, new edition by D. Čyževs'kyj (Munich, 1964), pp. 5–8, 19–20. Cf. the most recent edition of the *Paterik* in *Pamjatniki literatury Drevnej Rusi: XII vek* (Moscow, 1980), pp. 424–27, 440. For an English translation, see M. Heppell, trans., *The* "Paterik" *of the Kievan Caves Monastery*, Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature, Translation Series, vol. 1 (Cambridge, Mass., 1989).

of how the Church of the Mother of God was built in the monastery. The chronicle, then, recounts that when Feodosij became abbot of the monastery,

he began to search for a monastic rule; he then came across a monk of the Studion Monastery named Michael, who had come from the Greek land with Metropolitan Georgios, and he began to ask him for the typicon of the Studite monks. And having received it from him, he copied it out, and on this basis established in his monastery how the monastic hymns should be sung, how prostration should be performed, how the lessons should be read and the order of service, how the monks should comport themselves in the church and in the refectory, what and on which days they should eat, all in accordance with the typicon. . . . And all the monasteries imitated the typicon of this monastery, for the Caves Monastery is honoured as the oldest of all.[33]

This passage is quite enlightening about the process of transplantation. First of all, it tells us that Metropolitan Georgios brought with him to Kiev the Studite monk Michael, who was clearly just one member of a large retinue. Michael certainly cannot have had the typicon of the Studion Monastery with him by chance, but must have brought it to Rus' on the metropolitan's orders, precisely so that the model of Byzantine cenobitic monasticism might be transplanted there in the same form as it was practiced in Constantinople's largest monastery.[34] Nestor says that Feodosij copied out the typicon. This could mean either that the typicon was brought to Kiev already translated into Slavic (which means that the translation had been done in the Byzantine capital) or that it was translated as soon as it arrived in Kiev.[35] This is in fact more likely, and in this case the translation would have been done at the behest of the Metropolitan of Kiev. Although Feodosij's monastery was under the personal patronage of the ruler of Kiev, it seems unlikely that its spiritual concerns would not have been controlled and guided by the metropolitan. The interest both the Greek metropolitans

[33] *Povest' vremennyx let*, p. 107.

[34] Golubinskij, *Istorija russkoj cerkvi*, 1, pt. 2:607–27. Cf. Podskalsky, *Christentum*, pp. 51–53.

[35] In the eighth Homily of the *Kievopečerskij paterik*, which is Nestor's *Life* of St. Feodosij (Abramovič's edition, p. 39), the translation of the Studion typicon is attributed to another person, whom the monastery sent to the Metropolitan of Kiev, Ephraim the Eunuch, who was in Constantinople. Lixačev (*Povest' vremennyx let*, 2:386) identifies Michael as this other, unnamed, monk, whom he quite unaccountably calls Ephraim; in other words, he takes the metropolitan's name to be the name of a monk. The text in no way justifies this confusion, for it is absolutely clear: "Po six že posla edinago ot bratia blaženyj [i.e., Feodosij] v Kostjantin' grad kъ Efrěmu Skopcju, da ves' ustav Studijskago manastyrja prineset', ispisav'." Cf. *Načalo russkoj literatury: XI–načalo XII veka*, ed. L. A. Dmitriev and D. S. Lixačev (Moscow, 1978), p. 335, for the correct Russian translation of the passage. All the same, this confusion apart, there is a genuine problem here, which needs to be solved. Regardless of the conflicting information of the sources, however, one should retain one feature common to them all: the fact that the Greek metropolitan played an important part in the translation of the typicon.

and, at a later date, the patriarchs of Constantinople took in cenobitic monasticism in Rus'[36] indicates the extent of Byzantium's concern for the transplantation of its monastic rules to the Eastern Slavs.

The transfer of other elements mentioned in the above quoted passage also falls into the context of this interest. I refer to the Greek monk Michael's teaching the monks of the Kievan Caves Monastery how they should sing, read the lessons, prostrate themselves, and behave in the refectory. Behind all this was a whole system of comportment, a complete way of acting to be imitated. Apart from the text, the Greeks also taught the Rus' the specific motions that accompanied their music, and they thus created the liturgical tradition that remained unchanged for centuries on end. In addition to this, there were church-building and iconography, sacred arts which came out of the tradition of centuries, a development which has passed through various stages of trial and adaptation. The transfer of these arts, too, from Byzantium to Rus' is mentioned in the *Kievopečerskij paterik*, in the account of the building of the monastery's Church of the Mother of God and its artistic decoration. At this point, the presence of Byzantine monks is revealed, craftsmen and iconographers, who, having completed their work, eventually settled in the monastery themselves and spent the rest of their lives there.[37] One particularly interesting piece of information is that they brought with them iconography manuals and other books, and placed them all in the monastery library.[38] It is impossible to imagine that all this went on without the metropolitan's knowledge. The information about the monk Michael whom Metropolitan Georgios brought with him, as also other direct or indirect information, persuades one that the church leader himself was behind all this, since he had every right, and moreover every reason, to control and direct the spiritual life of Rus' himself.

Some of the Greek metropolitans of the Kievan period left behind texts divisable by subject-matter into the following categories: (1) official church documents; (2) epistles with a didactic content; (3) works with a

[36] Of particular interest is the part played in the fourteenth century by the Patriarchs of Constantinople Philotheos and Kallistos I in consolidating cenobitic life at the monastery of St. Sergij Radonežskij. See A.-E. Tachiaos, Ἡσυχαστικαὶ ἐπι δράσεις εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν πολιτικὴν ἐν Ρωσίᾳ. 1328–1406 (Thessaloniki, 1962), pp. 48–55; Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, pp. 132–38.

[37] *Das Paterikon des Kiever Höhlenklosters*, pp. 9–12.

[38] "...sut' že i nyne svity ix na polatax i knigy ix grečeskija bljudomy v pamjat' takovago čjudesi." *Das Paterikon*, p. 11.

doctrinal, canonical, or hymnographical content.[39] This literary activity shows that they went above and beyond the call of duty and their strictly ecclesiastical obligations. Of course, their prime concern was the transplantation into Rus' of Byzantine categories of thought and structures. But one cannot fail to discern a note of sentiment and a hint of interpersonal relations in their writings, despite the fact that their ignorance of the language was a permanent barrier to direct contact with their flock. Some of these metropolitans, such as Ioannes Prodromos, and Nikephoros I, were highly educated, and this obviously favored the introduction of sophisticated semantic and phrasal forms. It goes without saying that these texts were transplanted by skilled and experienced translators, such as the Greek monk Theodosios Pečerskij[40] and even Ilarion, later Metropolitan of Kiev. Both the latter's and Kiril Turiv's command of Greek is manifest, for the Greek phrasal calques in their works are most striking. In the literary output of both the Greek metropolitans and the local Hellenists, we see a continuation of the endeavor that began with Cyril and Methodius to create a written Slavic language. In order to reach the stage of being able to express refined and nuanced abstract concepts, the as yet immature Slavic language had to go through a process of elaboration, in the course of which it provided the basis itself, while the Greek language offered it pliancy.[41] The Greek metropolitans were evidently trying to serve this process right from the start with the creation of schools in Kievan Rus', a fact which is particularly stressed in the *Pověst' vremennyx lět* when it speaks of the Kievans' resistence to giving their children *na učenje knižnoe*, an unheard-of-thing in their country.[42]

The translators were not always successful in their work, and erroneous or inadequate renditions of Greek terms into the language of the Rus' were apparently not spotted by the metropolitans, precisely owing to their own ignorance of the language.[43] For these men, who took such care of the

39 Concerning the literary output of the Greek metropolitans, apart from Golubinskij's and Podskalsky's fundamental works already mentioned, see Filaret (Gumilevskij), *Obzor russkoj duxovnoj literatury*, vol. 1, 3rd ed. (St. Petersburg, 1884), pp. 4–64; Makarij, Mitropolit Moskovskij, *Istorija russkoj cerkvi*, vol. 2, 3rd ed. (St. Petersburg 1889), pp. 168–94, 341–59.

40 Podskalsky, *Christentum*, pp. 179–84.

41 Apart from the semantic aspect of Old Rus' vocabulary, the development of the language's expressive pliancy was also a particularly interesting process. D. S. Lixačev offers some basic ideas for the study of this subject in his work, *Poètika drevnerusskoj literatury* (Leningrad, 1967).

42 *Povest' vremennyx let*, p. 81.

43 Cf. F. Thomson, "The Nature of the Reception of Christian Byzantine Culture in Russia in the Tenth to Thirteenth Centuries and its Implications for Russian Culture," *Slavica Gandensia* 5 (1978): 115–17; Podskalsky, *Christentum*, p. 20.

doctrinal delimitation of their flock's spiritual life, would never have permitted any linguistic error that could lead to doctrinal misconception. It seems that the local people had as much trouble in understanding Greek as the Greeks did in understanding Slavic. In all events, we must bear in mind that the direct relations between Kievan Rus' and Mount Athos and Constantinople must have played no small part in the translation process.[44] Indeed, connections between Rus' and Constantinople were extremely close and had been long before Rus' became Christian. The Rus' colony in the Byzantine capital was an enduring point of contact between the two worlds.[45]

The content of the texts the Greek metropolitans produced might be described as conventional, in the sense that it did not go beyond the phraseological and semantic level of the average Byzantine text of the period.[46] There was nothing extravagant or challenging about these texts, no flights into the higher realms of theology, nothing that could have provoked debate or controversy. They were texts that kept, one might say, on an even keel, that reflected a continuing, un-renewed tradition. None of this was fortuitous; on the contrary, it was deliberately thought out. Like a raw apprentice, the newly established Church of Kiev had to stay away from all problem areas which, owing to a lack of a substructure of education and proper discrimination, might lead to heresy. The Bogomil heresy had already raked the Balkan countries even before the Christian life had had a chance to put down deep roots there. The Greek metropolitans were constantly afraid that something of that sort would happen in Rus', too, which was why they were careful not to inform the Rus' flock about the contemporary theological spiritual trends in Byzantium. Rus' had had no preparatory instruction whatsoever, nor did it dispose of a basic library, so to speak, which could have furnished the resources for further theological development. Bearing this in mind, the Greek metropolitans confined themselves to the semantic categories of the early church fathers. As I. P. Erèmin has

[44] I. Dujčev, "Centry vizantijsko-slavjanskogo obščenija i sotrudničestva," *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoj literatury* 19 (1963): 106–29. Cf. A.-E. Tachiaos, "Mount Athos and the Slavic Literatures," *Cyrillomethodianum* 5 (1978): 1–14 (for bibliography, see p. 6, fn. 17); Podskalsky, *Christentum*, p. 51, fn. 260.

[45] The Rus' presence in Constantinople was a consequence chiefly of the Byzantino-Rus' peace treaties of 907 and 944. See Levčenko, *Očerki*, pp. 91f., 154f.

[46] I. Ševčenko's brilliant work, "Levels of Style in Byzantine Prose," *XVI. Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress. Akten*, vol. 1, pt. 1 (Vienna, 1981), pp. 289–312 (*Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 31/1), provides the basis and leaves the field open for an evaluation of the literary activity of the Greek metropolitans in Rus'.

pointed out,[47] we have to interpret Byzantine literary influence on Kievan Rus' as the transfer there of works chiefly by early Christian and early Byzantine writers; the road that might have led to familiarity with contemporary Byzantine literary production remained carefully closed. Beyond the ulterior motives served by the Greek metropolitans' policy in this context, we must also accept that it was the wish of the Rus' themselves that they should adopt the tradition gradually.[48] They realized that in order to build a structure like that of Byzantium, it was necessary to base it on the same foundations. For we must not forget that Byzantium offered the ideal pattern for Kievan Rus' to model itself on, without, of course, implying that this was a slavish imitation.

The play between imitation and independence is clearly evident in the literature and art of ancient Rus'. The Greek metropolitans who went to Rus' were rather like comets, trailing behind them a host of objects whose value and significance sprang from the metropolitans themselves. The metropolitans, as also the people who accompanied them, transported to Rus' Byzantine models which were either to be transplanted there unaltered or to serve as objects of imitation. Imitation, however, does not mean copying, which merely entails slavish subordination to the model. It was precisely this freedom of choice that formed the parameters of the creation of an independent spiritual national life. If one compares ancient Bulgaria and ancient Rus' in spiritual and literary production, and bears in mind that the Bulgars did not have the imposing presence and influence of the Greek clergy, then one may see that the results were in inverse proportion to the preconditions.[49] In the case of Rus', there was an astonishing surge of prolific output with an intensely local flavor; literary production in Rus'

47 I. P. Erëmin, *Literatura Drevnej Rusi: Ètudy i xarakteristiki* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1966), pp. 9–17.

48 Lixačev, "Staroslavjanskite literaturi," pp. 14–15.

49 Apart from their contacts with the cultural centers of Byzantium, which were undoubtedly a source of knowledge and inspiration for Rus' Hellenists, contact with the Greek metropolitans themselves must also have had a positive effect. Having received a first-class education, the metropolitans were able to act as a constant source of learning for a certain select, small circle of Rus' society. Here the tendency to imitate, which kept to the same proportions as in the field of art and other cultural manifestations, was constantly spurred on and inevitably led to original creation. In this way the preconditions were created for original Rus' thought and theoretical speculation. One good effort to isolate these novel features is A. F. Zamaleev and V. A. Zoc, *Mysliteli Kievskoj Rusi*, 2nd ed. (Kiev, 1987), although one could express a good many reservations about certain aspects of it. It is not the independent theological or philosophical thinking that deserves particular praise, for it is unquestionably of Byzantine origin (the same also applies to Bulgaria—see B. Pejčev, *Filosofskijat traktat v Simeonovija sbornik* [Sofia, 1977]), so much as the independent linguistic and poetic plasticity, which in the case of Rus' was indeed something quite exceptional.

became conscious in leaps and bounds of its own lyricism and poetic disposition, features that other Cyrillic literatures did not have to such an intense degree.[50] The ancient literature of Kievan Rus' very rapidly acquired a unique aspect that put it on a level of its own.

One might wonder whether this literary and spiritual advance was incubated outside the Greek metropolitans' control. Unquestionably not: these men, who felt they had a duty to protect their Rus' flock from the dangers of heresy, must certainly have exercised some degree of spiritual censorship. But this censorship, which could have been absolutely imposed with the assistance of the metropolitanate's Greek clergy and monks who knew the language of the people, did not affect this development; and in fact it seems to have encouraged it from the moment it was realized that the Rus' had their own means of expression that could not be subjected to figures of speech brought in from the outside. These figures were furnished by the Greek metropolitans and their satellites, and the Rus' took and kept their essence; but they fashioned whatever was related to form, with the means provided by their national and spiritual substructure, and thus created their ancient masterpieces, both ecclesiastical and secular. These masterpieces were created in the language that Cyril and Methodius had originally shaped and that the Greek metropolitans subsequently helped to cultivate.

The contribution they made is not vividly apparent; it is masked by a silence that is inevitable in the case of foreigners whose role was not only approbatory but sometimes disapprobatory, too.[51] Thus, in the consciousness of Kievan Rus', the Greek metropolitan remained a respected, but distant figure, whereas his accompanying clerics, hagiographers, and monks were incorporated to a much greater degree into the life of the country. Nonetheless, some of the Greek metropolitans did become familiar figures and the Rus' felt them to be very much their own people. This is the picture we receive from *Pověst' vremennyx lět*'s brief account of the Greek Metropolitan Ioannes II (1076–1089):

In this year, Ioannes the Metropolitan passed away. Ioannes was a man versed in books and study, generous to the poor and to widows, affable to both rich and poor, calm-tempered and mild, reticent yet eloquent, and able to console the sorrowful

[50] This is particularly true of the *Slovo o polku Igoreve*.

[51] This, for instance, was the case with Metropolitan Mixail: Golubinskij, *Istorija russkoj cerkvi*, 1, pt. 1:330–34; Podskalsky, *Christentum*, pp. 92–94; Müller, "Russen in Byzanz," pp. 111–12.

with words of Holy Scripture. There never was his like in Rus' before him, nor will there be in later days.[52]

This comment, regardless of the information one might add or subtract in each specific case, probably comprises the essential evaluation of the Greek metropolitans' contribution to the land of Rus'.

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[52] *Povest' vremennyx let*, p. 137.

ST. VOLODIMER

Pourquoi le prince Volodimer Svjatoslavič n'a-t-il pas été canonisé?*

VLADIMIR VODOFF

Cette question n'est pas nouvelle. Elle hantait déjà au XI^e siècle l'esprit de l'auteur du panégyrique de Volodimer inclus dans la *Povĕst' vremennyx lĕt* (*PVL*) sous l'année 6523/1015, à la suite de la relation du décès du prince.[1] Après que de nombreux historiens, depuis le siècle dernier jusqu'à nos jours, eurent essayé de lui apporter une réponse, il peut paraître présomptueux de vouloir en fournir une. Je me suis décidé à franchir ce pas hasardeux en pensant qu'il serait difficile de trouver un auditoire plus qualifié pour soumettre quelques idées dont j'ai eu l'occasion de débattre avec certains participants de mon séminaire.[2] Est-il besoin d'ajouter que, en cette année 1988 où pullulent les rencontres, scientifiques ou autres, sur le millénaire de la conversion de Volodimer, la question de sa sainteté a été ou sera soulevée par d'autres que moi? Cette dernière circonstance ajoute un argument supplémentaire pour considérer mes propos comme essentiellement des hypothèses de travail.

Avant d'ouvrir ce dossier, je dois faire une remarque sur le verbe «canoniser» employé dans le titre. Cet emprunt au lexique de l'Église latine, justifié dès lors que j'utilise la langue d'un pays de tradition catho-

* Ce texte a bénéficié des remarques faites par les participants de la réunion de Ravenne. Aux remerciements que je leur adresse je ne peux que joindre ceux qui reviennent naturellement aux organisateurs de cette rencontre.

Conformément à l'usage des *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, et contrairement à celui des publications françaises, nous utilisons la forme Volodimer attestée par les sources médiévales. D'autre part, si l'usage du nom Rus' tend à s'imposer, il est plus difficile de rendre l'adjectif *russkij*: en français on ne peut utiliser que «russe», dérivé ici, dans l'esprit de l'auteur et des éditeurs, de Rus'.

1 Dmitrij S. Lixačev, ed., *Povest' vremennyx let*, vol. 1 (Moskva-Leningrad, 1950) (abrégé *PVL*), p. 89.

2 Voir notamment l'article à paraître de Sophie Crêtaux, où on trouvera un parallèle suggestif entre la conception du pouvoir dans la Rus' de Kiev et dans la Gaule mérovingienne.

lique, ne doit pas faire oublier que, dans l'Église grecque, l'admission d'un défunt parmi les saints proposés à la vénération des fidèles ne revêt aucun caractère formel strict et, au moins pendant une grande partie de l'époque médiévale, ne fait l'objet d'aucune cérémonie liturgique spécifique.[3] Ainsi, pendant les premiers siècles de l'existence de l'Église dans la Rus', on relève dans les sources deux initiatives «officielles», présentées de façons différentes.

La première, qui eut lieu à Vyšhorod probablement en 1072, consista en une reconnaissance des reliques des princes Boris et Glěb par le métropolite Georges, suivie d'une liturgie eucharistique solennelle; elle est rapportée par deux sources hagiographiques, la *Lectio* (*Čtenie*) de Nestor sur le martyre des deux princes et le Dit sur les miracles des mêmes martyrs (*S''kazanie čjudes'' svjatoju strastot'rp'cju Xristovu Romana i Davida*).[4] La seconde est consignée dans la *PVL*, sous l'année 6616/1108 où «Dieu mit dans le coeur de Théoktiste, abbé des Grottes, l'idée de suggérer au prince Svjatopolk [Izjaslavič] d'inscrire Théodose sur les dyptiques. Celui-ci en fut heureux, le promit et le fit, en ordonnant au métropolite de l'inscrire sur les dyptiques. Ce dernier ordonna de le faire dans tous les diocèses, et tous les évêques l'inscrivirent avec joie pour le mentionner dans toutes les grandes fêtes».[5]

Ce texte, assez pauvre malgré ses redites, montre à quel point, pour offrir la mémoire d'un défunt à la vénération des fidèles, les formalités étaient réduites. Nul ne s'étonnera, dans ces conditions, que, à côté de ces trois saints, célébrés dans toute la Rus', il y ait eu une dizaine de saints canonisés localement par les évêques diocésains,[6] et que d'autres cultes de défunts aient pu exister sans la sanction explicite de la hiérarchie ecclésiastique. L'historien américain Michael Cherniavsky a relevé de

[3] Cf. Evgenij E. Golubinskij, *Istorija kanonizacii svjatyx v russkoj cerkvi*, 2me éd. (Moskva, 1903), pp. 19–31. On peut remarquer l'absence, dans la langue des pays de tradition orientale, d'une expression comme «porter sur les autels» qui, dans le monde latine, témoigne d'un rite précis.

[4] Ludolf Müller, ed. *Die altrussischen hagiographischen Erzählungen und liturgischen Dichtungen über die Heiligen Boris und Gleb* (Slavische Propyläen, vol. 14) (München, 1967), pp. 21–22, 55–56 (abrégé *AHE*). Sur le sens de cette cérémonie, cf. Andrzej Poppe, «La naissance du culte de Boris et Gleb», *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 14 (1981): 46–49, où on trouvera les références aux travaux antérieurs, notamment à ceux de L. Müller qui situent la canonisation de Boris et Glěb plus tôt, sous le règne de Jaroslav. Ce débat, en lui-même, témoigne de ce que les formes que pouvait revêtir la canonisation dans l'Église de la Rus' médiévale étaient pour le moins flottantes.

[5] *PVL*, p. 187.

[6] Golubinskij, *Istorija kanonizacii*, pp. 54–62.

nombreux exemples parmi les princes.[7]

Ainsi la notion de sainteté resta imprécise chez les Slaves orientaux pendant toute la période médiévale et même au-delà, pratiquement en Moscovie jusqu'aux canonisations «officielles» prononcées à l'initiative du métropolite Macaire (1547, 1549), tandis qu'en Ukraine, notamment à Kiev au monastère des Grottes, se maintenait l'usage ancien selon lequel la vénération d'un défunt prenait les formes d'un culte sans véritable sanction de la hiérarchie.[8] C'est dans ces contextes qu'il faut situer l'apparition du culte de saint Volodimer.

Cela explique aussi que des tentatives aient été faites, dans l'historiographie, pour déceler, à partir du texte de la *PVL* sous l'année 1015, des traces d'un culte local à Kiev vers la fin du XI^e^ ou au début du XII^e^ siècle; elles ne peuvent pas être considérées comme concluantes.[9] Bien avant la formulation de cette hypothèse, une étude approfondie, mais trop formelle, des sources, avait situé la canonisation de Volodimer dans la seconde moitié de l'année 1240, à la suite de la victoire d'Aleksandr Nevskij sur les Suédois.[10]

L'absence de tout culte avant la seconde moitié de XIII^e^ siècle est prouvée de façon irréfutable par l'onomastique princière. En effet, dans différentes branches issues de l'«Apôtre» de la Rus', le nom *Volodiměr/Volodimir* était, jusqu'à cette époque, considéré comme païen, et les princes qui le portaient avaient reçu, lors du baptême, un second prénom, chrétien, selon une pratique courante dans la dynastie princière: tel est le cas en Souzdalie, dans la descendance de Jurij Dolgorukij, pour le prince d'Uglič Volodimer Konstantinovič (né en 1214, mort en 1249), en Volynie, dans la descendance d'Izjaslav Mstislavič, pour le prince Volodimer Vasil'kovič (né vers 1240, mort en 1288), baptisés respectivement sous

[7] Michael Cherniavsky, *Tsar and People: Studies in Russian Myths* (New Haven-London, 1961), pp. 30–32; W. Vodoff, «Remarques sur la valeur du terme 'tsar' appliqué aux princes russes avant le milieu du XV^e^ siècle», *Oxford Slavonic Papers* 11 (1978): 29–33.

[8] On peut citer, à titre d'exemple, le cas de la princesse lituanienne Iulianija Hol'šans'ka dont le culte fut instauré au monastère des Grottes de Kiev par l'archimandrite Elisée Pletenec'kyj (1599–1624), cf. Golubinskij, *Istorija kanonizacii*, pp. 214–215, n. 3.

[9] Nikolaj K. Nikol'skij, *Materialy dlja povremennogo spiska russkix pisatelej i ix sočinenij (X–XI vv.)* (S.-Peterburg, 1906), p. 232, n. 1, qui renvoie à un article monographique de l'auteur; voir la réfutation de Georgij P. Fedotov, «Kanonizacija svjatogo Vladimira», *Vladimirskij sbornik, v pamjat' 950-letija Kreščenija Rusi* (Belgrad, 1938), p. 191.

[10] Ivan I. Malyševs'kyj, «Kogda i gde vpervye ustanovleno prazdnovanie pamjati sv. Vladimira», *Trudy Kievskoj duxovnoj Akademii*, 1882, cité d'après Golubinskij, *Istorija kanonizacii*, p. 64 n. 1, et Fedotov, «Kanonizacija svjatogo Vladimira», p. 190.

les prénoms de Dèmètrios et Jean.[11]

Les premiers indices sur la «sainteté» de Volodimer apparaissent dans le courant du XIII^{e} siècle. Ainsi, dans la partie galicienne de la Chronique hypatienne (*Ipat'evskaja letopis'*), compilée en 1246 à la cour de Danil Romanovič et refondue probablement en 1261 par l'évêque de Xolm Jean, on lit, sous l'année 6737/1229, «hormis Volodimer le Grand qui avait baptisé son pays» (*proče Volodiměra Velikago, iže bě zemlju krestil''*), mais, sous l'année 6762/1254, *Volodimer'' s(vja)tyi*, «Volodimer le Saint»; toutefois, quelle que soit la date de cette mention, il faut remarquer que l'épithète «saint» est en l'occurrence attribuée à Volodimer parallèlement à l'épithète «vaillant» accolée au nom de son père, *S(vja)toslav'' xorobry[i]*.[12] Il peut, par conséquent, s'agir d'un simple procédé littéraire.

Notre attitude prudente est confortée par le témoignage d'un autre texte, la première Chronique de Novgorod (*Novgorodskaja pervaja letopis'*), conservé dans un manuscrit assez proche de la date de sa compilation. En rapportant, sous l'année 6748/1240, la victoire d'Aleksandr Nevskij sur les Suédois, le 15 juillet, date du trépas de Volodimer, l'auteur anonyme de ce texte se contente de mentionner, pour ce jour, la mémoire des saints Cyrique et Julitte (Kirik i Ulita), deux martyrs de l'époque de Dioclétien.[13] Quant à la Vie d'Aleksandr, rédigée peu après sa mort (1263) dans l'entourage du métropolite Cyrille II, un galicien, la version la plus ancienne rapporte simplement: «il [Aleksandr] marcha contre eux [les Suédois] le dimanche 15 juillet, ayant une grande foi dans les deux saints martyrs Boris et Glěb», qui la veille étaient apparus au commandant (*starějšina*) de la garnison locale. C'est seulement dans les versions plus tardives que l'on trouve ajoutés les noms de Cyrique et Julitte, ainsi que la mention du «saint prince Vladimir qui baptisa le Pays russe».[14] La même adjonction apparaît

[11] *Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej* (abrégé *PSRL*), Evfimij F. Karskij, ed., vol. 1, 2^{me} éd. (Leningrad, 1927), col. 438, Aleksej A. Šaxmatov, ed., vol. 2, 2^{me} éd. (S.-Peterburg, 1908), col. 919–920.

[12] *PSRL*, vol. 2, col. 758, 821; dans la seconde citation la traduction «Saint Volodimer»—au lieu de «Volodimer the Saint»—que propose George A. Perfecky (*The Hypatian Codex, Part two: The Galician-Volynian Chronicle* (Harvard Series in Ukrainian Studies, vol. 16, II) (München, 1973), p. 65, force quelque peu le sens du texte original. Sur la chronique galicienne, cf. la notice d'Ol'ga P. Lixačeva dans *Slovar' knižnikov i knižnosti Drevnej Rusi*, vol. 1 (*XI–pervaja polovina XIV v.*), sous la dir. de Dmitrij S. Lixačev (Leningrad, 1987), pp. 239–240.

[13] Arsenij N. Nasonov, ed., *Novgorodskaja pervaja letopis' staršego i mladšego izvodov* (Moskva-Leningrad, 1950), p. 77.

[14] Jurij K. Begunov, *Pamjatnik russkoj literatury XIII veka: «Slovo o pogibeli russkoj zemli»* (Moskva-Leningrad, 1965), pp. 164–165. Sur l'auteur, cf. Dmitrij S. Lixačev, «Galickaja letopisnaja tradicija v žitii Aleksandra Nevskogo», *Trudy otdela drevnerusskoj literatury* 5 (1947): 36–56.

dans la notice nécrologique d'Aleksandr, sous l'année 6771/1263, dans la Chronique laurentienne, copiée en 1377 pour le grand-prince de Suzdal'-Nižnij-Novgorod Dmitrij Konstantinovič.[15]

A ces *argumenta ex silentio*, apportés par les sources narratives et littéraires du milieu du XIII^e^ siècle, on peut opposer un témoignage en faveur de l'existence d'un culte de Volodimer à cette même époque. Il est fourni par la tradition manuscrite de l'oeuvre célèbre du futur métropolite Hilarion, le Sermon de la Loi et la Grâce (*Slovo o zakone i blagodati*): la deuxième rédaction de ce texte, amputée de la dernière partie consacrée à la louange de la ville de Kiev et à la célébration des mérites de Jaroslav, destinée à servir de lecture pour l'office de saint Volodimer, est attestée chez les Slaves orientaux, uniquement à partir du XV^e^ siècle, mais semble avoir été utilisée dès 1264 par le moine serbe Domentijan pour la Vie de saint Siméon (Étienne Nemanja),[16] ce qui prouverait son existence dans la Rus' au milieu du XIII^e^ siècle et permettrait, par conséquent, de supposer une utilisation liturgique du texte d'Hilarion, le 15 juillet, dès cette époque.

Il n'en reste pas moins que le premier témoignage explicite du culte de saint Volodimer, la consécration d'une chapelle dédiée à celui-ci, au-dessus d'une porte de l'enceinte de Novgorod, par l'archevêque David (*postavi cerkov'. . . svjatogo Volodimira*), est consigné sous l'année 6819/1311 par la première Chronique de Novgorod.[17] Un autre est apporté par un manuscrit de 1331–1332, copié dans le nord-ouest de la Rus' (entre Pskov et Moscou), le «Scaliger Kanonnik», où les seuls saints de la Rus' mentionnés dans le calendrier sont, d'une part Boris et Glěb, d'autre part Volodimer; toutefois, les deux frères martyrs sont, à la date du 24 juillet, nommés avant la sainte de l'Église universelle (la martyre Christine) commémorée ce jour-là, alors que, à la date du 15 juillet, le nom de Volodimer est ajouté à ceux de Cyrique et Julitte (*v t''[i]ž[e] d[e]n' Volodimera*).[18]

[15] *PSRL*, vol. 1^2, col. 479. Sur ce témoignage, comme sur les versions de la Vie d'Aleksandr, cf. Nikolaj I. Serebrjanskij, «Drevnerusskie knjažeskie žitija», *Čtenija v Imp. obščestve istorii i drevnostej rossijskix*, 1915, no. 3, pp. 56–57. Le témoignage de la Laurentienne, comme d'ailleurs celui de l'Hypatienne (cf. *supra*, n. 12), est accepté par le «sceptique» Evgenij E. Golubinskij (*Istorija russkoj cerkvi*, vol. 1^1 [Moskva, 1901], p. 185).

[16] Ludolf Müller, ed., *Des Metropoliten Ilarion Lobrede auf Vladimir den Heiligen und Glaubensbekenntnis* (Slavistiche Studienbücher, vol. 2) (Wiesbaden, 1963), pp. 35, 39 (abrégé *MIL*), Aleksandr M. Moldovan, *Slovo o zakone i blagodati Ilariona* (Kiev, 1984) (abrégé *SZB*), pp. 20–24, 109–137.

[17] Nasonov, *Novgorodskaja pervaja letopis'*, p. 93.

[18] A. H. Van den Baar, ed., *A Russian Church Slavonic Kanonnik, 1331–1332* (The Hague-Paris, 1968), pp. 199, 241, 256, 260.

Tous ce témoignages confirment le point de vue exprimé, au début de notre siècle, par des historiens comme Evgenij Golubinskij ou Myxajlo Hruševs'kyj, selon lequel le culte de Volodimer serait apparu tardivement, dans le courant du XIII^{e} siècle.[19]

Ces témoignages proviennent du nord-ouest de la Rus', de la région de Novgorod. C'est là que semble avoir été composée la «Vie la plus ancienne» de Volodimer, incluse dans une compilation connue sous le titre de son premier élément, le Mémorial et louange du prince de la Rus' Volodimer, dont il sera question plus loin.[20] Enfin, c'est dans cette même région, à Pskov, qu'apparaissent les premiers témoins iconographiques conservés du culte de Volodimer.[21] Il n'est pas exclu que l'inscription de Volodimer dans les ménologes de cette région soit due à une initiative d'un clerc anonyme qui, frappé par la coïncidence chronologique entre la date du décès de Volodimer en 1015 et celle de la bataille de la Neva en 1240, le 15 juillet, introduisit le nom de l'«Apôtre» de la Rus' dans les copies de la Vie de saint Aleksandr.[22]

Cette reconnaissance tardive et limitée de la sainteté de Volodimer—confirmée par la rareté des églises dédiées à sa mémoire—peut légitimement surprendre le lecteur attentif de la première oeuvre littéraire à peu près datée de la Rus' de Kiev, le Sermon prononcé en 1049–1051 par le futur métropolite Hilarion dans l'église de la Dîme (*Desjatinnaja cerkov'*) devant le sarcophage de Volodimer, en particulier la troisième partie, «La louange de notre kagan Vladimir qui nous a baptisés (*Poxvala kaganu našemu Vladimeru, ot'' negože kreščeni byxom''*): après l'avoir comparé aux Apôtres Pierre et Paul, Jean l'Évangéliste, Thomas et Marc, le prédicateur évoque les mérites de Volodimer, personnels et «politiques» (la

19 Golubinskij, *Istorija russkoj cerkvi*, vol. 1^{1}, pp. 185–186, *Istorija kanonizacii*, p. 63; Myxajlo Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija Ukrajiny-Rusy*, vol. 1 (L'viv, 1904), pp. 474–478. Aujourd'hui on ne peut trouver l'affirmation selon laquelle «Vladimir» aurait été «le premier saint russe» que dans l'université ou les éditions françaises, cf. Francis Conte, *Les Slaves* (Évolution de l'humanité) (Paris, 1986), pp. 186, 266; Catherine Durand-Cheynet, *Moscou contre la Russie* (Paris, 1988), pp. 61, 139.

20 Cette hypothèse repose sur des faits linguistiques relevés en son temps par Aleksej I. Sobolevskij, cf. Serebrjanskij, «Drevnerusskie knjažeskie žitija», p. 62; Andrzej Poppe, «Pamięć i pochwala księcia Włodzimierza», *Słownik starożytności słowiańskich*, vol. 4 (Wrocław-Kraków-Warszawa, 1970), pp. 16–18.

21 Le musée de Pskov conserve une assez grande icône (128 x 70 cm) où, dans le registre inférieur, on trouve une représentation en pied de Volodimer entre Boris et Glěb, cf. *Pskov, Art Treasures and Architectural Monuments 12th–17th centuries* (Leningrad, 1978), 1re série, planches 14–15.

22 Fedotov, «Kanonizacija svjatogo Vladimira», p. 192; mise au point d'Andrzej Poppe dans *Histoire des saints et de la sainteté chrétienne*, vol. 5, sous la dir. de Pierre Riché (Paris, 1986), pp. 258–259.

conversion de son peuple), trace un long parallèle entre le prince de Kiev et l'empereur Constantin le Grand, puis conclut en s'adressant au prince défunt: «à l'instar de celui-ci [Constantin], le Seigneur t'a fait partager, dans les Cieux, sa gloire et son honneur, à cause de la juste foi que tu as professée durant ta vie».[23] Quelques années plus tard, un autre auteur, Jacques le Moine (Jakov Mnix), dans son Mémorial et louange (*Pamjat' i poxvala knjazju Ruskomu Volodimeru*), fait écho à Hilarion: «O bienheureux, trois fois bienheureux prince Volodimer, pieux, ami du Christ, accueillant pour les étrangers, tu as une grande récompense aux yeux de Dieu».[24] Et c'est vraisemblablement dans ce même courant de pensée qu'il convient de situer le panégyrique de Volodimer inclus dans la *PVL* sous l'année 1015 et mentionné en tête de cette communication. Le rôle «apostolique» de Volodimer y est souligné avec une particulière vigueur; après avoir comparé son prince à Constantin le Grand, l'auteur anonyme écrit: «S'il ne nous avait pas baptisés, nous serions encore soumis à la malignité du diable, à laquelle avaient succombé nos ancêtres».[25]

Si ces textes témoignent incontestablement d'un courant en faveur de la canonisation de Volodimer au milieu du XI[e] siècle, il paraît difficile de le faire remonter plus haut, c'est-à-dire aux années qui suivirent la disparition du prince. Le seul indice dont on dispose pour cette période est le témoignage de Thietmar de Merseburg, un chroniqueur allemand qui écrivait en 1018, sur la foi de renseignements rapportés de Kiev par un chevalier saxon ayant participé à la campagne du prince polonais Boleslas (Bolesław) I[er] contre la Rus' cette année là: d'après ce texte, Volodimer, mais aussi son épouse byzantine Anne (qu'il ne fut jamais question d'admettre au rang des saints), reposaient *in ecclesia Christi martyris et papae Clementis* (= la *Desjatinnaja*), dans des sarcophages placés *in medio templi palam*.[26] Cette précision, que rien ne permet de contester, doit être rapprochée d'une indication analogue fournie par la légende dite de Hartwic sur saint Étienne de Hongrie: la tombe de celui-ci aurait été située *in medio domus*, ce terme désignant l'église de Székesfehérvár, une fondation du roi défunt, dédiée à la Vierge et destinée, entre autres, à recevoir sa

[23] *MIL*, pp. 57, 99–120; *SZB*, pp. 78, 91–97.

[24] A. A. Zimin, «Pamjat' i poxvala Iakova mnixa i žitie knjazja Vladimira po drevnejšemu spisku», *Kratkie soobščenija Instituta slavjanovedenija* 37 (1963): 68. Sur la composition de ce texte complexe, voir la mise en point d'Andrzej Poppe, «Pamięć i pochwała».

[25] *PVL*, p. 89. Sur les rapports entre ce texte et l'oeuvre d'Hilarion, cf. Ludolf Müller, «Ilarion und die Nestorchronik», dans ce tome de *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, pp. 324–45.

[26] Robert Holtzmann, ed., *Die Chronik des Bischofs Thietmar von Merseburg und ihre korveier Überarbeitung* (Monumenta Germaniae historica, Scriptores rerum germanicarum, nova series, vol. 9) (Berlin, 1935), pp. 488–489, ch. VII, 74.

dépouille mortelle, c'est-à-dire un temple rappelant en bien des points Notre-Dame de la Dîme à Kiev. Or, dans le cas d'Étienne, il a été montré que le choix pour son inhumation d'un emplacement dans la grande nef était dû au fait que le défunt avait été le fondateur de l'église.[27] Il paraît raisonnable, sous réserve d'une étude de l'inhumation des autres princes nouvellement convertis de l'Europe orientale à cette époque, de supposer que l'emplacement des sarcophages de Volodimer et d'Anne s'explique, lui aussi, par le rôle éminent qu'ils ont joué dans la fondation de la première église importante de Kiev.

L'absence de tout lien entre l'emplacement de la tombe de Volodimer dans l'Église de la Dîme et une quelconque tentative pour créer son culte est prouvée par une remarque de l'auteur du panégyrique dans la *PVL*. Après avoir déploré que «tout en étant chrétiens [grâce à Volodimer], nous ne lui rendions pas les honneurs correspondants à ce qu'il nous a donné», il écrit: «si nous avions fait preuve de zèle et avions apporté pour lui [Volodimer] des prières à Dieu, le jour de son trépas, Dieu, voyant notre zèle envers lui, l'aurait glorifié» (*proslavil'' by i*), ce qui signifie pratiquement que des miracles se seraient produits sur la tombe du prince.[28] Cette absence de miracles sur la tombe de Volodimer est également soulignée par Jacques le Moine qui, pour justifier cette carence, fait appel à l'autorité de saint Jean Chrysostome.[29]

Cette constatation rend improbable toute tentative de canonisation de Volodimer dès sa mort, mais elle ne doit nullement être interprétée comme un prétexte qui cacherait des raisons politiques, notamment une soit-disant hostilité de la hiérarchie grecque, à Kiev même ou à Constantinople, envers la mémoire de Volodimer. Cette explication, conséquence des différentes hypothèses qui niaient la dépendance canonique de la métropole de la Rus' vis-à-vis du patriarcat oecuménique, a été réfutée de façon définitive par Ludolf Müller, qui recherche dans le domaine moral les raisons de l'absence de tout culte de Volodimer, comme l'avaient déjà fait Golubinskij et Hruševs'kyj. Toutefois, à la différence de ces derniers qui jugeaient que les festins organisés par Volodimer étaient ressentis comme une atteinte à

27 Imre Szentpétery, ed., *Scriptores rerum hungaricarum*, vol. 2 (Budapest, 1938), p. 432; cité d'après Á. Nagy, «Origine et iconographie du sarcophage de Székesfehérvár», *Alba Regia, Annales Musei Stephani Regis* 13 (1974): 170; Robert Folz, *Les saints rois du Moyen Âge en Occident (VI^e–XIII^e siècles)* (Subsidia hagiographica, vol. 68) (Bruxelles, 1984), pp. 77–81.

28 *PVL*, p. 89; sur l'interprétation du verbe *proslaviti*, cf. Ludolf Müller, *Zum Problem des hierarchischen Status und der jurisdiktionnellen Abhängigkeit der russischen Kirche vor 1039* (Osteuropa und der deutsche Osten. Beiträge aus Forschungsarbeiten und Vorträgen der Hochschulen des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, vol. 3, VI) (Köln-Braunsfeld, 1959), p. 51.

29 Zimin, «Pamjat' i poxvala», p. 70; Golubinskij, *Istorija russkoj cerkvi*, vol. 1[1], p. 185, n. 3.

l'enseignement de l'Église sur l'ascèse, l'historien allemand estime que ces initiatives pouvaient être portées au crédit de la charité et de l'hospitalité du prince; c'est la réputation personnelle de Volodimer, les bruits qui couraient sur sa vie privée, avant mais aussi après son baptême, qui auraient freiné le développement de son culte.[30]

D'une façon générale, une approche morale ne paraît guère convaincante. De nombreux exemples de la haute époque, tant en Orient qu'en Occident, montrent que les exigences morales des contemporains étaient loin d'être strictes envers ceux qu'ils considéraient comme des saints. Tel fut, entre autres, le cas de l'empereur Constantin le Grand auquel Volodimer était comparé par les auteurs kieviens du XI[e] siècle. De plus, l'image morale de Volodimer nous est bien mal connue. Les récits, parfois complaisants, des péchés commis avant son baptême trouvent, au moins en partie, leur explication dans la phrase célèbre de saint Paul citée par l'auteur du panégyrique conservé dans la *PVL*: «Où le péché s'est multiplié, la Grâce a surabondé» (Romains, V, 20). Les doutes que l'on peut éprouver sur l'authenticité du portrait de Volodimer païen dans la *PVL* sont renforcés par l'image, assez conventionnelle il est vrai, qu'en donnent Hilarion ou Nestor l'Hagiographe: pour le premier «il menait son troupeau avec justice, courage et sagesse», pour le second, dans la *Lectio* sur Boris et Glěb, il était «un homme juste, miséricordieux envers les pauvres, les orphelins et les veuves, mais hellène [c'est-à-dire païen] par la foi».[31] Quant au témoignage de Thietmar de Merseburg, le seul à mentionner les péchés de Volodimer après son baptême (*quam [fidem christianitatis] justis operibus non ornavit*), il y a de sérieuses raisons pour le considérer avec prudence.[32] En fait l'absence de miracles, ou plus exactement, comme le dit L. Müller, l'absence de foi dans la possibilité de miracles, sur la tombe de Volodimer ne recouvre pas davantage une critique morale de sa personnalité qu'un ressentiment politique à son égard. Il s'agit d'un fait purement religieux qui doit être interprété comme tel.

Dans les décennies qui suivirent la conversion de Volodimer et de son entourage, les conceptions religieuses héritées du vieux fonds de croyances indo-européennes ne pouvaient pas être totalement éliminées, même si leurs manifestations concrètes, tant avant qu'après 988, sont difficiles à retrouver dans les sources des Slaves orientaux. Il faut, par conséquent, prendre le

30 Müller, *Zum Problem des hierarchischen Status*, pp. 48–52.

31 *MIL*, p. 102; *SZB*, p. 92; *AHE*, p. 14.

32 *Die Chronik des Bischofs Thietmar von Merseburg*, pp. 486–487, ch. VII, 72; Manfred Hellmann, «Vladimir der Heilige in der zeitgenössischen abendländischen Überlieferung», *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, N. F., 7 (1959): 409–410.

risque de se tourner vers ces croyances, telles qu'elles ont été reconstituées depuis plusieurs décennies. Par exemple, après une étude approfondie, dans l'Iliade essentiellement, du terme *to kydos* («la gloire»)—qu'il rapproche du slave *čudo*—Émile Benveniste débouche sur cette définition: «le roi a, dans l'état ancien des conceptions indo-européennes, un rôle à la fois politique et religieux; il assume la totalité des pouvoirs régissant les rapports des hommes entre eux et les rapports des hommes avec les dieux».[33] Telle pouvait être également, dans les pays germaniques et scandinaves, la fonction du chef de famille ou de clan.[34] Or c'est précisément la fonction qui, dans la société slavo-varègue, revenait au prince. Ol'ga, d'après la *PVL*, aurait poussé son fils Svjatoslav à l'exercer: «Si tu te fais baptiser, tous en feront de même».[35] C'est finalement Volodimer qui l'assuma, tant en 980, lors de l'instauration à Kiev du culte païen public, qu'en 988, lors du baptême des Kiéviens, dont on connaît la célèbre réaction: «Si cela n'avait pas été bon, le prince et les *bojare* ne l'auraient jamais accepté». La légitimité de cette fonction religieuse du prince est également évidente aux yeux d'Hilarion: «Il n'y eut personne pour s'opposer à son pieux commandement. Ceux qui ne se baptisaient pas par amour, le faisaient par crainte de celui qui l'avait ordonné; sa juste foi était en effet liée au pouvoir qu'il exerçait» (*poneže bě blagověrie ego s'' vlastiju sprjaženo*).[36]

Ce rôle religieux du prince ne s'est pas, dans la conception des contemporains, achevé avec la «conversion de la Rus' », c'est-à-dire le baptême collectif des Kiéviens. On en trouve la preuve dans le récit, toujours dans la *PVL*, sous l'année 6504/996, de la consécration, à Kiev, de la première église chrétienne importante, en pierre, Notre-Dame de la Dîme, texte qui remonte peut-être à une note contemporaine: toute la cérémonie liturgique s'ordonne autour du prince, sans la moindre mention du métropolite ou éventuellement d'un évêque, qui normalement devait célébrer ce rite, comme d'ailleurs le concevait plus tard l'auteur de l'original de la miniature du Manuscrit de Radziwiłł qui, pour illustrer cet épisode, a représenté au

33 Émile Benveniste, *Le vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes*, vol 2: *Pouvoir, droit, religion* (Paris, 1969), pp. 68–69; Jean-G. Préaux, «La sacralité du pouvoir royal», *Le pouvoir et le sacré. Annales du Centre d'étude des religions*, vol. 1 (Bruxelles, 1962), pp. 103–121; Georges Dumézil, *Mythe et épopée: Les idéologies des trois fonctions dans les épopées des peuples indo-européens*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1968).

34 Régis Boyer, *Le Christ des barbares: Le monde nordique (IX^e–XIII^e siècles)* (Paris, 1987), pp. 28–29.

35 *PVL*, p. 46.

36 *PVL*, p. 81; *MIL*, p. 105; *SZB*, p. 93.

premier plan un évêque en ornements liturgiques.[37]

De plus, cette célébration religieuse est suivie, dans la *PVL*, d'une «grande fête» (*prazdnik velik*), c'est-à-dire d'un festin. Cette pratique est mentionnée encore deux fois un peu plus bas: à la suite de la consécration de l'église de la Transfiguration (6 août), fondée à Vasyl'kiv, en action de grâces après que le prince eut échappé à une embuscade des Petchénègues, et aussitôt après, si l'on en croit le texte, le 15 août à Kiev pour la fête de l'Assomption; cette dernière date fournit ultérieurement l'occasion d'un festin annuel; de plus, Volodimer prit l'habitude de dresser des table solennelles (*pir'' tvoriti*) pour son entourage tous les dimanches, dans la grande salle de son palais.[38]

Cette hospitalité du prince n'était pas seulement une manifestation de sa générosité, que vante également Hilarion et que reconnaît même Thietmar de Merseburg,[39] elle devait revêtir une valeur religieuse. Chez nombre de peuples indo-européens, notamment chez les Scandinaves, festins et libations avaient un caractère sacré, ce qui, soit dit en passant, confère une signification particulière à la fameuse réponse que, d'après la *PVL*, Volodimer aurait faite aux envoyés des musulmans: *Rusi est' vesel'e pit'e, ne možem bes'' togo byti.*[40]

Ainsi les festins de Volodimer, dont le souvenir s'est perpétué, en plus des témoignages de la *PVL*, dans la tradition orale des *byliny*, ont bien constitué un obstacle à sa canonisation, dès les années qui suivirent la mort du prince. Toutefois cet obstacle n'était pas, comme le pensaient Golubinskij ou Hruševs'kyj, d'ordre moral, mais strictement religieux: aux yeux de l'élite slavo-varègue, le prince, en choisissant un dieu nouveau, en présidant à des manifestations religieuses, avait assumé des fonctions sacrées évidentes, qui rendaient inutiles la «glorification» que le Dieu des chrétiens apportait, grâce aux miracles, à certains défunts.

Dans l'Europe barbare, Volodimer n'est pas un cas isolé. Depuis le roi des Francs Clovis (†511), on peut trouver plus d'un prince ayant pris l'initiative de convertir son peuple qui ne fut pas canonisé. Je reviendrai

37 *PVL*, p. 85. Sur les origines de ce texte, cf. L. V. Čerepnin, «Povest' vremennyx let. Ee redakcii i predšedstvujuščie letopisnye svody», *Istoričeskie zapiski* 25 (1948): 332–333. Voir la miniature, par exemple, dans *Rauchspur der Tauben, Radziwiłł-Chronik* (Leipzig-Weimar, 1986), p. 125.

38 *PVL*, pp. 85–86.

39 *MIL*, pp. 111–114; *SZB*, p. 95–96; cf. *supra*, n. 30, 32.

40 Georges Dumézil, *Mythes et dieux des Germains* (Paris, 1939), pp. 109–137, en particulier p. 111. Voir aussi sur les libations dans l'antiquité grecque: Benveniste, *Le vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes*, pp. 209–221. Le caractère sacré et païen des festins de Volodimer a bien été relevé récemment par B. A. Rybakov (*Jazyčestvo Drevnej Rusi* [Moskva, 1987], pp. 413–414), mais sans aucune esquisse comparatiste. Citation de la *PVL*, p. 60.

plus loin sur l'exception notoire que constitue saint Étienne de Hongrie. Certes, on trouve parmi les saints rois occidentaux, Sigismond (†523) qui rallia les Burgondes ariens au catholicisme ou bien Olaf (Óláfr), le roi de Norvège (†1030) qui développa considérablement la religion chrétienne dans son pays, mais l'un et l'autre périrent de mort violente. Et c'est cette dernière circonstance qui leur permit de rejoindre l'importante cohorte des saints rois. Pour la majorité de ceux-ci, la mort violente—comme témoin du Christ, plus souvent dans un combat ou à la suite d'un complot—est le seul titre à la sainteté. Parmi les nombreux exemples, citons Knut (Knútr) le Saint, roi de Danemark (†1085), son neveu Knut Lavard (Knútr Lavarðr), prince des Obodrites (†1131), et surtout Venceslas, duc de Bohème (†929), dont la Vie, avec la description de son assassinat, était connue à Kiev. Dans la tradition chrétienne, la mort violente d'un prince était assimilée à la Passion du Christ, le roi des Juifs crucifié. Elle était pratiquement devenue une *conditio sine qua non* pour la canonisation d'un prince dans l'Europe barbare jusqu'au XII^e^ siècle. Nous en avons une preuve *a contrario* dans la canonisation difficile de l'empereur Henri II (1147), sans parler de celle de Charlemagne qui lui fut opposée grâce au concours de l'antipape Pascal III (1165).[41] Même à Byzance, l'un des rares empereurs de notre époque à avoir fait l'objet d'un culte, assez timide au demeurant, fut Nicéphore II Phokas, assassiné dans sa chambre (696).[42]

Mais le lien entre la légitimité princière et le sang versé semble, dans la tradition scandinave, remonter plus haut: le sacrifice de certains membres de la dynastie était nécessaire pour assurer les droits collectifs de celle-ci et c'est lui qui, dans cette tradition, plus que tout autre rite, exprimait la fonction de roi-prêtre et médiateur, dans ce monde et dans l'au-delà. Dans la Rus' de Kiev, cette fonction—que dans une optique chrétienne on peut qualifier de «saint roi thaumaturge» et de «saint roi sanctifiant sa propre dynastie»—fut assumée par les deux fils de Volodimer, Boris et Glěb, assassinés en 1015 à l'instigation de l'un de leur frère, Svjatopolk selon le témoignage littéral des sources; à la différence des «saints rois» du monde latin, ils n'avaient pratiquement exercé aucune véritable responsibilité poli-

41 Folz, *Les saints rois*, pp. 76–84, 89–91; N. W. Ingham, «The Sovereign as Martyr, East and West», *Slavic and East European Journal* 17 (1973): 1–17; sur l'influence de la Vie de Venceslas à Kiev, du même auteur, «Czech Hagiography in Kiev: The Prisoner Miracles of Boris and Gleb», *Die Welt der Slaven* 10 (1965): 166–182.

42 Evelyne Patlagean, «Le Basileus assassiné et la sainteté impériale», *Media in Francia* [Mélanges K. F. Werner] (s.l., 1989), pp. 345–361.

tique, comme le souligne Nestor l'Hagiographe en insistant sur leur jeune âge.[43]

Cette santification dynastique collective correspondait parfaitement aux structures politiques mises en place après la mort de Jaroslav le Sage (1054), dont témoigne le passage de la *PVL* souvent présenté comme son «testament».[44] Les thèmes développés là—amour fraternel, soumission des cadets à l'aîné, obligation pour ce dernier de protéger ses frères—se retrouvent dans la *Lectio* de Nestor: «Voyez-vous, mes frères, quelle hauteur atteint la soumission qu'ont manifestée envers leur frère aîné les deux saints. S'ils lui avaient résisté, ils n'auraient certainement pas été jugés dignes par Dieu d'un tel don de thaumaturges. Il y a de nos jours de nombreux jeunes princes qui ne se soumettent pas aux aînés, s'opposent à eux et sont tués, mais ils ne sont pas jugés dignes d'une grâce comme celle [qui fut accordée] à ces saints».[45] Le culte de Boris et Glěb constitue désormais la base idéologique du pouvoir exercé sur l'ensemble de la Rus', et sur chacun de ses pays (*zemli*) séparément, par les descendants de Volodimer et de Jaroslav. Et on peut penser, avec Manfred Hellmann, que ce n'est pas un hasard si le panégyrique de Volodimer déplorant l'absence de miracles sur sa tombe est suivi, dans la *PVL*, par le récit du martyre de ses deux fils, Boris et Glěb.[46]

Ces nouvelles structures politiques—dont il est difficile de retrouver les racines plus anciennes[47] —ont, dans le seconde moitié du XI^{e} siècle, définitivement remplacé le pouvoir monarchique tel que l'avaient exercé sur la Rus' Volodimer ou Jaroslav. Cette forme de pouvoir appartenait désormais au passé, par exemple vers 1072 aux yeux de l'auteur anonyme du Dit sur les martyrs Boris et Glěb (*S''kazanie i strast' i poxvala svjatuju mučeniku Borisa i Glěba*): «Peu auparavant [les événements de 1015], il y avait un autocrate de tout le Pays de la Rus', Volodimer, fils de

[43] Dumézil, *Mythes et dieux des Germains*, pp. 50–62; Edward Reisman, «The Cult of Boris and Gleb: Remnant of a Varangian Tradition?», *Russian Review* 37 (1978): 141–157; *AHE*, p. 5. Sur la fonction de «saint roi thaumaturge» et de «saint roi sanctifiant sa dynastie», cf. Folz, *Les saints rois*, pp. 117–135, 142–146.

[44] *PVL*, p. 108.

[45] *AHE*, p. 25. Sur les structures mises en place en 1054, cf. Manfred Hellmann, «Slawisches, insbesondere ostslawisches Herrschertum des Mittelalters», *Das Königtum, seine geistigen und rechtlichen Grundlagen* (Vorträge und Forschungen, hggb vom Institut für geschichtliche Landesforschung des Bodenseegebietes in Konstanz, vol. 3) (Lindau-Konstanz, 1954), pp. 266–267.

[46] Manfred Hellmann, «Das Herrscherbild in der sogenannten Nestorchronik», *Speculum historiale, Geschichte im Spiegel von Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsdeutung* [Mélanges Johann Spörl] (Freiburg-München, 1965), p. 234.

[47] Sur la question du *rod* princier, cf. V. L. Komarovič, «Kul't roda i zemli v knjažeskoj srede XI–XIII vv.», *Trudy otdela drevnerusskoj literatury* 16 (1960): 84–104.

Svjatoslav. . .» *(mal''m' preže six'', suščju samodr'ž'cju v'sei Rus'skei zemli Volodimiru, synu Svjatoslavlju. . .).* C'est dans des termes à peu près analogues que l'auteur de la *PVL* rapporte, sous l'année 6544/1036, que, à la suite de la mort de Mstislav Volodimerovič, qui régnait sur la rive gauche du Dnepr, Jaroslav devint, à son tour, «autocrate» (*samovlastec'*), ou d'après la version de l'Hypatienne «monocrate» (*edinovlastec'*), du pays de la Rus'.[48] L'emploi de ces paronymes exprime, chaque fois, une situation politique exceptionnelle aux yeux des clercs de la seconde moitié du XI^{e} siècle.

En 1036, celle-ci avait résulté d'un décès accidentel, mais la première étape, pour Jaroslav, sur le chemin de l'«autocratie» avait été sa guerre victorieuse contre Svjatopolk (1016–1019), précédée du meurtre de Boris et Glěb, dont le responsable a pu être, en fait, Jaroslav. De même Volodimer devait son pouvoir absolu au meurtre de son frère Jaropolk (980) qui, lui-même, avait auparavant éliminé physiquement un autre de leurs frères, Oleg (977). Dans ces conditions, l'idée du pouvoir «autocratique», même si elle reçut pendant un temps le renfort du modèle byzantin,[49] était sérieusement compromise par son corollaire, le meurtre fratricide que, entre autres, l'Église pouvait difficilement admettre comme pratique politique courante. Ainsi le terme même de *samodr'ž'c'*—qui ne fut jamais à l'époque prémongole un titre officiel—resta d'un emploi limité: même en 1078, lorsque le dernier des fils de Jaroslav, Vsevolod, réussit, grâce à la mort de ses frères, à rétablir l'unité du pouvoir politique, l'auteur de la *PVL* n'en évite pas moins d'employer ce terme et se contente, sous l'année 6597/1089, d'appeler Vsevolod *deržavnyj*, et de dire de lui—tout comme l'auteur du Dit sur les miracles de Boris et Glěb—sous l'année 6586/1078: «il prit tout le pouvoir sur le pays de la Rus'» (ou bien «il reçut tout le territoire de la Rus'», *priim'' vlast' rus'skuju vsju*).[50] Seulement plus tard, au XIII^{e} siècle, on retrouve, sous la plume du chroniqueur galicien, pour Roman Mstislavič (†1205): *po sm(e)rti že velikago knjazja Romana. . . samoderž'ca vseja Rusi.*[51]

48 *AHE*, p. 27; *PVL*, p. 101; *PSRL*, vol. 2, col. 138.

49 Cette influence du modèle byzantin est surtout attestée par la numismatique, cf. M. P. Sotnikova et I. G. Spasskij, *Tysjačeletie drevnejšix monet Rossii, svodnyj katalog russkix monet X–XI vekov* (Leningrad, 1983).

50 *PVL*, pp. 135, 137; *AHE*, p. 60.

51 *PSRL*, vol 2, col. 715. On peut relever que même au XV^{e} siècle le terme *samoder'žec'* peut avoir occasionellement une valeur péjorative, par exemple dans la dernière partie du *Slovo poxval'noe o. . .velikom knjaze Borise Aleksandroviče inoka Fomy* où il s'applique à Dmitrij Šemjaka, présenté dans ce texte comme un usurpateur, *Pamjatniki literatury Drevnej Rusi*, vol. 5 (Moskva, 1982), pp. 314–315.

Ainsi l'«empire chrétien» qu'a cherché, plus ou moins consciemment, à créer Volodimer et que restaura Jaroslav de 1019, et surtout de 1036, à 1054 fut politiquement un échec. Or Volodimer avait été comparé par les auteurs du XI[e] siècle à l'empereur Constantin le Grand: aux yeux d'Hilarion, de Jacques le Moine ou de l'anonyme auquel on doit le panégyrique conservé dans la *PVL*, les deux princes occupaient une place analogue dans l'histoire puisque l'un et l'autre ont eu le mérite de fonder un empire chrétien. Mais ce parallèle ne fut pas à l'avantage de prince de Kiev.

En effet, l'empire chrétien créé par Constantin, s'il ne lui survécut guère au-delà de 395 (mort de Théodose) dans le vaste cadre de l'empire romain, devint en Orient une réalité politique tangible, que la Rus' connaissait bien. De plus, l'empereur conserva dans l'Église la place que s'étaient attribuée Constantin et, après lui, Théodose, en convoquant les deux premiers conciles oecuméniques (Nicée en 325, Constantinople en 381). Enfin, l'empereur «défenseur de l'orthodoxie» fut l'objet, dans la ville qu'il avait fondée, d'un culte qu'il avait lui-même préparé en se faisant inhumer, aux côtés des restes de saints André, Luc et Thimothée, dans l'église des saints Apôtres. «A Constantinople, le christianisme n'apparaît pendant longtemps que par la médiation de l'empereur chrétien, dans son palais, sous sa statue, dans son mausolée, à travers ses images» (Gilbert Dagron). Ce culte fut renforcé dans les siècles suivants par la rivalité de la «Nouvelle Rome» avec l'ancienne Rome. Celle-ci s'enorgueillissant de posséder les tombes du «prince des Apôtres» et de l'«Apôtre des Gentils», sa rivale ne pouvait que développer le culte de l'empereur «égal aux Apôtres» (*isapostolos*). Dans ces conditions, Constantin, malgré son syncrétisme religieux, ses sympathies pour l'hérésie arienne, la date tardive de son baptême (sur son lit de mort) et les ombres qui recouvrent sa personnalité morale presque autant que celle de Volodimer, fut vénéré comme un saint par l'Église grecque, à défaut de l'être par l'Église latine.[52]

Rien de tel pour Volodimer. Les structures politiques qu'il avait mises en place ne lui ont, nous l'avons vu, guère survécu. La ville de Kiev, profondément transformée et agrandie par Jaroslav, ne devint jamais la «ville de Volodimer». L'église de la Dîme, où encore en 1049–1051 Hilarion prononça l'éloge du fondateur de la Rus' chrétienne, fut peu après

52 Sur le culte de l'empereur Constantin en général on peut encore consulter la notice de Henri Leclercq dans le *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, sous la dir. de F. Cabrol, vol. 32 (Paris, 1914), col. 2688–2689. Sur le culte de Constantin à Constantinople, cf. Gilbert Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale: Constantinople et ses institutions de 300 à 451* (Bibliothèque byzantine, vol. 7) (Paris, 1974), chapitre XIII, citation p. 408.

supplantée par Sainte-Sophie, lieu de sépulture de Jaroslav et de certains de ses descendants (Vsevolod et son fils Volodimer Monomax),[53] cathédrale du «métropolite de la Rus' », le gardien et le symbole de l'unité spirituelle et culturelle du pays.

La place qu'Hilarion avait cherché à attribuer à Volodimer, aux côtés des Apôtres les plus prestigieux du Nouveau Testament, revint finalement à saint André. La légende sur le voyage qu'il aurait fait de la mer Noire à Novgorod en passant par Kiev répondait, comme l'a montré L. Müller, à la gêne que ressentait une partie du clergé de la Rus' devant le fait que leur Église n'était pas, historiquement parlant, «apostolique»; elle apparut très vraisemblablement sous le règne de Vsevolod Jaroslavič (1078–1093), André de son nom de baptême,[54] à peu près au moment où le culte dynastique de Boris et Glěb recevait la sanction de l'Église. Ainsi, à la fin du XI^e^ siècle, Volodimer n'avait plus à être canonisé ni comme «Apôtre de la Rus' », ni comme modèle politique, ni comme intercesseur de la dynastie princière.

Le sort subi par Volodimer après sa mort n'a rien d'exceptionnel en Europe orientale. On peut rappeler que les princes fondateurs de l'«empire polonais»,[55] Mieszko I^er^ (†992) et Boleslas (Bolesław) I^er^ (†1025), ne furent pas davantage canonisés, la fonction de protecteurs du pays étant attribuée à des évêques martyrs, Adalbert (Wojciech, †997), puis Stanislas (Stanisław, †1079). J'ai évoqué plus haut la canonisation d'Étienne de Hongrie. Elle s'explique peut-être—hormis le fait qu'il fut, à défaut d'être assassiné, victime d'un complot—par la situation politique qui régnait dans le pays au moment où elle fut prononcée: après les dizaines d'années de troubles qui suivirent la disparition du fondateur du royaume, Ladislas (Lászlo, 1077–1095) parvint à rétablir l'autorité royale; l'oeuvre politique de saint Étienne était restaurée, cela justifiait largement son admission parmi les saints. Celle-ci se fit néanmoins de façon assez discrète, en même temps que deux autres saints hongrois.[56] Ce n'est pas un hasard si à Kiev les voix en faveur de la canonisation de Volodimer—celles d'Hilarion, de Jacques le Moine ou de l'auteur du panégyrique conservé dans la *PVL*—se

53 *PVL*, pp. 108–109, 142; Evfimij F. Karskij, ed., *PSRL*, vol 1^1, 2^me^ éd. (Leningrad, 1926), col. 295.

54 Texte de la légende, *PVL*, p. 12; sur son interprétation, cf. Ludolf Müller, «Probleme der Christianisierung Russlands und der Frühgeschichte des russischen Christentums», *Aspects de l'orthodoxie. Structures et spiritualités. Colloque de Strasbourg (1978)* (Paris, 1981), pp. 67–77.

55 L'expression est employée par Aleksander Gieysztor dans *Histoire de la Pologne* (Warszawa, 1971), p. 66.

56 Folz, *Les saints rois*, pp. 76–84.

sont fait entendre approximativement au moment où Jaroslav restaura le pouvoir «autocratique» de son père. Malheureusement, à la différence de l'oeuvre politique de Ladislas, poursuivie par son neveu Coloman Ier (Kálmán, 1095–1114), celle de Jaroslav fut éphémère. Et, plus tard, pour que l'initiative accidentelle, qui permit l'inscription de Volodimer dans les ménologes de la région de Novgorod vers la fin du XIIIe siècle, pût acquérir un certain retentissement, il fallut que des circonstances historiques nouvelles apparussent.

Le culte de Volodimer resta, en effet, longtemps modeste: dans la partie nord-est de l'ancienne Rus' de Kiev, on peut tout juste relever qu'un petit-fils d'Ivan Kalita, Volodimer Andreevič de Serpuxov (1353–1438), le cousin et le glorieux compagnon d'armes de Dmitrij Donskoj, porta exclusivement ce prénom, ce qui en fait assurément un prénom chrétien;[57] puis l'auteur de l'un des premiers textes consacrés à la victoire de ces deux princes à Kulikovo (1380), la rédaction brève de la *Zadonščina*, mentionne *Volodimera Kiev'skago, carja russkago*.[58]

En fait, les événements qui marquèrent véritablement le début de la récupération par l'État moscovite naissant de l'«héritage kiévien» (Jaroslav Pelenski)[59] et du culte de Volodimer se situent au milieu du XVe siècle, lorsque Basile II l'Aveugle, sorti victorieux de la guerre dynastique qui l'avait opposé à ses cousins, les princes de Galič, fut amené, sept ans après avoir expulsé de Moscou le promoteur de l'Union de Florence métropolitain Isidore (1441), à réunir un synode qui procéda à l'élection du métropolite autocéphale *de facto* Jonas (1448). Le premier témoignage de la place que les dirigeants de Moscou étaient amenés à faire à saint Volodimer est constitué par une oeuvre littéraire dont l'apparition semble se situer à cette époque, le Panégyrique de Dmitrij Donskoj, *Slovo o žitii i o prestavlenii velikogo knjazja Dmitrija Ivanoviča, carja rus'skago*, où le vainqueur de Kulikovo est d'emblée qualifié—dans le style ampoulé de la littérature slavonne moscovite de cette époque—de «branche fertile et fleur splendide, issue du *car'* Volodimer, le nouveau Constantin, qui a baptisé le Pays russe», mais aussi, notons-le, de «parent des nouveaux thaumaturges Boris et Glěb» (*otrasl' blagoplodna i cvět prekrasnyi carja Volodimera, novago Kostjantina, krestivšego zemlju Ruskuju, srodnik že byst' novoju čjudotvorcju Borisa i Glěba*); à la fin du texte, Volodimer est d'ailleurs

57 V. A. Kučkin, «Spodvižnik Dmitrija Donskogo», *Voprosy istorii*, 1979, no. 8, pp. 104–116.

58 André Vaillant, ed., *La* Zadonščina, *épopée russe du XVe siècle* (Textes publiés par l'Institut d'études slaves, vol. 6) (Paris, 1967), p. 3.

59 Jaroslav Pelenski, «The Origin of the Official Muscovite Claims to the 'Kievan Inheritance' », *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 1, no. 1 (March 1977): 29–52.

réduit au rang de prince local de Kiev et de sa région, le Pays de la Rus' étant confié à la sollicitude de Dmitrij Donskoj, qui pourtant n'a jamais dépassé, jusqu'en 1988, le stade des défunts faisant l'objet d'une vénération informelle.[60]

Le souvenir de Volodimer, toujours rattaché à celui de l'empereur Constantin, est réaffirmé avec plus d'éclat dans les textes directement liés à l'Union de Florence et à ses conséquences: la Relation du huitième concile de Siméon de Suzdal' (*Povest' Simeona Suzdal'ca o VIII sobore*) et surtout l'épitre de Basile II au patriarche Mitrophane où le grand-prince de Moscou, pour demander l'autorisation de faire élire sur place un successeur à Isidore, rappelle l'enquête religieuse menée par Volodimer, relatée dans la *PVL*, et le fait que ce «grand et nouveau Constantin, le pieux *car'* du Pays russe» (*velikii novyi Kostjan'tin, a reku, blagočestivyi car' russkia zemlja Vladimir*) «a pris» (*vzimaet'*') à Constantinople «pour le Pays russe un métropolite»; le souvenir du prince Volodimer «égal aux Apôtres» et «autocrate de tout le Pays russe» est également évoqué dans la lettre à Constantin XI Paléologue (1451), destinée à justifier l'élection de Jonas.[61]

On remarquera que, dans ces passages, Volodimer n'est pas expressément qualifié de «saint», mais il porte, depuis la *Zadonščina*, le titre *car'* qui sous-entend une valeur religieuse, puisque, dans les siècles précédents, il était attribué à des princes ayant sacrifié leur vie ou enduré des outrages ou bien à ceux qui étaient amenés à exercer, dans les limites de la Rus', vis-à-vis de l'Église les fonctions qui, à Byzance, revenaient à l'empereur.[62]

Ainsi, pour justifier les initiatives prises, à son corps défendant, par Basile II en 1441–1448, les milieux dirigeants moscovites ont été amenés à sous-entendre la sainteté de Volodimer, mais une sainteté essentiellement livresque: en effet, au sein même de la dynastie issue d'Ivan Kalita, le prénom Volodimer resta d'un usage exceptionnel, puisqu'il ne fut donné, en dehors du prince de Serpuxov de la fin du XIV[e] siècle, qu'à son double homonyme, Volodimer Andreevič de Starica (†1569), le cousin et l'une des

60 *Pamjatniki literatury Drevnej Rusi*, vol. 4 (Moskva, 1981), pp. 208–209, 226–227. Sur la date du texte, cf. Pelenski, «The Origin of the Official Muscovite Claims», pp. 37–40; Wladimir Vodoff, «Quand a pu être composé le Panégyrique du grand-prince Dmitrij Ivanovič, tsar russe?», *Canadian-American Slavic Studies* 13 (1979) [Mélanges A. Andreyev]: 82–101; idem, «Ešče raz o datirovke 'Slova o žitii i o prestavlenii velikogo knjazja Dmitrija Ivanoviča, carja Ruskago'» [Mélanges D. S. Lixačev] (Moskva, 1988), pp. 182–190. Sur le culte de Dmitrij Ivanovič Donskoj, cf. Golubinskij, *Istorija kanonizacii*, p. 353.

61 V. N. Malinin, *Starec Eleazarova monastyrja Filofej i ego poslanija* (Kiev, 1901), suppl., pp. 99, 114; *Pamjatniki drevne-russkogo kanoničeskogo prava*, vol. 1, 2[me] éd. (Russkaja istoričeskaja biblioteka, vol. 6) (S.-Peterburg, 1908), col. 526–528, 581.

62 Vodoff, «Remarques sur la valeur du terme 'tsar'», pp. 1–41.

victimes d'Ivan le Terrible,[63] alors que cette sainteté est attestée, à l'aube des temps modernes, par différents témoins de la *pis'mennost'*, des compilations historiques moscovites telles que la *Nikonovskaja letopis'* ou la *Stepennaja kniga*, des synaxaires (*prologi*) de différentes origines et des textes liturgiques.[64] Cette relative abondance explique que, en 1547 et 1549, lorsque le métropolite de Moscou Macaire fit procéder à de nombreuses canonisations solennelles de saints vénérés depuis longtemps localement, notamment des princes, il parut inutile de proclamer la sainteté de l'«Apôtre» de la Rus'.

Parmi les refontes de la Vie de Volodimer, à partir des chroniques et des synaxaires, l'une des plus anciennes (seconde moitié du XV^e^–début du XVI^e^ siècle) provient du sud-ouest de l'ancienne Rus' de Kiev.[65] Toutefois, l'histoire du culte de Volodimer en Ukraine reste difficile à suivre jusqu'à l'époque de la restauration de la métropole orthodoxe de Kiev (1620), où ce culte servit à la défense religieuse et culturelle des populations ruthènes. Le point de départ ecclésiastique de cette dévotion fut l'invention des reliques de Volodimer par le métropolite Pierre Mohyla dans les ruines de l'église de la Dîme (1635).[66]

Ce culte se vit attribuer, dès l'époque de Pierre Mohyla, une coloration «nationale»: l'Ukraine du XVII^e^ siècle devenait, sous la plume d'un élève de l'Académie de Kiev, «la nation de Volodimer» (*narod Włodzimierza*); dans l'inscription que Mohyla fit graver sur l'église restaurée du Sauveur de Berestovo on lit: *Siju c(e)rkov' sozda velikij i vseja Rossii knjaz i samoderžec s(vja)tyj Vladimir, vo s(vja)tom krešče(n)ii Vasili(j).*[67] Le culte de Volodimer acquit, au XVII^e^ siècle, en Ukraine une dimension littéraire: plusieurs rédactions de la Vie, en langue vulgaire, sont attestées dans des manuscrits de la seconde moitié du siècle.[68] Le caractère national de ce

[63] A. V. Èkzempljarskij, *Velikie i udel'nye knjaz'ja severnoj Rusi v tatarskij period s 1238 po 1505 g.*, vol. 2 (S.-Peterburg, 1891), tableau généal. no. I.

[64] Sur les récits moscovites tardifs consacrés à Volodimer et leur dépendance vis-à-vis des sources plus anciennes, cf. Serebrjanskij, «Drevnerusskie knjažeskie žitija», pp. 62–81; sur les textes liturgiques, cf. F. G. Spasskij, *Russkoe liturgičeskoe tvorčestvo* (Paris, 1951), pp. 88–89, 94–95, bien que certaines formulations maladroites puissent laisser croire à une ancienneté excessive des textes.

[65] Serebrjanskij, «Drevnerusskie knjažeskije žitija», p. 62.

[66] Golubinskij, *Istorija kanonizacii*, pp. 64–65, no. 2.

[67] Ihor Ševčenko, «The Many Worlds of Peter Mohyla», *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 8, no. 1/2 (June 1984): 36–37, n. 40.

[68] Volodymyr N. Peretc, «Drevnerusskie knjažeskie žitija v ukrainskix perevodax», recueil de l'auteur, *Issledovanija i materialy po istorii ukrainskoj literatury XVI–XVIII vekov* (Moskva-Leningrad, 1962), pp. 28–116. Je remercie mon collègue de Cracovie Ryszard Łużny d'avoir attiré mon attention sur cette publication à l'occasion de son exposé «Tradition du Baptême de la Rus' aux XVI^e^—XVII^e^ siècles», au colloque *Le Origini e lo sviluppo della*

culte, élément important de la prise de conscience ukrainienne dans le cadre de l'État polono-lituanien, explique qu'il se soit étendu tant aux communautés orthodoxes qu'à celles des catholiques de rite oriental. Le triomphe, dans la langue ukrainienne, de la forme populaire *Volodymyr*, héritée de la langue parlée de la Rus' de Kiev, sur le slavon *Vladimir* (encore employé dans les textes du XVII^e^ siècle) est un dernier indice du caractère populaire qu'acquit le culte de saint Volodimer chez les Ukrainiens à l'époque moderne.

Il n'en alla pas de même dans la partie septentrionale de l'ancienne Rus'. Certes, l'initiative de Mohyla eut des répercussions jusqu'à Moscou, puisque le métropolite de Kiev envoya en 1635 un fragment des reliques de Volodimer—sa mâchoire—en présent au tsar Mixail Fedorovič, qui le fit déposer dans la cathédrale de l'Assomption. Mais les répercussions de cet acte politico-religieux restèrent limitées. Apparemment même l'activité des prélats d'origine ukrainienne, particulièrement nombreux dans l'Église russe au XVIII^e^ siècle, ne contribua guère à populariser le culte de Volodimer dont le nom conserva, en russe, sa forme slavonne. Aucun texte hagiographique en langue vulgaire n'est attesté avant le XIX^e^ siècle. Contrairement à l'opinion de Georgij P. Fedotov, qui parle de «canonisation populaire»,[69] l'image du «saint» fut, dans les mentalités, occultée par celle de Vladimir le Beau Soleil (*Vladimir Krasnoe solnyško*), le héros des *byliny*, ou plutôt l'inlassable organisateur des festins destinés à honorer les héros véritables, les *bogatyri*. Ainsi seul le Volodimer païen, celui qui n'avait pas besoin de miracle pour être sacralisé, a survécu en Russie jusqu'à il y a cent ans environ.

Le propagateur de la foi du Christ dans la Rus' de Kiev n'a vu ses mérites explicitement reconnus que par la génération qui le suivit. Aussitôt après la destruction du cadre politique à l'intérieur duquel le christianisme fut introduit, les mérites de son fondateur, le «second Constantin», furent oubliés—tout comme d'ailleurs le furent ceux du premier hors des limites du Commonwealth byzantin—pour n'être rappelés et utilisés que lorsque les circonstances politiques l'exigeaient. Tel fut le cas en Moscovie au milieu du XV^e^ siècle, au moment d'une grave crise ecclésiastique, en Ukraine au XVII^e^ siècle, lorsqu'il s'est agi de défendre l'identité nationale face à la Pologne. Tel fut encore la cas, dans un tout autre contexte, il y a cent ans dans l'empire russe, lorsque le culte de Volodimer fut mis au service de l'Église orthodoxe officielle, de l'autocratie et du nationalisme

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cristianita slavo-bizantina (Roma, mai 1988).

69 Fedotov, «Kanonizacija svjatogo Vladimira», pp. 195–196.

russe, non sans succès si l'on en juge d'après la prolifération depuis plus d'un siècle, en Russie et ailleurs, du prénom *Vladimir*. Le fait que nous puissions aujourd'hui analyser ici librement ce phénomène historique, complexe et ambigu, permet une comparaison entre les deux anniversaires, dont la conclusion ne peut être que favorable à notre époque.

École pratique des hautes études, Paris

Il *Battesimo di S. Vladimiro* di Karel Havlíček Borovský*

GIUSEPPE DELL'AGATA

Високопреосвященні Владики,
Вельмишановні Пані і Панове,
Дорогі колеги та гості!

Мені надзвичайно приємно привітати Вас на цьому Тисячолітньому Конґресі від імени Італійської Асоціяції Славістів, якої головою я маю честь бути.

Тисячоліття Хрещення Руси-України—це не тільки подія в історії християнства у Східній Европі. Разом з християнством Київська Русь перейняла концепцію культури базованої на письмі і тим самим увійшла до історії. Бож історія не існує поза писаними пам'ятками.

Культура Київської Руси спочатку опиралася на досягненнях слов'янського обряду. Цей обряд був первісно створений для Моравії, але він зміг розвинутися повністю тільки у Болгарії часів Преславської школи царя Симеона.

Тому дозвольте мені тепер перейти на італійську мову, мову мойого родинного та наукового поприща.

La stesura del primo e più importante poema satirico dell'Ottocento ceco, *Křest svatého Vladimíra* (*Il battesimo di S. Vladimiro*), contrappunta, con intensità variata, la travagliata, ardente e lucida ricerca politica e poetica di Karel Havlíček Borovský (figura carismatica, oggetto, post mortem, di un unanime patriottico culto retroattivo da tutte le sponde) a partire dal suo soggiorno moscovita in qualità di educatore in casa del professor Stepan Petrovič Ševyrev nel 1843 fino ai duri anni dell'esilio a Bressanone e ai suoi ultimi giorni di vita.

Quando, in occasione dei funerali di Havlíček, il 1 agosto 1856, Božena Němcová depose sulla sua bara una corona di alloro intrecciata di spine davanti a una gran folla di popolo, che aveva dato luogo alla prima manifestazione di massa antigovernativa (vedi il preoccupato rapporto di polizia in

* Testimonial dinner address, 21 April 1988.—*The Editors.*

Hajn 1936: 113 sgg.) dopo la sconfitta della Primavera di Praga e d'Europa del 1848, officiando un laico e simbolico rito nazional-letterario, il poema non era ancora concluso. Il suo autore aveva previsto ancora due Canti, l'XI: *Bitva rozhodující mezi katolíky a Řeky* e il XII: *Křest. Konec. Veselost'*.

Il più accurato studioso del testo del *Battesimo*, l'ucraino Hryhoryj Omel'čenko,[1] che ha ricostruito con certosina e accanita sagacia la tradizione manoscritta[2] e il succedersi delle diverse redazioni del testo, da una iniziale di solo 72 versi ad un'ultima di 974, sintetizza nel modo seguente, non senza un qualche eccesso di preferenza affettiva nei confronti dell'oggetto studiato, il rapporto di Havlíček con la sua opera satirica: «Dvanáctiletá až třináctiletá nepřetržitá práce Havlíčkova o 'Křtu sv. Vladimíra' měla pro Havlíčka takový význam jako pro Goetha *padesátiletá* práce o Faustovi neb pro Tolstého pětileté *sedmeré* přepisování a upravování nesmrtelného díla 'Vojna a mír.' Jak Goethovi a Tolstému jmenovaná díla, jež stála tolik času, přinesla nesmrtelnost, tak i 'Křest sv. Vladimíra', výsledek dlouholeté práce, přinesl a ještě přinese slávu a nesmrtelnost Havlíčkovi» (Omel'čenko 1933: 116).

La scelta tematica del battesimo della Rus' kieviana (il poema reca come sottotitolo *Legenda z historie ruské*) come 'opera di una vita intera' nella quale riflettere, attraverso un'azione progressiva di ampliamento e limatura formale e di coerente distillazione ideologica, una interpretazione, letteraria e filosofica, del senso delle invarianti della storia in un'epoca di mutamenti tempestosi negli accadimenti e nei valori, trova una sua spiegazione plausibile in due costanti che accompagnano l'attività di Havlíček: da un lato l'amore per la nazione e la cultura ucraina, dall'altro la consapevolezza della centralità europea della potenza dell'Impero russo, fonte di odio-amore per il viluppo di terrore dispotico e di prospettive di grandi potenzialità liberatorie.

E' noto come Havlíček, partendo da un'iniziale accettazione della reciprocità slava di Kollár e da un'infatuazione prima per i Polacchi, poi per i Russi, sia giunto in seguito a formulare il programma politico dell'austroslavismo (Dolanský 1963; Bělič 1947; *Slovanství* 1968) centrato sull'unione degli Slavi absburgici. Ma è solo nei confronti degli Ucraini che le simpatie del nostro autore sono sempre rimaste inalterate.

[1] Hr. Omel'čenko, confinato nel 1906 dal governo zarista, nel novembre del 1919 (era allora vicepresidente del Parlamento di Kuban') venne esiliato a Istanbul dal generale Denikin. Dal 1921, in seguito alla Rivoluzione, visse in esilio in Cecoslovacchia.

[2] Havlíček non poteva certo sperare che *Křest sv. Vladimíra* potesse essere pubblicato. L'opera conobbe però una certa diffusione manoscritta e fu pubblicata solo molti anni dopo la morte del suo autore.

Già nei due mesi trascorsi a Leopoli alla fine del 1842 Karel Zap gli aveva fatto conoscere lo storico Denys Ivanovyč Zubryc'kyj e Jakiv Holovac'kyj, fautore quest'ultimo dell'autonomia della lingua ucraina e studioso di canti popolari. Con Holovac'kyj Havlíček era rimasto in contatto anche durante il suo soggiorno moscovita nel 1843 e 1844 e gli aveva chiesto, a nome di Bodjans'kyj, i testi dei canti popolari ucraini che lo stesso Holovac'kyj andava raccogliendo (Bělič 1947: 37–38).[3] A Mosca Havlíček era stato a contatto strettissimo con lo stesso Osyp Maksymovyč Bodjans'kyj, anch'egli ucraino, professore all'università e l'unico con cui potesse conversare in ceco. In una lettera Havlíček lo definisce «horlivý Slovan a horlivý Malorus» (Bělič 1947: 53). In un elenco di oltre 50 titoli di libri ucraini, o polacchi e russi su temi ucraini, Havlíček ricorda la *Eneida* di Ivan Kotljarevs'kyj (Bělič 1947: 47), classico della letteratura nazionale, burlesco travestimento cosacco del poema vergiliano, che satireggia dei, regnanti e funzionari (possibile modello per genere del *Battesimo*?) che era stata preceduta dalla parodia anticattolica *Die Abenteuer des frommen Helden Aeneas* (1783–1786) dell'ex-gesuita e poi framassone Aloys Blumauer, la cui opera era stata tradotta liberamente in russo da Nikolaj Petrovič Osipov (*Vergilieva Eneida, vyvoročennaja naiznanku*, 1791–1796). Aggiungiamo che Havlíček considerava l'ucraino Gogol' come il massimo scrittore russo e che fu tra i primissimi traduttori di vari racconti e delle *Anime morte*. Il verso usato per il *Battesimo* è, infine, la *kolomyjka*, un tipico verso popolare ucraino di quattordici sillabe con cesura dopo l'ottava (8+6) articolato in coppie rimate. L'incipit del Canto II: *Hospodářství*

Jedna hora vysoká je
a druhá je nízká

è una citazione letterale di una kolomyjka ucraina:

Jidna hora vysokaja
a druhaja nys'ka.

Il favore di Havlíček per la cultura e la letteratura ucraina è inoltre marcatamente contraccambiato. Il grande Ivan Franko tradusse il *Battesimo* e altre poesie di Havlíček e dedicò a Masaryk la sua opera (Franko 1901). La traduzione di Ivan Franko nel 1933 era apparsa già sei volte (compresa una edizione praghese del 1929—Omel'čenko 1933: 4–5) sì che lo stesso Omel'čenko (che, come abbiamo detto, è lo studioso che vanta maggiori meriti nella ricostruzione testuale del *Battesimo*) poteva dire con orgoglio:

[3] Bodjans'kyj pubblicò in seguito, negli anni 1863 e 1864, la raccolta di Holovac'kyj col titolo *Narodnyja pěsni Galickoj i Ugorskoj Rusi* (Bělič 1947: 38).

«Z cizích literatur je Křest sv. Vladimíra nejoblíbenější četbou ukrajinské veřejnosti; svědcí o tom již šesté vydání básně. Ukrajinci mají proti jiným národům nejvíce vydání Křtu; Rusové, Němci, Slovinci a Američané mají jen po jednom vydání, *ostatní národové tohoto překladu vůbec nemají*» (Omel'čenko 1933: 4).

L'altra costante dell'opera di Havlíček è costituita dalla consapevolezza della centralità del problema russo. Dapprima entusiasta della Russia e tributario ideologico del gruppo degli slavofili moscoviti (in primo luogo Pogodin e Ševyrev), matura poi un'avversione per l'ambiente russo (lascerà Mosca prima del previsto, rinunciando anche ad un viaggio programmato insieme a Bodjans'kyj), con una distinzione però sempre più lucida tra l'apprezzamento per le virtù e le potenzialità del popolo russo minuto, contadini asserviti, svobodniki e, particolarmente, mercanti, e il disgusto per l'apparato delle classi sfruttatrici; proprietari terrieri, funzionari, gerarchie ecclesiastiche, stranieri, capitanati dalla personificazione stessa dell'assolutismo autocratico e terroristico, vero e proprio impero del male, che è Nicola I, zar per grazia di Dio.

La raccolta *Obrazy z Rus*, costituisce un'opera di altissima importanza sia per l'evoluzione del pensiero di Havlíček che per la qualità politica, estetica e informativa dell'analisi autoptica del mondo russo ottocentesco. Potremmo scambiarla, tale è sotto certi aspetti la sua attualità, per un moderno reportage sull'Unione Sovietica, se non fosse per la maggior caratura di intelligenza che la sottende e che la rende un classico.

Havlíček è nemico giurato dell'assolutismo zarista e di tutta la macchineria di soprusi e arbitri ad esso connessa, ma, e questo anche nel periodo di Kutná Hora, è al contempo affascinato e in un certo senso anche rassicurato da questo possente antemurale del pangermanesimo che per lui, patriota ceco, è il più mortale dei pericoli. Nel denso saggio *Rusové*, apparso sul numero del 10 luglio 1850 di «Slovan», e che, in polemica forte con Bakunin, è rivolto a spegnere le speranze di prossime riforme costituzionali dello zarismo e a sostenerne la relativa stabilità per almeno altri 30–50 anni, Havlíček si duole, sarcasticamente, della perdita sofferta dalla poesia 'patriottica' tedesca per il fatto che si dica *knut* e non *knus* (rima assai allettante con *Rus*) e aggiunge: «Proto i já sám velmi často po přečtení některého čísla 'Ost-Deutsche-Post' a podobných časopisů se srdečným utěšením podívám se na svůj ruský knut, který, jsem si na věčnou památku z Moskvy přivezl a oddechnu si: *In hoc signo vinces!* což se vykládá po česku: Kdyby nebylo té bázně před Ruskem, jak by s námi teprva nakládali!» (Tobolka 1904: 211–12). L'articolo, che si conclude con l'affermazione, solo in apparenza paradossale: «Jsem nepřítel a protivník vší despotie a budu až do poslední krůpěje potu hájiti konstituci:

ale kdybych se despotie nikterak již uvarovati nemohl, jest mi ruská despotie nejmilejší» (Tobolka 1904: 231), è di forte polemica col movimento rivoluzionario e socialista europeo, specie tedesco e francese, e alle lambiccate soluzioni utopistiche di Proudhon e Cabet contrappone gli elementi di socialismo dell'*artel'* e di comunismo nel sistema dell'*obščina* («Ostatně mají tyto vesnické obce v Rusích ještě zřízení staroslovanské, patriarchálni a téměř komunistické»—Tobolka 1904: 220), per concludere che «v žádné jiné zemi není rozumný socialismus tak v životě, jako právě tam» (Tobolka 1904: 222).

L'interesse per l'antica storia russa (=Rus') accompagna Havlíček dal suo giovanile soggiorno moscovita al periodo dell'esilio a Bressanone. Il 29 ottobre 1853, in relazione all'inchiesta aperta nei suoi confronti per «aver inviato ad amici versi intrisi di spirito ateo e repubblicano», Havlíček fece la seguente deposizione: «V letech 1842–44, tedy asi před desíti lety, u příležitosti studia ruských dějin v Moskvě, připadl jsem na myšlenku učiniti cara Vladimíra (panovavšího r. 980–1015) předmětem žertovné básně, a také jsem tehda svedl několik veršů, které však neobsahovaly nižádných narážek na přítomnost» (Omel'čenko 1933: 18). A Mosca studia l'edizione e il commento della *Cronaca di Nestore* a cura dello Schlötzer, autore che, nel saggio *Cizozemci v Rusích*, apparso nel «Časopis českého museum» nel 1846, definisce, pur criticandolo per un giudizio errato «dosti slavný badatel» (Tobolka 1904: 144). A Bressanone, anche dietro suggerimento di Palacký, si accinge a scrivere una storia russa. Di là scrive a Palacký di fargli pervenire la copia del Museo della *Storia* di Karamzin. Studia il *Povestvovanie o Rossii* di Arcybašev. Studia in particolare gli Annali antico-russi. Al fratello František chiede di inviargli da casa il dizionario russo-tedesco, perché le antiche cronache russe sono scritte «cyrilským nářečím», sicché molte parole gli risultano incomprensibili (Bělič 1947: 76). Dovette abbandonare l'impresa oltre che per mancanza di materiali, anche perché, come scrive nel marzo del 1853 a Palacký, gli storici russi non avevano saputo dare una valutazione convincente della fidedegnità delle fonti annalistiche: «Tyto ruští historikové zacházejí s letopisy svými asi jako naši theologové s biblí» (Bělič 1947: 76).

E' proprio su un tema di storia antica russa che Havlíček ferma la sua attenzione nel secondo dei suoi *Obrazy z Rus*, lo *Svátek pravoslavnosti* («Česká Včela» 20 e 24 giugno 1845), nel quale descrive, ancora con fervorosa partecipazione ideologica, una messa solenne al Cremlino alla presenza del metropolita Filaret. Egli è particolarmente colpito dalla vivezza della memoria storica del popolo ortodosso per i propri personaggi meritevoli. Al tre volte ripetuto *večnaja pamjat'!!*, rivolto a S. Volodimer «che diffuse tra di noi il regno celeste e rafforzò la gloria del nome russo»,

Havlíček fa seguire la seguente considerazione: «tu mi arci hned napadlo, že i ctitelové Peruna národ a vlast svou milovali, dobře činili, zásluhy měli a tedy také 'věčné památky' zasloužili: upokojil jsem se však myšlenkou, že jistá historie ruská začína teprv od poznání křest'anské víry» (Tobolka 1904: 38). Siamo già in presenza della tematica che è l'asse portante del *Battesimo di S. Vladimiro*, il rapporto tra potere civile e quello religioso, esemplato nella contrapposizione tra l'epoca di Perun e la nuova epoca cristiana.

Il tema del rapporto tra il potere assolutistico e la religione è trattato da Havlíček in modo particolarmente sistematico nel periodo di Kutná Hora, nel quale, oltre a lavorare al *Battesimo*, raccoglie le *Epištoly Kutnohorské* (1851) che del *Battesimo* costituiscono un appassionato pendant prosastico, mirato a smascherare il ruolo storico della Chiesa come braccio spirituale del potere. Havlíček distingue una religiosità sincera da una ipocrita, storicamente e coscientemente utilizzata come instrumentum regni e puntello dell'arbitrio assolutistico. Dopo aver fatto notare, in apertura, che i regnanti, passata la tempesta del 1848, si sono affrettati ad aggiungere nuovamente ai loro titoli la dizione «per grazia di Dio», Havlíček passa a sottolineare il ruolo complementare del dispotismo civile e religioso (il suo bersaglio è sempre la gerarchia ecclesiastica con il suo progetto cosciente di controllo sociale e mai genericamente il sentimento religioso o i singoli credenti). «Despotie ale v rouchu náboženském jest ze všech nejhorší a nejnebezpečnější, nebot' zneužívajíc rouhavým způsobem jména božího, ukrývá lidomorný jed svůj do svatyně a zaslepuje nevzdělaný lid. Proto vidíme, že despotie světská vždy považuje despotii náboženskou za nejprospěšnějšího spojence svého, vidíme, že vždy, když počne se v lidu ujímati nějaké liberálnější smýšlení, hned despotie světská vyšle jezovity a liguriány na honbu proti takovým světlejším zásadám, aby zase poznenáhla zastřeli všechno svým černým rouchem. . . . Despotie církevní jest vždy sestra despotie světské, jedna bez druhé neobstojí a jedna také klesá s druhou» (Procházka 1961: 135–36). Il *ruolo sociale* della gerarchia ecclesiastica non è certo esclusivo del cattolicesimo storico, ma è valido, per Havlíček, per *tutte* le gerarchie religiose: «Všechny hierarchie na celém světě, muhamedanská, tibetánská, brahmínská, židovská, všechny pohanské a všechny křešt'anské jsou docela stejné, žádné nezáleží tak mnoho na náboženství a na pravém blahu lidstva jako na její světské moci a na jejích důchodech, každá hierarchie má ten směr, aby všeliké štěští a blaženost tohoto světa ona sama užila a svým věřícím jen na onen svět ukazovala!» (Procházka 1961: 172).

* * *

L'ultima redazione di *Křest sv. Vladimíra* raggiunge uno straordinario equilíbrio poetico tra forma e contenuto, in cui tutte le componenti, in perfetta armonia, concorrono all'espressione di un'idea fondamentale (Řepková 1960: 537). La prima redazione, stesa ancora a Mosca, aveva un carattere ben più limitato. Si limitava allo scontro tra Volodimer e Perun, al rifiuto di quest'ultimo di tuonare, in occasione del compleanno dello zar, per risparmiare la polvere da sparo, all'arresto del dio e alle sue amare riflessioni sull'incostanza della fortuna e a solo due coppie di kolomyjky sulla richiesta, fatta da un interlocutore che è ancora generico, a Volodimer di trovare un nuovo dio per mantenere «in rispetto» i contadini:

Vladimíre, velký cáre,
mocné tvoje slovo;
kdyžs nám sebral pána boha,
dej nám zas nového.
Necht' je pán bůh, jako pánbůh,
jen když je nějaký,
bysme mohli nám udržet
v respektu sedláky.
(Omel'čenko 1930: 7)

Il manoscritto H. K., del Museo Nazionale, che contiene 108 versi scritti su quattro pagine e che è stato studiato e edito da Omel'čenko (1930) contiene, pur con varie lezioni poi abbandonate, 16 strofe dell'attuale Canto I, le ultime 2 del Canto II, 7 del Canto IV e 2 dell'attuale Canto VI. L'attuale partizione dei canti del *Battesimo* è la seguente:

Canto I	*Perun a Vladimír*
Canto II	*Hospodářství*
Canto III	*Vojenský soud*
Canto IV	*Testament Perunův*
Canto V	*Bezbožnost v Rusích*
Canto VI	*Audience*
Canto VII	*Ministerská rada*
Canto VIII	*Kamarila*
Canto IX	*Jezovitský marš*
Canto X	*Konkurs*

Del primo nucleo rimane in sostanza l'attuale Canto I, che è alquanto indipendente nello sviluppo del tema dominante, con alcune strofe o spunti di strofe, che saranno poi incastonate in un contesto assai più significativo e un particolare procedimento: la personificazione di Perun e la sua tipizzazione come bonario, anche se risoluto, pantatíček di un folklore favolistico e di costume ceco-russo (consono alle idee sulla reciprocità slava del giovanissimo Havlíček) con Perun che, seduto sulla stufa, si cuce i pantaloni.

I canti dell'ultima redazione sarebbero stati composti nel seguente ordine: I, III, IV, V, VI, VII, IX, II, VIII, X (Omel'čenko 1933: 78). I riferimenti testuali alla *Povĕst' vremennyx lĕt*, assolutamente generici o insignificanti nella primissima redazione, si fanno sempre più precisi e caratterizzanti con il crescere del poema e prenderanno una forma definitiva nel periodo di Bressanone, in concomitanza con lo studio di testi di storia russa e in particolare delle antiche cronache. Il Canto VIII–*Kamarila*, che appartiene ad un'ultimissima fase redazionale, riprende puntigliosamente il catalogo e la geografia amorosa di Volodimer:

Bě že Volodimer'' poběžen'' poxot'ju
žen'skoju, i byša emu vodimyja:
Rog''něd'. . . . ot grekině-Svjatopolka;
ot čexině-Vyšeslava; a ot drugoě-
Svjatoslava i M'stislava; a ot bolgaryni–
Borisa i Glĕba; a nalož'nic' bě u
nego 300 Vyšegorodě, a 300 v
Bělĕgorodě, a 200 na Berestově v selci,
eže zout' nyne Berestovoe. I bě nesyt''
bluda, privodja k sobě muž'ski ženy i
děvicě rast'ljaja. (*Povĕst'* 1950: 56–57)

Vladimír byl ještě k tomu
  puncto sexti štvanec,
jako lev královal mužům
  a ženským co kanec.
Jednu ženu měl Normanku
  a jednu Řekyni,
dvě měl Česky, že jsou hezky,
  jednu Bulharyni.
A metresek jako pecek,
  tři sta v Bělehradě,
dvě stě v sele Berestově,
  tři sta v Vyšehradě.
Ješte kromě těch kasáren
  leckdes filiálku. . . .

Cospicue tracce testuali della *Povĕst'* sono ugualmente presenti nei Canti III e IV, in particolare riguardo alla condanna e al supplizio di Perun, trascinato, per essere gettato nel Dnepr, legato alla coda di un cavallo. La scena deve aver particolarmente colpito Havlíček in quanto, a dispetto di una densa economia verbale, che è caratteristica di *Křest*, ricorre, variata, sia nel III che nel IV Canto:

Peruna ze povelě privjazati konevi
k'' xvostu i vlešti s gory po
Boričevu na Ručaj, 12 muža
pristavi teti žezl'em'. . . .
I privlekše, vrinuša ì v''
Dněpr''. (*Povĕst'* 1950: 80)

Perun bůh jest odsouzený
  k provazu dla práva,
že však k utopení v Dněpru
  milost se mu dává;
bude ale pro výstrahu
  neposlušné chase
vlečen k řece po ulicích
  na konském ocase. (III)
. . . .
Přivázali ho za nohy
  na ocas kobyle,
blátem, kamením ho vlekli,
  přežalostná chvíle!
. . . .
Tak je ti cárští katané
  ukrutně mučili,

všechny louže po Kyjevě
  s nimi vysmejčili.
Když jsou je přivlekli k řece
  celé plné bláta,
kati je tam utopili
  jak slepá stěňata. (IV)

Nel Canto IV Havlíček aggiunge la seguente strofa:

Já jsem sice při tom nebyl,
  čet jsem to jen v plátku,
který o tom sepsal Nestor
  vnukům na památku.

seguita da altre 3, fra le quali quella mediana risalente alla prima redazione:

Tak to chodí na tom světě,
  každou chvíli jinák,
dneska ctí tě za svatého,
  zejtra budeš sviňák!
Dnes vám, bozi, vy ubozí,
  kadidlo lid pálí;
a zejtra vás jako smetí
  v kalužinách válí.
Dělají si nové bohy
  dle svého pohodlí,
koho včerá oběsili,
  k tomu se dnes modlí.

con una precisa ripresa testuale della *Pověst'*:

včera čtim' ot čelověk'', a dnes' porugaem''[4] (*Pověst'* 1950: 80) e un riferimento significativo alle parole del Varjago cristiano nei confronti degli idoli pagani:

A si bozi čto sdělaša? Sami dělani sut' (*Pověst'* 1950: 58) pregnanti sia nel testo antico russo che in Havlíček.

I Canti V, VI e VII costituiscono il centro concettuale del poema e presentano un'attinenza solo generica e nominale con la situazione anticorussa. Il V, *Bezbožnost v Rusích* con il titolo ambiguo, dato che *bezbožnost* sta sia per *a-teismo* che per *vacanza di Dio*, à un concentrato amaro delle riflessioni più mature del poeta sul ruolo sociale della Chiesa. La *vacanza di Dio* non provoca alcuna conseguenza nella vita russa (=Rus'), né nell'etica collettiva e individuale. Il ciclo di vita e morte, gioia e dolore, continua:

Tak i v Rusku bez Peruna
  ve starém pořádku
běžela světská mašina
  jak na kolovrátku.

[4] La lezione à attestata solo da una parte della tradizione manoscritta (*Pověst'* 1950: 80).

Staří lidé umírali,
  děti se rodily,
hodní lidé pracovali
  a ochlasti pili.
. . . .
Kdo byl taškář za Peruna,
  taškařil zas dále:
a kdo byl poctivá duše,
  dřen byl neustále.

Ma è la macchina della Chiesa ad essersi inceppata. Il contadino, furbo per natura, dal momento che dicono che Dio non esiste, smette di pagare le decime con conseguenze catastrofiche per l'apparato clericale:

Ale církevní mašinka,
  ta se zarazila,
nebot' kněžům u pytlíku
  zat'ata jest žila
. . . .
Přestali desátky dávat,
  také na modlení,
ani štolu, ani na mše,
  když prej pánbůh není.
Na oféry nechodili,
  při funusech ticho:
kostelníci mřeli hladem,
  kněžům zplasklo břicho.

Nel Canto VI, *Audience*, la folla variopinta di

. . . popi, diakoni,
  kantoři, zvoníci,
biskupi, svíčkové báby,
  také kostelníci

rivolge a Volodimer la pressante richiesta di avere un altro Dio, in sostituzione di quello esautorato, per riportare i contadini all'obbedienza e al rispetto dell'autorità. E' interessante che vengono qui utilizzate, sia pure con varianti, 2 strofe della prima redazione:

Veliký jest Vladimír cár!
  svatá vůle jeho;
když nám zabil pána boha,
  opatř nám jiného!
Nám je pánbůh jako pánbůh,
  jenom když je ňáký,
abysme s ním udrželi
  v respektu sedláky.

che vengono commentate e contrappuntate, con uno, svolgimento dell'argomentazione ideologica da altre 2:

U těch bude všechna kázeň
  brzy dym a pára,
nebudou se mít u koho
  modliti za cára.
Někdo musí nad sedláky
  rachotiti hromem:
bez boha neobstojíme,
  jen jiného honem!

Il Canto VII, *Ministerská rada*, è una satira spietata del potere civile, la cui violenza organica è messa a nudo con un'efficacia devastante che potrebbe sembrare inaudita da parte di un avversario accanito delle idee socialiste e anarchiche.

Il Consiglio dei ministri (più che la Russia [=Rus'], Havlíček ha qui sott'occhio l'Austria e il governo super-reazionario di A. Bach) è concorde su un punto solo: senza Dio non c'è possibilità di controllare la plebaglia:

V hlavní věci byli všichni
  stejného mínění:
bez boha se sprostým lidem
  není k vydržení.

La descrizione del cinismo dei vari ministri, che propongono ognuno soluzioni convenienti al proprio dicastero, emana antelitteram corrosivi bagliori brechtiani. Il Ministro della guerra sostiene che un generale a riposo possa benissimo espletare le incombenze divine, con il vantaggio del risparmio di una pensione per l'erario:

Ministr vojenský pravil:
  «co dovede bůže,
každý starý generál to
  taky zastat může.
Zvyklý na subordinací
  bude cára ctíti,
eráru se může přitom
  pense ušetřiti».

Per ordine di Volodimer si apre un concorso per il posto vacante di Dio. La Chiesa romana si mobilita e il Papa ordina di comporre all'uopo una speciale marcia di crociata: la *Marcia dei Gesuiti*, che occupa l'intero Canto IX. Nell'autografo di Rieger (R.A.) il titolo di questo Canto era *Kapucínský marš*, ma l'autore lo cancellò sostituendo l'aggettivo con *Jezovitský* (Omel'čenko 1933: 70). La *Marcia*, l'unico Canto non strutturato in kolomyjky, è composto di 29 coppie (párky) o responsori, con un primo verso liturgico latino e un controcanto ceco che svela, con effetti comici travolgenti, prodotti da inaspettati pirotecnici corti circuiti, i veri fini temporali della crociata ideologica gesuita. Basterà riportare qualche esempio:

Te Deum laudamus –
v Kyjově je rámus
. . . .
Te rogamus, audi nos –
ten Vladimír, to je kos!
. . . .
Sancta Dei Genitrix –
zde nám už nevěří nic.
Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata –
Rusi nám budou věřit jak telata.
Veni, Sancte Spiritus –
postěhujem se do Rus
. . . .
Pleni sunt coeli –
abysme se tam dobře měli,
Aequum et salutare –
počkej, ty kaviáre!
. . . .
Dona nobis pacem –
s kuchařkami spát chcem. . .

Il X e ultimo canto (Havlíček non riuscì a completare gli altri due che, come abbiamo già detto, aveva in progetto), *Konkurs*, riprende un tema fondamentale per la conversione della Rus' kieviana secondo le antiche cronache. I rappresentanti delle chiese romana, bizantina, ebraica e musulmana si fronteggiano come rissosi e vocianti piazzisti ad un'asta:

každá firma haní jiné
sama se vynáší.

Il Papa sostiene che la fede ortodossa non vale un centesimo, il Patriarca di Costantinopoli invita Volodimer a non credere a ciò che va strillando l'Anticristo, i rabbini invitano Volodimer ad accettare Mosé e a non prestar fede né a Roma né ai Greci, il muftì musulmano lo incita infine a schiacciare gli altri cani infedeli e a credere in Maometto.

Ogni chiesa ripete poi uno stesso schema verbale nel quale rigetta le altre e propone se stessa come 'la più chiesa di tutte':

Není církev jako církev,
cáre nejmilejší,
x. . . církev mezi všemi
nejcirkvovatější!

dove *x*. . . è rispettivamente, římská, řecká, židovská e musulmanská. Il modello, sia pure nella graffiante stilizzazione havlíčkoviana è quello della *Pověst'*. Sotto l'anno 6495 (987) leggiamo:

> Sozva Volodimer'' boljary svoja i starci grad'skiě, i reče im'': Se prixodiša ko mně bolgare, r'kušte: priimi zakon'' naš'. Posem' že prixodiša němci, i ti xvaljaxu zakon'' svoj. Po six'' pridoša židove. Se že poslěže pridoša

> gr'ci, xuljašte vsi zakony, svoj že xvaljašte, i mnogo glagolaša, skazajušte ot načala miru, o byt'i vsego mira. Sut' ze xitro skazajušte, i čjudno slyšati ix, ljubo komuždo slušati ix, i drugij svět'' povědajut' byti: da ašte kto, děet', v našuju věru stupit', to paki, umer'', v''stanet', i ne umreti emu v věky; ašte li v-yn'' zakon'' stupit', to na onom'' světě v ogně gorěti. (*Pověst'* 1950: 74)

Certo la situazione descritta da Volodimer, particolarmente riguardo alle argomentazioni dei Greci, contiene una potenzialità comica oggettiva, anche se lo humour sembrerebbe estraneo alla etichetta antico-russa. E, nei confronti della tenzone teologica, risulta saggia e razionalmente impeccabile la replica dei bojari a Volodimer: «Vĕsi, knjaže, jako svoego nikto že ne xulit', no xvalit'» (*Pověst'* 1950: 74).

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ORGANIZATION OF THE CHURCH

The Organization of the Church in Scandinavia after the Missionary Phase

PETER SAWYER

Christianity was officially accepted in most parts of Scandinavia between 960 and 1030. Many Scandinavians had some experience of that religion earlier, either abroad, as raiders, merchants or envoys, or at home, thanks to the efforts of the missionaries. One of the first of these missionaries, Anskar, was admitted to the Danish royal court before 850 and allowed to preach in Denmark, even to build churches in Schleswig and Ribe, although the king, Horik, refused baptism. Other Danes accepted it, and Widukind could, with some justice, preface his account of King Harald Gormsson's conversion, shortly after 960, by saying that the Danes had long been Christians but they nevertheless worshipped idols with pagan rituals. Many Norwegians and Icelanders also had opportunities to learn about Christianity long before it was formally accepted at the end of the tenth century. One Norwegian king, who had been brought up in the court of the English king Athelstan, in fact actively encouraged Christianity several decades before Olaf Tryggvason's conversion. There was, therefore, a long period of preparation before Christianity was officially accepted in Scandinavia.[1]

The conversion of rulers made possible the establishment of regular church organization, but this happened very slowly. In Denmark, for example, the first regular dioceses were founded by Knut, who became king of the Danes in 1018 or 1019, and diocesan structure was not completed until about 1060. The only major change made before the Reformation was the elevation of the see of Lund to an archbishopric in 1104. This relatively slow process has been obscured by the claim that the Jutland dioceses of Schleswig, Ribe, and Århus were created as early as 948. This would have been an extraordinary development more than ten years before the

[1] *The Christianization of Scandinavia*, ed. Birgit Sawyer, Peter Sawyer, and Ian Wood (Alingsås, 1987).

conversion of the Danish king. The consecration of these three bishops in 948 was, however, not an act of missionary zeal; the purpose was to secure the metropolitan status of Hamburg-Bremen.[2] An archbishop had to have suffragans and in 948 Hamburg-Bremen had none. There was no need for these men to set foot in Denmark, but one of them did. According to Adam of Bremen, Liafdag, a Frisian, worked as a missionary in Sweden and Norway as well as in Denmark.[3] The only other tenth-century missionary to the Danes named by Adam was Odinkar, a noble Dane, who also preached among the Swedes.[4] Even Adam cannot claim that German missionaries played a leading role in tenth-century Denmark, and he reveals clearly enough by silence that Hamburg-Bremen had no part in the conversion of the Danish king.

Adam confessed great uncertainty about the later history of the Jutland sees that he claimed were created in 948, admitting that in tenth-century Denmark "none of the bishops was yet assigned to a fixed see (*certa sedes*), but as each pushed out into the farther regions in the effort to establish Christianity, he would strive to preach the word of God equally to his own and to others' people."[5] A similar situation prevailed in Norway and Sweden in Adam's own time, that is, the 1070s: "because of the newness of the Christian plantation among the Norwegians and Swedes, none of the bishoprics has so far been given definite limits, but each one of the bishops, accepted by king and people, cooperates in building up the church, going about the region, drawing as many as he can to Christianity, and governs them without envy."[6] Adam nevertheless claimed that Skara was firmly established as a suffragan see before 1029, and names its first four bishops.[7] He had to admit, however, that two of them never visited Sweden, and that another, who may have done so, died in Bremen. Only one worked and died in Sweden, but he, too, visited Norway and should be considered a missionary bishop like Liafdag and Odinkar earlier. In the eleventh century Skara was not a regular see, but a suffragan diocese whose main function was to sustain the dignity of the archbishopric of Hamburg-Bremen.

2 Neils Refskou, "Det retslige indhold af de ottonske diplomer til danske bispedømmer," *Scandia* 53 (1986): 167–210, English summary, pp. 349–50.

3 Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae Pontificum* (hereafter Adam of Bremen), ed. Bernhard Schmeidler (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum, Hannover and Leipzig, 1917), II.26. The quotations are from the translation by F. J. Tschan, *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen by Adam of Bremen* (New York, 1959).

4 Adam of Bremen II.36.

5 Adam of Bremen II.26.

6 Adam of Bremen IV.34.

7 Adam of Bremen II.58, 64; IV.23.

The first three Norwegian sees were apparently founded about 70 years after Olaf Tryggvason was confirmed, in England, in 995, and two others were added later, Stavanger in about 1125 and Hamar in 1153. By then Nidaros had been made an archbishopric, independent of Lund, with authority over the Norse colonies in the Atlantic where sees had been founded at Kirkwall, in the Faroes, on the Isle of Man, and at Gardar in Greenland. The Norwegian archbishopric also included the two Icelandic sees: Skálaholt, which was founded in 1056, and Hólar, created fifty years later.[8] The early history of Swedish dioceses is most obscure, as is the history of the Swedish conversion, but it is likely that the five sees that existed in 1164, when one of them, Uppsala, was made an archbishopric, were all founded shortly before or after 1100.[9] The youngest pre-Reformation Swedish diocese, Växjö, was created in about 1170.[10]

With the creation of these sees the missionary phase came to an end; the continuing task of evangelism now fell to the diocesan bishops. They were, however, only slowly able to assert their authority over the churches that had been founded in their dioceses. By the end of the eleventh century many churches had been built in southern Scandinavia. Adam of Bremen's claim that there were 550 in Skåne, Sjælland, and Fyn cannot be accepted as an accurate enumeration, but there is little doubt that his figure gives a good idea of the scale of the church-building by that time.[11] Excavations have revealed many eleventh-century timber churches that were later replaced by stone buildings, and dendrochronology can provide some firm dates. The earliest church in Lund was built before 990, and by 1100 there were at least nine churches in that town.[12] In Västergötland at least eight of the small Romanesque stone churches have structural timbers showing that they were built before 1150.[13] There are about 100 similar Romanesque churches in that province that cannot be dated this way, but most, if not all, were built in the twelfth century, and there can be little doubt that all were preceded by timber churches.[14]

8 O. Kolsrud, *Noregs kyrkjesoga*, vol. 1: *Millomalderen* (Oslo, 1958), pp. 179–82, 188–90.

9 Kjell Kumlien, "Sveriges kristnande i slutskedet—spörsmål om vittnesbörd och verklighet," *Historisk Tidskrift* (Stockholm), 82 (1962): 249–94.

10 Lars-Olof Larsson, *Det medeltida Värend* (Lund, 1965), pp. 56–60.

11 Adam of Bremen IV.7

12 Torvald Nilsson, "Drottenskyrkan och dess föregångare: Nya arkeologiska rön i Lund," *Kulturen*, 1985, pp. 173–82; Anders Andrén, *Den urbana scenen: Städer och samhälle i det medeltida Danmark* (Malmö, 1985), pp. 36, 164, 207–210, 218–21.

13 Alf Bråthen, *The Tree-Ring Chronology of Western Sweden* (Dendrokronologiskt sällskapet, meddelanden 6; Stockholm, 1983).

14 Folke Högberg, "Medeltida absidkyrkor i Norden," *Västergötlands Fornminnesförening Tidskrift* 6, no. 5 (1965): 5–231, especially 78–81, 199.

Rulers built churches for their bishops, and some of them eventually became cathedrals. Churches were also built by major landowners. It has often been assumed, however, that most churches were founded by the joint action of local communities.[15] This assumption is highly questionable; there are good reasons for thinking that most early Scandinavian churches were in fact built by the richer landowners and treated by them as, in effect, private chapels.[16] Proprietary churches of this kind were common in eleventh-century Europe. In England, for example, the Domesday Book, a detailed survey compiled in 1086, recorded churches together with mills among the appurtenances of manors, and show that they could be bought, sold, divided, and even used as pledges.[17] The proprietary character of the early churches in Iceland is undoubted,[18] and there are various indications that this was also true elsewhere in Scandinavia. The fact that some churches were placed well away from the main centers of settlement is one sign of their non-communal character. Some were, indeed, close to important farms that were later held by men of great wealth and high status.[19] The tendency in Denmark and Sweden for churches to be named after farms, not districts, also suggests that they were founded by individuals rather than communities.[20] It is true that the earliest churches were timber structures that could have been made by local craftsmen, but by the end of the twelfth century a very large number had been rebuilt in stone. As Scandinavians were completely unfamiliar with that technique, masons must have been recruited from abroad for a generation or more, and this is more likely to have been done by rich landowners than by their tenants or by less affluent farmers. What is more, most early churches, whether of wood or stone, were far too small to accommodate large numbers of people; they appear to have been intended for private rather than communal use. In England, similarly, the naves of tenth-century churches were very small, typically in the

15 I. Nylander, *Das kirchliche Benefizialwesen Schwedens während des Mittelalters* (Lund, 1953); Gunnar Smedberg, *Nordens första kyrkor: En kyrkorättslig studie* (Lund, 1973).

16 Olle Ferm and Sigurd Rahmqvist, "Stormannakyrkor i Uppland under äldre medeltid," *Studier i äldre historia tillägnade Herman Schück 5/4/85*, ed. R. Sandberg (Stockholm, 1985), pp. 67–83.

17 Frank Barlow, *The English Church 1000–1066* (London, 1963), pp. 183–208.

18 Jón Jóhannesson, *A History of the Old Icelandic Commonwealth*, trans. Haraldur Bessason (Winnipeg, 1974), pp. 165–78, 227; Inga Skovgaard-Petersen, "Islandsk egenkirkevæsen," *Scandia* 26 (1960): 230–96.

19 Ferm and Rahmqvist, "Stormannakyrkor i Uppland."

20 *Kulturhistorisk Leksikon for nordisk middelalder* 16 (Copenhagen, 1971), cols. 385–95; Carl I. Ståhle, "Sockenbildningen i Törens prosteri," *Namn och Bygd* 38 (1950): 100–112.

range of 20–30 square meters, and some were less than 14 square meters.[21] A few Scandinavian churches have inscriptions naming the people who built them. These all give prominence to one or two individuals who could, perhaps, have been master-craftsmen but were more likely the men who made it possible for the builders to work.[22] The other people named in these inscriptions may have been tenants or neighbors who cooperated in the enterprise, but they did not necessarily do so voluntarily. One twelfth-century English charter that has been cited as evidence for communal responsibility in church building records the endowment of Keddington church, in Lincolnshire, with an acre given by each of the tenants of that manor.[23] Such uniformity seems rather to imply compulsion by the manorial lord than the voluntary generosity of many individuals.

Communal responsibility for the erection of churches is rendered even more unlikely by the fact that tithe was not paid until the last years of the eleventh century, and then only in Iceland. It was introduced in other parts of Scandinavia in the twelfth century. Tithe was first enforced in Europe by the Carolingians in the eighth century, and compulsion must commonly have been needed; there are many indications of resistance. In 1199, for example, the bishop of Vercelli complained of reluctance to pay tithe in his and neighboring dioceses; some landowners deducted the expenses of cultivation and tithed the net product, others took tithe from their tenants and gave it to the poor or to churches of their own choice, some refused to pay because of the immorality of the clergy, while others simply claimed exemption.[24] Such problems encountered in the heart of Christian Europe should be borne in mind when considering the Scandinavian evidence, most of which consists of laws prescribing tithe payments; there is little evidence for the tithe that was in fact paid and it would be unrealistic to assume that the law was obeyed in Scandinavia any more than elsewhere.

Adam of Bremen says explicitly that Scandinavians did not pay tithe in the 1070s, when he wrote. He complained that "baptism and confirmation, the dedication of altars, and the ordination to holy orders are all dearly paid for among the Norwegians and the Danes. This, I think, proceeds from the avarice of the priests. As the barbarians still either do not know about

21 Richard K. Morris, *Churches in the Landscape* (London, 1988).

22 Elisabeth Svärdström, "Birgitta i Rådene," *Fornvännen* 58 (1963): 246–63; *Norges Innskrifter med de Yngre Runer*, vol. 2, ed. Magnus Olsen (Oslo, 1951), nos. 110, 121; *Gotlands Runinskrifter* vol. 1, ed. Sven B. F. Janssen and Elias Wessén (Stockholm, 1962), no. 119.

23 F. M. Stenton, *Documents Illustrative of the Social and Economic History of the Danelaw* (London, 1920), pp. lxx–lxxi.

24 Catherine E. Boyd, *Tithes and Parishes in Medieval Italy* (Ithaca, 1952), pp. 169–70.

tithes, or refuse to pay them, they are fleeced for offices that ought to be rendered for nothing. Even for the visitation of the sick and the burial of the dead—everything there has a price.''[25]

Tithes were introduced into Iceland in 1096 or 1097 and in Denmark by 1135, the date of the earliest reference. In Norway tithe is said to have been first levied in some areas under Sigurd, who died in 1130, and made general a generation later by Magnus Erlingsson. In Sweden it was apparently being collected by the end of the century.[26] The first indication of the amounts that were actually rendered in Sweden are agreements or compositions made in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. These show that much less than ten percent of produce was paid, and that the burden was heavier near the center of dioceses than in remoter parts. After the Reformation, tithe was taken over by the crown as a royal revenue, with a third reserved for the priests; the records of these levies show that the burden was then greatly increased, and so, too, was the efficiency of collection.[27]

Only in Iceland did bishops have a share of the tithe from the outset. Elsewhere bishops faced serious opposition when they claimed part of the tithes paid in their dioceses. In Gotland, which formed part of the diocese of Linköping, the bishop never had a share of the tithe, and in north Jutland episcopal tithes were only imposed on the eve of the Reformation. It appears that tithe was originally introduced locally, no doubt at the behest of the lord who ''owned'' the church, and it seems likely that it was these men, rather than the tithe-payers themselves, who initially resisted episcopal encroachments.

It was tithe that created the need for parish boundaries, which are consequently not necessarily ancient. The assumption, which has been made by some legal historians and archaeologists, that medieval parishes preserved the structure of pre-Christian units, is therefore fallacious.[28] When parishes were formed in the twelfth or thirteenth century their borders may well have been the same as estates or administrative units that then existed. These may have been centuries-old, but it would be wrong to assume that they were. There is the additional complication that few of these bounds can be traced in any detail before the sixteenth century and that for many the earliest evidence is in nineteenth-century maps. Because it can be shown that some boundaries were altered in the later Middle Ages, we cannot assume,

25 Adam of Bremen IV.31.

26 *Kulturhistorisk leksikon* 18 (Copenhagen, 1974), cols. 280–99.

27 Lars-Olof Larsson, ''Kyrkans tionde och kronans: Studier kring reformationens återverkningar på tiondebeskattningen,'' *Scandia* 32 (1966): 268–313.

28 Gerhard Hafström, ''Sockenindelningens ursprung,'' *Historiska studier tillägnade Nils Ahnlund 23/8 1949*, ed. Sven Grauers and Åke Stille (Stockholm, 1949), pp. 51–67.

in the absence of evidence, that the original limits were preserved unchanged.[29]

The imposition of tithe as a general obligation must have affected the attitude of many people toward the local church and their sense of communal responsibility. One sign of the growing involvement of the community with the church is the development of the office of churchwarden. This first appeared in Italy in the mid-twelfth century, and by 1300 had spread throughout Europe.[30] This alone makes nonsense of the claim that in Scandinavia the office of churchwarden is as old as the conversion itself.[31] A sense of community was, of course, no novelty, but it was encouraged and reshaped around the churches in which people were baptized and buried. When all, or most, people paid tithe, the parish church became in a very real sense the church of the community. And when that happened, there was a natural tendency to assume that this had always been so, and to believe that churches were from the outset communal responsibilities. This firmly held belief has tended to distract attention from the many indications that most churches were founded, and built, by rulers and landowners. Royal churches naturally tended to be under direct episcopal control, but other churches long remained in private ownership, although the bishop would be expected to consecrate them and ordain the priests who served in them. Bishops were only gradually able to extend their rights, above all to a share of the tithe, which itself must have been exacted under pressure from secular lords, who in this way contributed to a sense of communal responsibility.

Evidence for early church organization in Scandinavia is slight, and any generalizations must allow for the existence of a great variety of local customs, most of which are beyond discovery. Church laws were promulgated, and many have been preserved, but it is not possible to say how well they were observed. The establishment of parishes, and the extension of episcopal control over them, was, like Christianization itself, a slow process. In the twelfth century, and long afterwards, most of the clergy must have been ill-educated and the imposition of any form of effective episcopal discipline was hampered by the huge size of many dioceses, especially in Sweden and Norway. In interpreting the slight evidence from Scandinavia it is perhaps salutary to note that in the late twelfth century

29 Sigurd Rahmqvist, "Härad och socken—världslig och kyrklig indelning i Uppland," *Bebyggeslehistorisk tidskrift* 4 (1982): 89–97.

30 *Kulturhistorisk leksikon* 8 (Copenhagen, 1963), cols. 410–11; Charles Drew, *Early Parochial Organisation in England: The Origins of the Office of the Churchwarden* (York, 1954).

31 *Kulturhistorisk leksikon* 8, cols. 415–16.

Gerald of Wales, a well-informed observer, complained that in England, which had been Christian for 500 years, the clergy was illiterate and that "the houses and hovels of parish priests are full of bossy mistresses, creaking cradles, new-born babies and squawking brats."[32] The demand of the Western church for clerical celibacy was not easily enforced; indeed, the last archbishop of Iceland was murdered together with his sons. It was even more difficult to impose church law on laymen who were most likely to obey when it suited them.

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[32] Cited by C. R. Cheney, *From Becket to Langton* (Manchester, 1956), p. 137.

Two Concepts of the Conversion of Rus' in Kievan Writings*

ANDRZEJ POPPE

On occasion a speaker has to begin his paper with statements so obvious as to be embarrassing to the listener. Here is one such statement. There is not a single *primary* source that refers to the baptism of Rus', an event of prime importance. This is why we are reduced to conducting a diligent, but not always critically pursued, search for the authentic tradition and its traces, both actual and merely presumed.

Be that as it may, we have acquired a better understanding of the knowledge—or at least the views—concerning the acceptance of Christianity by the Rus' held by those living in Kiev and some other centers of Europe and Asia Minor one or a few generations after Volodimer.[1] Moreover, we realize with some astonishment that European capitals did not, or did not wish to, acknowledge the appearance in Europe of a new and vast Christian state at the time of the baptism of the Kievan prince on 6 January 988. On the other hand, people in these same capitals followeu closely the vicissitudes of civil war that was raging in the Eastern Empire; it was noted that the troops of the Rus' had become involved in that civil war. In Germany, memories of the affronts caused by the overweening Byzantines still lingered, both at the Ottonian court and the courts of nobles. Indignation mingled with satisfaction in gossip about the plight of the Byzantines and about the porphyrogenite princess, who was to be given in marriage to a pagan and a fornicator.[2]

* The translation of this article is a collective work: my friends and learned colleagues Henrik Birnbaum, Miroslav Labunka, and Ihor Ševčenko worked with me to make it readable in English. I owe them my thanks.

[1] For details on this topic, see A. Poppe, "How the Conversion of Rus' was Understood in the Eleventh Century," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 11, no. 3/4 (December 1987): 287–302.

[2] See *Thietmari Merseburgensis episcopi Chronicon*, ed. R. Holtzmann, trans. W. Trillmich (Berlin, 1957; rpt. 1962), p. 432, VII, 72: "Hic a Grecia decens uxorem,. . .christianitatis sanctae fidem eius ortatu suscepit,. . .Erat enim fornicator immensus." About the causes of this negative characteristic as well as suggestions to the effect that Volodimer became a Christian only after the contraction of a marriage union with the porphyrogenite, see A. Poppe, "Volodimer as a Christian," presented in Rome on 3 May 1988 at the international conference, "Le Origini e lo sviluppo della Cristianità slavo-bizantina: il baptesimo del 988 nella lunga

Rome, the city to which the empress Theophano was traveling at that time, was not spared from the decadent turn in mores.[3] Rome was the vantage point from which she could better observe the struggle between Emperor Basil II and the two usurpers, Bardas Phokas and Bardas Skleros. She was a relative of both Bardases, and a regent of the realm, but her goals were the same as those of her deceased husband Otto II.[4] In France, at the court of the usurper and founder of a new dynasty, Hugo Capet, news of the events in Kiev was received in confused silence. Indeed, this news put an end to the well-thought-out plan to marry the heir apparent, Robert, to the *filia sancti imperii* and thus extend Hugo's influence to Italy.[5] Finally, the inhabitants of Constantinople itself suffered from the presence in their midst of a contingent of Tauroscythians, several thousand strong and poised for military action. This presence must have been especially painful, given that many of these inhabitants of the city were lukewarm at best in their support of the legitimate power. Propaganda, skillfully handled by the usurper's forces, fed this doubtful loyalty by means of apocalyptic prophecies,

durata." The publication of a French version is foreseen in the *Studi Storici* of the Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo.

3 The pope, John XV (985–996), who was inclined toward nepotism, quarrelled with the Roman high clergy, and found himself, precisely during the years 988 and 989, in a situation of oppression and isolation. Threatened also by the formal loss of the throne, he sought support in the imperial Ottonian court. Cf. Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter*, vol. 1, pt. 2 (Munich, 1978), pp. 647–60. Even Sylvester II (999–1003), a pope worthy of the title, an excellent scholar, seasoned diplomat, and experienced advisor to Otto III, was not able to, or perhaps was not capable of, rebuilding the authority and political significance of the throne of Peter's vicar. Cf. the recent work by P. Riché, *Le pape de l'an mil* (Paris, 1987), pp. 179–255. Those who uncritically repeat the theory of the alleged direct contacts of Volodimer with the Roman curia, referring to the Nikon Chronicle for the year 989 (*Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej* [hereafter *PSRL*], 9, p. 57), must take into account that this and some other "Roman" entries were invented in Moscow at the turn of the fifteenth century. Cf. B. M. Kloss, *Nikonovskij svod i russkie letopisi XVI–XVII vekov* (Moscow, 1980), pp. 187–88. These opinions completely ignore the inability of the papacy at that time to conduct its own eastern politics. Cf., e.g., P. E. Schramm, *Kaiser, Könige und Päpste*, vol. 3 (Stuttgart, 1969), pp. 214–35.

4 Italian matters, which were linked to the situation in Rome as well as to the question of Byzantine possessions and the confrontation with the Arabs, already required the presence of the regent in 986. By the end of this year Theophano planned to go to Rome, but because of various circumstances this journey was postponed until the turn of the year 988–989. On Ottonian politics in Italy, see K. Uhlirz and M. Uhlirz, *Jahrbücher des Deutschen Reiches unter Otto II und Otto III*, vols. 1 and 2 (Berlin, 1902 and 1954); and E. Hlawitschka, *Vom Frankenreich zur Formierung der europäischen Völkergemeinschaft 840–1046* (Darmstadt, 1986), pp. 134–38.

5 See A. Poppe, "The Political Background to the Baptism of Rus'. Byzantine-Russian Relations Between 986–989," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 30 (1976): 232–35, reprinted in A. Poppe, *The Rise of Christian Russia* (London, 1982). For more detailed information, see D. Poppe and A. Poppe, "Dziewosłęby o porfirogenetkę Annę," in *Cultus et cognitio: In honorem A. Gieysztor* (Warsaw, 1976), pp. 451–68.

according to which the time was nearing "of the last days of the city that will be destroyed by the Rus'."[6] Even after Basil II's victory—a victory to which the Rus' had so significantly contributed—the fears and prejudices felt towards those in imperial service lingered for a long time among the Romans. Millennial beliefs no doubt contributed to this state of mind, for the oppressive prophecies of "the end of the city and the end of the world" pointed to the Rus' as the executors of these dreaded deeds. As for Emperor Basil II and his entourage, the Christianization of the Rus' was of interest primarily as the means to an effective military alliance. For Basil and his retinue were absorbed, above all, with the military and political concerns of the time. The court, calculating and sober as it was, saw a guarantee of a military alliance in the establishment of dynastic ties to the Rus' rather than the inclusion of the Rus' in the byzantine religious community.[7]

True, ecclesiastics were sent out and policies aimed at the Christianization of the Rus' were formulated upon imperial command. Yet the idea for that vast country's conversion was not initiated in the capital on the Bosphorus. While we fully grant that Byzantine theological contributions and Byzantine cultural heritage—both Christian and pre-Christian—were of prime importance in the Christianization of the East Slavs,[8] we are not inclined to ascribe the conversion of Rus' to Byzantium's initiative and activity alone. What we have tended to call the "Byzantine impact" was in fact the accomplishment of those in Rus' society interested in acquiring new spiritual values. Again and again we return to the most felicitous phrase based on Spinoza: "the active one is not the one who influences but the one who receives the influence." Receiving, to use the language of

[6] *Patria Constantinopoleos* (compiled ca. 990), ed. Th. Preger, in *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanorum*, vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1907), p. 176. Cf. A. Diehl, "De quelques croyances byzantines sur la fin de Constantinople," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 30 (1930): 192–95. In Western Europe, the approaching year 1000 did not have the same significance nor the same influence on the state of mind as it did in Byzantium, where the atmosphere of civil war and foreign threats fostered the feeling of menace and prophecies fell on fertile ground. Compare G. Duby, *L'an mil* (Paris, 1967) and P. Riché, "Le mythe des terreurs de l'an Mille," in *Les terreurs de l'an 2000* (Paris, 1976), pp. 21–30.

[7] Cf. Poppe, "The Political Background," pp. 218–21, 228–32.

[8] An elucidating picture of this influence and the state of research was given recently by G. Podskalsky, *Christentum und theologische Literatur in der Kiever Rus' (988–1237)* (Munich, 1982). A picture of the accomplished turning point was recently presented with befitting competence by L. Müller, *Die Taufe Russlands* (Munich, 1987), and V. Vodoff, *Naissance de la Chrétienté russe* (Paris, 1988). These two works complement each other wonderfully. While Müller emphasizes the period preceding and in preparation for the turn of the year 988, Vodoff examines the consequences of this act in the eleventh to thirteenth centuries as well, showing the process of the Christianization of Rus'.

scholastics, is always accomplished *modo recipientis*.[9] Still, it does remain true that the Byzantines could regard the conversion of Rus' as a considerable achievement,[10] even though they were not fully aware at the time of the significance of the accomplishment.

Whereas, in the century that followed, the outside world saw the conversion mainly as one element in a political game,[11] the elite of Rus' itself became heir to a number of multifaceted reflections upon the event of Christianization, and they felt deeply that a fundamental change had taken place, and that this change offered access to the world of Christian values. The educated people of Rus' then formulated a deliberate view of their own conversion. Two conceptions were submitted; they were complementary, but differed on some essential points.

One of these conceptions is represented by Ilarion's philosophical treatise, composed sixty-two years after the baptism, on the eve of his being called to assume the highest ecclesiastical office in the land—that of metropolitan of Kiev.[12] As Ilarion's work has been the subject of frequent discussions in secondary literature during recent years, here we shall deal only with those passages in Ilarion's text that are germane to the topic at hand.[13]

9 L. Kołakowski, *Jednostka i nieskończoność. Wolność i antynomia wolności w filozofii Spinozy* (Warsaw, 1958), pp. 610–12. Cf. A. Gieysztor, "Kasztelanowie flandryjscy i polscy," in *Studia Historyczne. Księga jubileuszowa z okazji 70 rocznicy urodzin Stanisława Arnolda* (Warsaw, 1965), p. 107.

10 D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth. Eastern Europe 500–1453* (London, 1971), p. 201.

11 This was so in Christian Europe, as Thietmar attests, and in Byzantium itself, as reported by Yaḥyā of Antioch. For more details, see, Poppe, "How the Conversion of Rus' was Understood in the Eleventh Century," pp. 287–95

12 The latest edition, taking into account more than fifty manuscripts in three wordings, was prepared by A. M. Moldovan, *Slovo o zakone i blagodati Ilariona* (Kiev, 1984); L. Müller's edition of *Des Metropoliten Ilarion Lobrede auf Vladimir den Heiligen und Glaubensbekenntnis*... (Wiesbaden, 1962) is also still important for its excellent commentary. The work, dated between the years 1037–1050, may be justifiably linked to the year 1049 or 1050, as the result of detailed inquiries. See A. Soloviev, "Zur Lobrede des Metropoliten Hilarion," *Das heidnische und christliche Slaventum. Acta II congressus internationalis historiae Slavicae Salisburgo-Ratisbonensis 1967* (Wiesbaden, 1970), pp. 58–63, reprinted in idem, *Byzance et la formation de l'État russe* (London, 1979); N. Rozov, "Sinodalnyj spisok sočinenij Ilariona—russkogo pisatelja XI wieku," *Slavia* 32 (1963): 147–48; A. Poppe, *Państwo i Kościół na Rusi w XI w.* (Warsaw, 1968), pp. 56–59. In English, see E. Hurwitz, "Metropolitan Hilarion's Sermon on Law and Grace: Historical Consciousness in Kievan Rus'," *Russian History* 7, no. 3 (1980): 322–33.

13 For a comparison of the literature, see, Podskalsky, *Christentum*, pp. 84–86, as well as *Slovar' knižnikov i knižnosti drevnej Rusi XI–pervaja polovina XIV v.* (Leningrad, 1987), pp. 198–204; one must note that in this last edition, not only are there important gaps in the bibliography, but the entry "Ilarion" was written without taking into account the current state of research: even the dating of the "Slovo" was, in general, neglected. In the millennial literature—particularly in these congress reports—the work of Ilarion occupies a considerable

The second interpretation, which is preserved in the Primary Chronicle in the cycle of stories conditionally called the "Tales of the Spread of Christianity in Rus'," cannot be fixed concerning the authorship, chronology, or the exact order and inclusion of the stories. The main emphasis is on the entries for the years 986–989, which contain the story of the conversion of Volodimer and the Kievan people, and on the entry for 1015, which consists of praise for Volodimer.[14] To these tales also are ascribed the entries for 955 and 969 on Ol'ga; for 983 on the first Christian martyrs in Kiev; for 1015 on the assassination of Boris and Glěb; and for 1037, praise of the activities of Jaroslav the Wise.[15] The hypothesis which dates the composition of the whole cycle of the "Tales of the Spread of Christianity" to the 1040s is not defensible, because none of the tales included could have been created before the second half of the eleventh century.[16]

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place. There is also no lack of extremely incompetent approaches. See, for example, A. Zamaliev and V. Zoc, *Mysliteli Kievskoj Rusi*, 2nd ed. (Kiev, 1987), pp. 41–45. The intentions of the popularizers justify neither the lack of acquaintance with the state of research nor the type of primitive formulation that ascribes to Ilarion the "rehabilitation" of paganism; according to these authors, Ilarion "proclaims the pagan peoples the true receivers of the belief of Christ," is himself "far from ecclesiastical orthodoxy," "conformed evangelical doctrine to secular politics," and is practically an Arian (idem, pp. 45, 47).

14 *PSRL*, 1 (1926–1928), cols. 84–122, 130–131. (I refer to volume 2 of *PSRL* only in those cases where the entry in the Laurentian Chronicle is not sufficiently clear and must be confirmed or verified by referring to the Hipatian Chronicle.) Cf. also the English translation: *The Russian Primary Chronicle. Laurentian Text*, trans. and ed. S. H. Cross and O. P. Sherbovitz-Wetzor (Cambridge, Mass., 1953). My translation sometimes differs a little from this one.

15 *PSRL*, 1, cols. 60–64, 68–69, 82–83, 132–34, 151–53. Cross, *Primary Chronicle*, pp. 82–84, 86–87, 95–119, 124–31, 137–38.

16 With this hypothesis on the "Tale of the Spread of Christianity in Rus'," D. S. Lixačev has attempted to surmount the deficiencies of the hypothesis of A. Saxmatov about the compilation of a chronicle in Kiev soon after 1039, and through this attempt to replace it. See D. S. Lixačev, *Russkie letopisi* (Moscow, 1947), pp. 62–75; cf. idem, *Izbrannyje raboty*, vol. 2 (Leningrad, 1987), pp. 81–93. Lixačev's hypothesis gained nearly universal recognition; see *Vvedenie xristianstva na Rusi* (Moscow, 1987), pp. 147, 149. It is surprising that O. V. Tvorogov, who is the author of one of the sections of this collective work, speaks of the secular nature of the chronicle. When it comes to the individual works from which this new tale was supposed to have been compiled in the 1040s, one can already see that the composition of the praise of Jaroslav could not have occurred earlier than during the generations of his sons or grandsons, since in it Volodimer is compared to a ploughman and Jaroslav to a sower, but the chronicler defines his own generation as that which reaped the harvest (*PSRL*, 1, cols. 151–52). The chronicler's story about the murder of Boris and Glěb is a recasting of the "Anonymous Tale"—a hagiographic work written ca. 1072. Cf. A. Poppe, "La naissance du culte de Boris et Gleb," *Cahiers de Civilisation médiévale* 24 (1981): 29–53. Even if the opposite position is taken, one has to agree that the chronicle's story could only have been written with the beginning of the cult of the holy prince martyrs, that is, after the year 1050. The very presence in the chronicle's relating of the choice of religion by Volodimer, of as many as two representatives of the Christian church, along with adherents of Islam and Judaism, with the intention of differentiating between them, would also have been unthinkable in the situation

The cycle could be made more complete with the inclusion of two other stories of the Christianization of Rus' belonging to the structure of the Primary Chronicle: one, in the introductory section of the chronicle, on the journey of the apostle Andrew through the "Slavic land," and the other, the entry for the year 898, based on the vitae of SS. Cyril and Methodius, called "The Tale on the Translation of the Books into Slavic," which names the Apostle Paul and his disciple Andronikos as the teachers of the Slavs and the Rus'.[17] Both tales were incorporated into the Primary Chronicle before its definitive arrangement in 1116: the presentation of the apostolic roots of Christianity in Rus' in both these tales contradicts the accounts not only by Ilarion in 1050 and Nestor the Hagiographer in 1085, but also that of the author of the entry for the year 983 in the Primary Chronicle itself: "the apostles were not by body here; they did not teach here; and also the prophets did not prophecy here."[18] Yet, in the introduction to the same Primary Chronicle we find the apostle Andrew arriving on the hills of the future Kiev, erecting the Cross, with the prophecy that "the favor of God shall shine upon them; that on this spot a great city shall arise and God shall erect many churches therein."[19]

In the entry for 898, the right to recognize Paul as the Apostle of the Slavs is augmented by his association with the common motherland (cradle) of all the Slavs on the Danube: "Apostle Paul reached Illiric where the Slavic people primarily lived. That is why Paul is the teacher of the Slavic people. . . and he ordained Andronikos as a bishop and vicar after himself for the Slavic people, and the Slavic people and the Rus' people are one and the same."[20]

The information in the Primary Chronicle on the roots and beginnings of Christianity in Rus', in spite of the heterogeneity and different dating of the tales, takes shape as a clear idea of the Christianization of Rus'. This concept of the conversion was formulated during the last three decades of the eleventh century and the first fifteen years of the twelfth. Later, as part of the Primary Chronicle structure, it circulated through the ages for the most

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before the year 1054. The adaptation of the speech of the Greek philosopher, as if addressed to Volodimer, could also not have been made earlier. See fn. 30 below.

17 *PSRL*, 1, cols. 7–8, 26–28. Cross, *Primary Chronicle*, pp. 53–54, 62–63.

18 *PSRL*, 1, col. 83; cf. also Moldovan, *Slovo*, p. 95 (188[b]), and Müller, *Lobrede*, p. 109 (41[29]). See also L. Müller, *Die altrussischen hagiographischen Erzählungen und liturgischen Dichtungen über die Heiligen Boris und Gleb* (Munich, 1967), p. 3 (a partial reprint of D. I. Abramovyč, ed., *Žitija svjatyx Borisa i Gleba i služby im* [1916]).

19 *PSRL*, 1, col. 8; Cross, *Primary Chronicle*, p. 54.

20 *PSRL*, 1, col. 28; Cross, *Primary Chronicle*, p. 63.

part unchanged, although at times somewhat abbreviated.[21]

The concept of Ilarion differs from that of the Primary Chronicle not only in time and in detail, but also in substance. The vision of Ilarion was born of a conviction in the unity of the Church, its apostolicity and its orthodoxy, whereas the conception of the Primary Chronicle already recognized the division between the imperial city and Rome.[22]

Ilarion extolls Volodimer as a teacher and leader, worthy of the same veneration given other teachers of the Christian world: "All countries, cities, and nations, each one of them honors and glorifies its teachers, who instructed each one in the Orthodox faith." And he mentions the first Rome, saying: "The Roman land glorifies, with voices of praise, Peter and Paul."[23] We can assume that "the Roman land" here means "orbis romanus" and that the use of the present tense means that in the eyes of Ilarion Rome is orthodox. His profession of faith has the same significance: "I come to the Catholic and Apostolic Church."[24] This confession, which in its original prototype was the Confession of Faith by Michael Synkellos (ca. 787), has been preserved, somewhat abbreviated, in the Primary Chronicle as an admonition to the newly baptized Volodimer. The above formula, quoted by Ilarion, has been omitted from the chronicle, perhaps accidentally. Instead, what Volodimer hears is: "Do not accept the teachings of the Latins as their instruction is vicious."[25]

21 Independent of the divergence in views on the beginnings of Rus' chronicling, there is no doubt that at the Caves Monastery historiographic work began in the 1090s and acquired its final form in the second decade of the twelfth century. The writing, on the other hand, of annalistic notes must have dated from the 1070s at the monastery and perhaps from the 1060s. A survey of the latest chronicle writing (compare Lixačev, *Russkie letopisi*, pp. 427–79, as well as the thirty-eight volumes of *PSRL*) indicates that the Primary Chronicle was incorporated into the greater part of the compilations of chronicles up to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

22 This difference is clear evidence of the time which divides both concepts; hence, not only is the attempt at simultaneous dating surprising, but so also is the admittance of the possibility of the authorship of Ilarion in this cycle of tales in the Primary Chronicle about the spread of Christianity. Cf. *Vvedenie xristianstva*, p. 147; *Slovar' knižnikov*, p. 202.

23 Moldovan, *Slovo*, p. 91 (184^{b}); Müller, *Lobrede*, p. 99 (38^{3-8}).

24 For the Confession of Faith of Ilarion, see Müller, p. 54, as well as in the appendix the Greek text of the Confession of Faith of Michael Synkellos, pp. 189–92.

25 *PSRL*, 1, cols. 114–16; Cross, *Primary Chronicle*, p. 115. For the juxtaposition of the Confession of Faith of Michael Synkellos with the text of the Confession in the Codex of Svjatoslav of 1073 and in the chronicle, see M. Suxomlinov, *O drevnej russkoj letopisi kak pamjatnike literatury* (St. Petersburg, 1865), pp. 65–68. The likelihood of an unintended removal arises from the dissimilarity of the further text. The Confession of Faith in the chronicle replaces the data of Michael Synkellos about six councils with information about seven general councils. Taking into consideration that the Confession ascribed to Michael Synkellos mentions Trullo, therefore the synod completing (quinisextum) in the year 691, it seems necessary to assume that it was written around the time of the ecumenical council of 787 (II Nicae-

Ilarion's belief in the "Universal and Apostolic Church" is an expression of a still deeply rooted conviction—both in the East and in the West—of the unity of the Church. It is because of this conviction that it was possible to overcome the conflict with Rome of Photius's time and to achieve reconciliation after 877.[26] Differences exploded with new force only in the mid-eleventh century, and the year 1054 has been seen as the beginning of the deepening division.[27]

In the Primary Chronicle the realization of this division is clearly perceived. Attempts made by some scholars to explain the anti-Roman, anti-Latin commentaries found in the chronicle as later interpolations cannot be defended since they are an integral part of the concept of the "Choice of Faith" developed by the author. Hence, along with representatives of Islam and Judaism, there were in Kiev two Christian embassies: the "Germans from Rome" and a Greek philosopher.[28] When Volodimer learns from the papal envoys of "fasting according to the person's strength," he sends "them back home since our forefathers did not accept this."[29] His answer

num). The emphasis placed on the worship of icons and relics in this Confession places it with this last council and with the restoration of the veneration of icons. And in this case we can still consider the authorship of Michael Synkellos (born ca. 760) as possible. Cf. H. G. Beck, *Kirche und Theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich, 1959), pp. 503–505. In any case, the dating of this Confession of Faith to the first half of the ninth century seems little justified.

26 See Fr. Dvornik, *The Photian Schism. History and Legend* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948); French ed., *Le schisme de Photius. Histoire et Legende* (Paris, 1950), pp. 230–86.

27 It seems that only the events of 1204 made this division irreversible. See P. Lemerle, "L'Orthodoxie byzantine et l'oecumenisme medièval: les origines du 'schisme' des Églises," *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé*, series 4, vol. 2 (Paris, 1965), pp. 228–46. Cf. D. M. Nicol, *Byzantium: Its Ecclesiastical History and Relations with the Western World* (London, 1972; Variorum rpt., pt. 2); M. Angold, *The Byzantine Empire 1025–1204* (London, 1984), pp. 28–31; J. Meyendorff, *The Byzantine Legacy in the Orthodox Church* (New York, 1982), pp. 79ff.

28 *PSRL*, 2, col. 72; 1, col. 85. "Nemcy"—this word is used in Rus' writings in both the wide sense of the mainly Germanic peoples of northwestern Europe as well as in a more narrow sense. Considering the use in this same text of the term "Greeks" for representatives of Eastern Christianity, it appears that here "Germans" are the equivalent of Latin Christians.

29 *PSRL*, 1, col. 85; the excessive mildness of the Latin fast was raised by Michael Caerularius in his letter to the Patriarch Peter of Antioch (*PG*, v. 120, p. 781[B]), while in Rus' the theme was repeated by the Metropolitan Nicephorus in letters to two princes. A letter to Volodimer Monomax was published by K. Kalajdovič in *Pamnjatniki rossijskoj slovesnosti* (Moscow, 1821), pp. 157–63. About these letters, see *Słownik Starożytności Słowiańskich* (hereafter *SSS*) 3 (1967), 369–70 as well as *Slovar' knižnikov*, pp. 278–79. On the other hand, the anti-Latin treatise attributed to the Metropolitan George (ca. 1073) is only a rewriting of Nicephorus's letter. Compare *Slovar' knižnikov*, pp. 104–105. The very theme of the non-observance of the fast by the Latins stirred Metropolitan John II, around the year 1085, in § 4 of his Responses: *Pamjatniki drevne-russkogo kanoničeskogo prava*, pt. 1 (=*Russkaja istoričeskaja biblioteka*, vol. 6, p. 3) (St. Petersburg, 1880).

is one of an adherent of stricter fasting rules and of one turning to arguments ascribed to one's forebears. We can say, therefore, that the answer that was put in Volodimer's mouth rightly belongs to his grandsons or great-grandsons.

In the words of the Greek philosopher, "the Roman faith is only slightly different from ours since they celebrate the Holy Liturgy with unleavened bread, that is, wafers."[30] In these words we find in fact the main theme of the conflict which began in 1054 and was stubbornly repeated in polemical tracts for the remainder of this century and the following one.[31] This debate could have appeared in Kiev as early as the 1060s, but its wider spread seems to have occurred in the twelfth century.[32]

At about the same time, other minor Latin deviations against which Volodimer had been persuaded by the Greek philosopher began to circulate in Rus'. This Greek philosopher seems to give to Byzantium the exclusive rights to the pure, uncorrupted, Apostolic tradition when he says:

[30] *PSRL*, 1, col. 86. The fact that the speech of the philosopher (*PSRL*, 1, cols. 86–106) in its basic shape is a text that arose earlier on Bulgarian ground (cf. A. L'vov, "Issledovanie Reči filosofa," in *Pamjatniki drevnerusskoj pis'mennosti* [Moscow, 1968], pp. 333–96) is not of any significance here. Rather, we are concerned with the chronicle adaptation of the speech that was done in Kiev and that was addressed to Volodimer. This adaptation was completed some time after 1054 and thus from a clearly anti-Latin stance. L'vov's attempt to interpret the presence of the term "oplatki" (wafers ["azymes," i.e., unleavened bread]) as a "late Czech interpolation from the X–XI centuries" (ibid., col. 394) indicates that neither the polemic about the azymes itself and its chronology, nor the anti-Latin treatises (both the original and the translated), which comfortably used the expression "oplatok," i.e., wafer, remained unknown to the author. The West Slavic origins of the expression "oplatki" (from the Latin *oblata*) is certain, as is the fact that its use in Rus' was not the result of literary borrowings but rather of everyday contact with the neighboring Poles. Anti-Latin polemicists stressed the dangers of such contact to the purity of the faith.

[31] A work that is still valid is M. Čelcov *Polemika meždu grekami i latinjanami po voprosu o opresnokax v 11–12 vekax* (St. Petersburg, 1879); cf. also Beck, *Kirche*, pp. 318–20, 534.

[32] A. Poppe, "Le traité des Azymes Leontos mētropolitou tēs en Rhosiai Presthlabas: quand, où et par qui a-t-il été écrit?" *Byzantion* 35 (1965): 504–527, where there is also earlier literature. See also Podskalsky, *Christentum*, pp. 171–84. It is necessary here to focus attention on the duration of two tracts against the Latins mistakenly attributed to Theodosius of the Caves († 1074), although the argued view dates the beginning of these monuments to the twelfth century and links them to a person associated with this monastery in the first half of the twelfth century—Theodosius the Greek. The basic arguments concerning this attribution were collected by K. Viskovatyj ("K voprosu ob avtore i vremeni napisanija 'Slova k Izjaslav o Latinex'," *Slavia* 16 [1939]: 535–67); see also further arguments completed by Podskalsky, *Christentum*, pp. 179–81, where there is also older literature. Articles about both Theodosiuses in *Slovar' Knižnikov*, pp. 457–61 appear not to know the cited literature and do not give a true picture of the state of research. For example, O. Tvorogov, writing about Theodosius of the Caves, gives in his bibliography the work of Viskovatyj, but appears not to know that this author came out against the attribution of this letter to Theodosius of the Caves. T. Bulanina also cites the works of Viskovatyj and Podskalsky, but ignores their arguments.

"... When the apostles taught [the people] throughout the world to believe in God, we Greeks inherited their teaching."[33] Otherwise, Ilarion praises Constantine the Great, "who among Greeks and Romans had subordinated his Empire to God... hence now both among them and among us it is Jesus Christ who is called the King."[34] Expressing the unity of the Universal church felt at that time, Ilarion entertains no doubts whatsoever about the extraordinary ties that linked Kiev with Constantinople. For Volodimer, the country that is the embodiment of piety, the country of "the true faith, which loves Christ and is strong by the faith" is "the Greek country." Constantinople is the new Jerusalem—the city of Salvation, an ideal model for all cities. Greece is for him the land "where the churches in the towns and villages are filled with the faithful who sing there their prayers."[35] The Holy Cross, which symbolizes the faith in Christ, but which also indicated the ecclesiastical ties, had been brought from this new Jerusalem by Ol'ga and Volodimer, and been erected in their own country to "strengthen the faith."[36]

In the Primary Chronicle, the initiative for the introduction of Christianity to Rus' is presented as a more complex process. Volodimer is presented as the most important actor, but the role of his boyars, of his retinue, is also duly recognized, as is the active role of the Byzantines. The Greek philosopher (or, more properly, missionary theologian) and bishops and priests from Constantinople and Cherson, as well as the imperial family, are also mentioned.[37]

Yet another important discordance between the treatise of Ilarion and the Primary Chronicle should be mentioned here. Ilarion stresses the direct vocation given Volodimer by God for apostolic mission. He also points out that Volodimer did not have a forerunner. Volodimer "did not see the

33 *PSRL*, 1, col. 105; 2, col. 92. Cross, *Primary Chronicle*, p. 109.

34 Moldovan, *Slovo*, p. 96 (191^a); Müller, *Lobrede*, p. 118 (44^{13-15}).

35 Moldovan, *Slovo*, p. 92 (185^b); Müller, *Lobrede*, p. 103 ($39^{3-4, 7-8}$).

36 Moldovan, *Slovo*, p. 97 (191^a); Müller, *Lobrede*, pp. 118–19 (44^{19-21}).

37 *PSRL*, 1, cols. 106, 107, 108, 110, 111, 116. The chronicle states that together with Anna came "sanovniki nekii i presvitery" (ibid., p. 110), which nullifies the justification for the assertion, generalized in the literature, that the arrival of the bishops received no mention in the chronicle. At that time, the expression "sanovnik" meant "dignitary" in both Greek and Slavonic—a holder of rank (*san, aksioma, dignitas*), also bishop. Cf. *Slovník jazyka staroslověnského*, 4 (1983), no. 36, p. 19; I. Sreznevskij, *Materialy*, 3, pp. 259–60. It is possible, therefore, in spite of the translators, to assume in principle that "some dignitaries" accompanying Anna are representatives of the high church hierarchy as well as secular officials. Besides, it is hard to imagine that it could be otherwise, since the chronicle speaks of this clearly (it appears that the later semantics of the Russian expression "sanovnik" obscured the correct interpretation). See, i.e., Cross, *Primary Chronicle*, p. 112: "some dignitaries and priests."

Apostle who would have come to his land."[38] There was, then, no apostolic intercession. Nestor the Hagiographer (ca. 1085), and probably also the author of the story about the Varangian martyrs, also wrote that the apostles had not visited the lands of Rus'. The Primary Chronicle, however, contains the story of a journey through Rus' made by the apostle Andrew.

The tradition of the missionary journeys of the apostle Andrew, the origin of which, given the mention of Scythia, can be dated to the third or fourth century, was supplemented by certain articulars during the seventh to ninth centuries when the foundation of the bishopric in the city of Byzantion (later named Constantinople) began to be linked with the missionary activity of this apostle. In that later version the territory north of the Black Sea, as well as Sinope and Cherson, is mentioned. These two cities are referred to in the *Vita of St. Andrew* by the monk Epiphanius and in the *Laudatio* descended from this *Vita* (it should be noted that both these sources were written in the ninth century). It was these sources that provided a geographic reference point for the description of St. Andrew's journey through Rus'.[39]

We cannot discuss here details of the authorship and the circumstances surrounding the composition of the Rus' Andrew legend.[40] However, its late origin is definite: it could only have appeared after 1085, probably in the beginning of the twelfth century, shortly before the last arrangement of the Primary Chronicle in 1116. To Ilarion this legend was of course unknown, but it is difficult to accept that he did not know of those versions of the *Vita* from the ninth and tenth centuries, which linked St. Andrew with the apostolic tradition of the See of Constantinople.

It seems, therefore, that the apocryphal legend on the participation of the apostle Andrew in the foundation of the Byzantion See was not unknown to Ilarion, but that he did not accept its reliability, in accordance with the intellectual trend among the church hierarchy, expressed so clearly by Patriarch Photius. And neither Photius nor Patriarch Ignatius, during their controversies with Rome, referred to the apostolic succession in terms of the St. Andrew legend, since both were aware that this new idea had no authentic confirmation in ecclesiastical tradition.

38 Moldovan, *Slovo*, p. 95 (188^{b}); Müller, *Lobrede*, p. 109 (41^{30}).

39 Fr. Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity in Byzantium and the Legend of the Apostle Andrew* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), pp. 188ff., 223–63. Compare the note in *PSRL*, 1, cols. 7–8, that Andrew taught in Synop and came to Cherson, with Epiphanius's *Life of St. Andrew*, *PG*, vol. 120, 220^{B}, 244.

40 On the literature, cf. Podskalsky, *Christentum*, pp. 12–13; *SSS*, 7 (1984): 360–61; *Slovar' knižnikov*, pp. 49–54 (*Apokrify o Andree Pervozvannom*). For accurate observations about the later origin of this legend, see Müller, *Die Taufe Russlands*, pp. 9–16.

Pleading for the apostolicity of the Byzantion See, both Photius and Ignatius linked the See to the apostle John the Evangelist as founder of the bishopric of Ephesus. The apostolic prerogatives of Ephesus, together with its See and relics of the apostle, were transferred to Byzantion when this city became the capital of the Roman diocese of Pontus, that is, over Asia Minor.[41]

This is just the situation expressed by Ilarion. The ecclesiastic jurisdiction of the apostolic see of Ephesus over Asia Minor is registered with historical accuracy: "With panegyric voices Asia, Ephesus, and Patmos praise John the Theologian, their teacher, who brought them the Orthodox Faith."[42] Ilarion appears as a spokesman and a supporter of these historically grounded traditions, which served the Constantinopolitan See's bid for apostolicity.

Given all that we know about Ilarion and his work, it is difficult to assume that the entry on the geographic regions covered by the five apostles in their missionary activity was compiled by chance. This record is based on the Origenist tradition as reported in the account of Eusebius of Caesarea, passed down through later filters of church interpretation. Eusebius ascribed to Peter, besides Rome, a few provinces in Asia Minor. Ilarion refers only to the "Roman land"—a phrase more compact but less precise. Surprising is Ilarion's omission of the apostle Andrew's Scythian mission mentioned by Origen. This silence could be explained as evidence of suspicion of legendary motives surrounding the missionary activity of the apostle Andrew. Doubts as to the veracity of the Andrew legend were raised by Photius and were presumably carefully weighed by Ilarion, who was not merely a compiler, but was a learned bookman, well versed in the traditions of the Church and well acquainted with the question of the apostolicity of the imperial city.

The tendency to include the apostle Andrew as founder of the see of Constantinople in the official tradition of the Byzantine church, evident at the end of the tenth century (in the writings of Simeon Metaphrastes, in the *Menologion* of Basil II, and in the *Patria Constantinupoleos*), had still not been accepted in the patriarchate during the eleventh century since the question had never risen in contemporary polemics with Rome. Little was heard on this idea in the twelfth century. It became a burning issue only after 1204.[43]

41 Dvornik, "The Idea of Apostolicity," pp. 233f., 238–53.

42 Moldovan, *Slovo*, p. 91 (184^{b}); Müller, *Lobrede*, pp. 99–100 (38$^{3-8}$).

43 Dvornik, "The Idea of Apostolicity," pp. 244–46, 257–59, 280–90.

The Rus' connection to the travels of St. Andrew must have been added to the legend at the end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century, clearly in response to the increased significance of that legend in Byzantine literature. The presence of Cherson in the Andrew legend is also suggestive.[44]

The Rus' version of the legend was inspired by the honest and naive desire to enrich one's own prehistory, one's own road to Salvation through association with the apostolic mission and its legacy. In reality, however, the concept, presented in the Primary Chronicle, of introducing the two apostolic motifs indirectly but clearly detracted from the apostolic role of Volodimer so markedly advanced by Ilarion. Could it have been this aspect which was one of the reasons that hampered the development of the Volodimer cult?[45]

St. Andrew's presence on Rus' soil and the raising of the Cross on the hills of the future Kiev constituted, as it were, the act of baptizing the land, the promise that one day it would be a Christian land. The introduction of the apostle Paul as teacher of the Rus', "since he taught the Slavic people... And the Slavs and the Rus' are one people,"[46] further complemented the mission of St. Andrew: the very presence of St. Paul blessed all Slavs in their Danubian ancestral home. Those Slavs who arrived on the banks of the Dnieper settled in territory blessed by St. Andrew. Thus, according to the chronicler's conception, Christ, through the mediation of his apostles, inscribed the Slavs and the Rus' land in the history of Salvation. Unlike the vision of Ilarion, for whom Volodimer was the disciple of Christ (for "it was the Savior himself who had appointed him"),[47] the chronicle version views Volodimer on a more human scale. This should not be seen as an attempt to cast doubt on Ilarion's testimony or to detract from Volodimer's achievement. The legend was merely an expression of the desire, typical of neophytes, to find their place in the genealogy and traditions of Christendom. The Rus' legend of St. Andrew's travels, integrated with the at first apocryphal and subsequently officially recognized Byzan-

44 The presence of and contacts with the Rus' in the Black Sea region (Cherson, Tmutorakan') were able to further the inception of this legend, which is, after all, similar to the legend that began in the eleventh century about the visit of the apostle Andrew to Georgia.

45 On the topic of the intricate circumstances surrounding the beginnings of this cult, see A. Poppe, "Vladimir," in *Histoire des Saints et de la Sainteté Chrétienne*, 5 (Paris, 1986), pp. 256–59; J. Fennell, "On the Canonisation of Prince Vladimir," in *Tausend Jahre Christentum in Rußland* (Göttingen, 1988), pp. 299–304; and V. Vodoff, "Pourquoi Volodimer n'a-t-il pas été canonisé?" in this volume of *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, pp. 446–66.

46 *PSRL*, 1, col. 28; Cross, *Primary Chronicle*, p. 63.

47 Moldovan, *Slovo*, p. 94 (188[b]); Müller, *Lobrede*, p. 108 (41[17]).

tine tradition, added a note of apostolic predestination to the ties of Kiev with Constantinople.[48]

An important role in the chronicler's conception of the Christianization of Rus' must be attributed to the "Tale of the Assassination of Boris and Glěb." This entry under the year 1015 is an abridged version of a hagiographic text—the "Anonymous tale of the martyrdom of SS. Boris and Glěb," written shortly after 1072 and expanded by the chronicler with the encomium of the princely martyrs.[49] Added to the allegedly historical narrative of the events were some characteristics attesting to the conversion of Rus'. The chronicler clearly, though indirectly, conveys the idea that the act of conversion, begun with the baptism of Volodimer, was only completed when "the land of Rus' was blessed by the blood" of the princely martyrs.[50] By their act, Volodimer's two sons indicate that they belong among those who maintain the highest Christian values. Their voluntary sacrifice in a society recently turned Christian took on the meaning of martyrdom for the faith—a faith confessed not only in words, but in deeds. The martyrs' deaths of Boris and Glěb, accepted innocently and voluntarily (in the views of both the hagiographer and the chronicler), were interpreted as readiness to sacrifice their lives in the name of Christ's evangelical teachings. Their voluntary sacrifice became in the history of the conversion of Rus' the crowning act of its baptism. Volodimer led Rus' onto a new path, and his two sons, through their humility, nonresistance, and participation in Christ's martyrdom—by applying the teachings of the Gospel to life

[48] The opinion suggesting that the legend arose with the aim of procuring sovereignty over Rus', with Andrew's vicar residing in Constantinople (A. Poppe, *Państwo i Kościół na Rusi w XI wieku* [Warsaw, 1968], pp. 234–35), appears to be a simplification since, during the forming of this legend, the idea linking the apostolicity of Constantinople with the apostle Andrew had not yet gained official sanction, although the tradition, consisting of legendary elements, could convey connections of some countries with the imperial city. At the same time, interest in the development of this tradition could have been stronger in the peripheries than in the center. For example, Nil Doxopatros in Sicily in 1143 already treated the connection between the apostolic mission of Constantinople with the person of the apostle Andrew as credible, and understood it as the official dogma.

[49] The secondary relation of the tale in the chronicle in regard to the anonymous Tale is particularly clearly readable in the case of the comparison of both expositions of the events of the year 1072. Cf. *PSRL*, 1, col. 172 as well as *Die altrussischen hagiographischen Erzählungen*, pp. 55–56. See A. Poppe, "Uwagi o najstarszych dziejach Kościoła na Rusi, III," *Przegląd Historyczny* 56 (1965): 560–63; and idem, "La naissance du culte de Boris et Gleb," pp. 29–53.

[50] *PSRL*, 1, cols. 138–39; 2, col. 126. This praise of Volodimer, given in conclusion to the report of the death of the ruler, seems to be a personal work by the chronicler who was also inspired by the well-known *Slovo* of Ilarion and the anonymous Tale.

itself—had demonstrated in what way the Gospel transforms man.[51]

In Ilarion's conception of the conversion of Rus', Volodimer's decision to be baptized is the turning point. By the same token, however, it was emphasized that the baptism merely opened the road to the country's true Christianization: "And then the darkness of heathendom began to recede from us and the dawn of the new faith appeared." By referring to Ol'ga's participation in the elevation of the cross on Rus' soil, Ilarion briefly yet unmistakably indicates that the conversion to the true faith covered the previous two generations of Rus' history. The Primary Chronicle praises Ol'ga as the "Herald of Christian Rus'," as the dawn before sunrise. But at the same time the chronicle's vision gives the intended impression that Volodimer begins everything anew. For again the pagan night had descended, and the darkness of the pagan deities had triumphed—dramatic contrast so necessary to the chronicler to highlight the turnabout accomplished by Volodimer.[52]

In Ilarion's *Slovo*, pagan Rus' and its rulers are not painted in black colors, though the description of the dramatic changes does use the literary device of imagery. Despite the darkness prevailing in this pagan land, both Igor' and Svjatoslav deserved recognition, and their grandson and son could be identified as a "wise, brave, and just" ruler. The Rus' land, though pagan, is a "land known and famous to all ends of the earth."[53] Ilarion's conclusion is characteristic of his way of thinking, so apparent in his view of the Old Testament phase of history (Law) in relationship to the New Testament phase (Grace).[54] The "Law" was necessary and useful to prepare for the knowledge of Christ. Just as the Old Testament prepares for and is

51 In this opinion, we differ fundamentally with the existing literature, which, independent of orientation, does not consider Boris and Glěb martyrs for the faith, but victims of quarrels among princes. Cf. G. Fedotov, *Svjatyje drevnej Rusi* (Paris, 1985[3]), p. 19; *Vvedenije xristianstva*, p. 147. Taking the matter historically, it really was so; somehow the reconstruction of the sequence of events after the death of Volodimer in 1015 is exceptionally difficult because of the already hagiographical character of the preserved records. But precisely this tradition—speaking of the voluntary character of their sacrifice—gave it a religious sense of following in the footsteps of Christ and by their atonement "removing the stigma [of paganism] from the sons of Rus'" (Nestor, "Life of Boris and Glěb," in *Die altrussischen hagiographischen Erzählungen*, p. 6). It is necessary to make note of this deep understanding of becoming a true Christian, when one passes from words to the actual application of the teachings of Christ in one's own life, so surprising in a society that just became Christian.

52 Moldovan, *Slovo*, pp. 93 (186^{b}), 97 (191); Müller, *Lobrede*, pp. 105, 118–19 (40^{8-9}, 44^{18-21}); *PSRL*, 1, cols. 68 79–80, 82–83.

53 Moldovan, *Slovo*, pp. 91–92 (184^{b}, 185^{a}); Müller, *Lobrede*, pp. 100–101 (38^{12-30}).

54 Both of these expressions appear repeatedly in the *Slovo* of Ilarion, mainly on the principle of contrast (*zakon* = OT 29 times; *blagodat'* = NT 32 times). Compare Moldovan, *Slovo*, pp. 201–202, 211 (dictionary).

replaced by the New Testament, so the pagan Volodimer and his ancestors, who built a strong and populous state worthy of an honorable place in the world, though as yet submerged in darkness, are instruments in the path of the Rus' towards Grace.

Ilarion's *Slovo* is not a document of ecclesiastic policy as it is often taken to be; rather, it is a theological-philosophical treatise, an attempt at offering a philosophy of the history of Rus' with the aim of demonstrating its place in the general Christian history of Salvation. Ilarion conceives of the history of mankind as the process of spreading Salvation through Christ's teachings: "The faith of salvation spreads over all of the world and reaches also our Rus' people, drying out the lake of law while the wellspring of the Gospel is pouring richly, filling the earth and inundating us also."[55]

Many misunderstandings in the reading of Ilarion's message—including the search for anti-Byzantine overtones or the absence of loyality vis-à-vis the ecclesiastic authority of Constantinople—have resulted both from considering it a concealed ecclesiastic-political polemic and from comparing it with other Old Rus' texts, assuming contemporaneous (or even earlier) provenance to Ilarion's *Slovo*. This is true, for example, of the hypothetical chronicle of 1039, the equally hypothetical "Tales of the Spread of Christianity in Rus'," or of the Lives of Boris and Glěb, which have been given wrong, far too early dates. Mistaken assumptions concerning the dating of various texts by necessity lead to inaccurate conclusions.[56] However, it so happens that the most outstanding piece of Christian literature among the East Slavs originated at the dawn of Christianity in Rus', definitely predating the Primary Chronicle and the tales mentioned here that came to form this Chronicle's text. There can also be no doubt about the *Slovo*'s impact on that literature even though not all borrowings from it were aptly used.[57]

Only some aspects of both concepts of the conversion of Rus' were touched upon here. These concepts vary, not only in the element of time, but, more importantly, in the circumstances surrounding their formation

[55] Moldovan, *Slovo*, p. 88 (180[b]); Müller, *Lobrede*, p. 88 (34^{6-10}).

[56] See fn. 22, above. Concerning the differences in the dating of the works dedicated to Boris and Glěb, see Poppe, "La naissance du culte de Boris et Gleb," pp. 30–37; *Slovar' knižnikov*, pp. 398–408.

[57] On the influence of Ilarion's *Slovo* on the Primary Chronicle, see L. Müller, "Ilarion und die Nestorchronik," in this volume of *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, pp. 324–45. We will add here that the author of the praise of Volodimer in the chronicle's entry for the year 1015 travestied Ilarion's definition of Volodimer as the imitator of the great Constantine ("podobniče velikago Konstantina"; Moldovan, *Slovo*, p. 96 [191[a]]) in "he is the new Constantine of mighty Rome" ("se jest novyj Konstantin velikago Rima"; *PSRL*, 1, col. 130; Cross *Primary Chronicle*, p. 124).

with regard to the conversion of Rus', and—most importantly—in the differences in intent and the background of erudition and understanding of their authors.

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When and How was Novgorod Converted to Christianity?

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In his *Geschichte der russischen Sprache*—marked by a refreshingly novel approach to the history of the Russian literary language, free from many of the stereotypes characteristic of previous standard textbooks and reference works, especially some Soviet publications, while at the same time unfortunately flawed by a number of inaccuracies and inadequacies—A. Issatschenko (Isačenko) (1980: 35–36) had this to say about the conversion of Novgorod to Christianity:

Über die Christianisierung Novgorods, der nördlichen Metropole, ist nichts bekannt. Vielleicht war das Christentum auf anderen Wegen nach dem ostslavischen Norden gelangt. In Kiev gibt es kaum Spuren des glagolitschen Alphabets. Von den 15 ostsl. Handschriften, in denen sich glagolitische Spuren finden, sind 13 in Novgorod verfasst. Die I. Novgoroder Chronik enthält eine Reihe von Wörtern, die zwar im Alttschechischen vorkommen, den Kiever Autoren aber unbekannt sind. Ist es nicht auffallend, dass der tschechische Märtyrer Wenzel (**Вячеславъ**) nur im Norden verehrt wurde, in Kiev aber kaum bekannt war? Es ist deshalb vielleicht nicht allzu gewagt zu vermuten, dass Novgorod nicht von Byzanz aus, sondern vom Südwesten her, von Böhmen oder Mähren aus christianisiert worden ist. Das glagolitische Alphabet war ja die einzige Schriftform, die während der Missionstätigkeit von Kyrill und Method und ihren Schülern in Mähren verwendet wurde. Die Hypothese, Novgorod sei unabhängig von Kiev christianisiert worden, wurde 1930 von Nikol'skij ausgesprochen und findet heute die Unterstützung Shevelovs (1960, 74).

A few years earlier, in 1973 (51, fn. 3), the same scholar had advanced this same idea on virtually identical grounds (except that there he spoke of lexical items found in the First Novgorod Chronicle having parallels in Czech and Slovak, rather than claiming that they also occurred in Old Czech).

If we take a look at what G. Y. Shevelov actually had to say on the subject, we find that he was not so much concerned with the advent of Christianity to Novgorod as he was with the possibility that Glagolitic writing and the Church Slavonic language in general may have reached the northern urban community prior to making their way to and gaining general acceptance in Kiev. It could, of course, be inferred from such a hypothesis that Christendom was known—and perhaps to some extent embraced—earlier in the north than in the south of Rus'. Yet, as is well known, there is

incontrovertible evidence of converts to the Christian faith in the capital city, Princess Ol'ga foremost among them, antedating Volodimer's baptism (cf. below). At any rate, here is the exact wording of Shevelov's relevant remarks (1960: 74–75):

Es gibt Tatsachen, die darauf hinweisen, dass Novgorod das kirchenslavische Alphabet und Schrifttum aus anderen Quellen und vielleicht früher als Kiev erhalten hat. Von fünfzehn ostslavischen Denkmälern, die Spuren der Glagolica aufweisen, stammen dreizehn aus Novgorod (nach der Berechnung G. Il'inskijs). Zwei glagolitische Inschriften in der Novgoroder Hl. Sofija verdienen ebenfalls Aufmerksamkeit, unabhängig davon, ob sie von Einheimischen oder Zugereisten gemacht wurden... Zu jener Zeit, als für Kiev der Hauptlieferant des kirchenslavischen Schrifttums zweifellos Ostbulgarien mit seiner Kyrillica war, konnte die Glagolica Novgorods ihre Quellen in der makedonischen oder mährischen Tradition haben. Das erstere ist weniger wahrscheinlich, das letztere angesichts der alten Verbindungen Novgorods mit West- und Mitteleuropa nicht ausgeschlossen. Ist es in diesem Zusammenhang ein Zufall, dass einige durch kirchenslavische Vermittlung entlehnte Gräzismen, wie *skam'já*, *krovát'*, *svëkla*, *fonár'*, *párus*, *ízvest'* in der russischen Sprache mehr Beständigkeit zeigten als in der ukrainischen? Wenn man annimmt, dass die kirchenslavische Sprache nach Novgorod früher gekommen ist, so kann man leichter verstehen, dass sie dort auch früher den lokalen Elementen angepasst wurde. Dazu verhalf auch der Umstand, dass Novgorod in erster Linie ein Handelszentrum war. Die Sprache war hier vor allem ein Werkzeug des Geschäftslebens ... Die "Philologie" Novgorods beschränkte sich offenbar auf praktische kleine Wörterbücher, wie z. B. das Wörterverzeichnis zu der Kormčaja kniga vom Jahre 1282. Dafür muss die juristische Terminologie in Novgorod zweifellos Gegenstand spezieller Fürsorge gewesen sein, und die lokale politische Phraseologie, die mit dem Veče und dem Fungieren des Verwaltungsapparates verbunden war, erreichte eine hohe Entwicklung. Alle diese Faktoren mussten zu einer schnellen Russifizierung der kirchenslavischen Literatursprache in Novgorod beitragen. Hier kann eine Erklärung für den auf den ersten Blick einzigartigen Charakter der Sprache der Russkaja Pravda liegen. Šachmatovs Theorie von der Evolution des Kirchenslavischen in Richtung auf die lokale Sprache würde so ihre Richtigkeit sowohl für Kiev als auch Novgorod bewahren, doch der zeitliche Unterschied im Beginn dieses Prozesses und sein Entwicklungstempo würden das Erscheinen der Sprache nach vorwiegend russicher amtlicher und geschäftlicher Texte schon im 11. Jh. erklären.

That Slavonisms and, in the last analysis, also Hellenisms could early on penetrate even into the legal and business language of Kievan Rus'—or rather, perhaps, be retained there—was convincingly shown by Issatschenko on the basis of his analysis of the charter (*gramota*) of Grand Prince Mstislav of ca. 1130, a grant to the Monastery of St. George (Jur'ev monastyr') on the outskirts of Novgorod (Isačenko 1970). Most likely, though, the Mstislav charter, while reflecting a transaction pertaining to

Novgorod, was actually drafted in Kiev and not in the northern Rus' city (cf. Shevelov 1987: 165). The myth about the "purity" of the legal language of Rus' (and Muscovy), that is, the notion that early East Slavic legal and paralegal texts were essentially free of Slavonisms, has been disproved or, in any event, substantially qualified by other Russists as well (cf., in particular, Worth 1974 and 1975). And, of course, Šaxmatov's conception of the origin and evolution of the Russian literary language as a protracted process of gradual russification of Church Slavonic, later echoed and only slightly modified by Unbegaun, and, it seems, generally accepted also by Shevelov, is nowadays considered overly one-sided and thus inadequate. This opinion has come about particularly in light of the more recent theories on diglossia and bilingualism in Rus' and Muscovy formulated—with some significant differences, to be sure—by Issatschenko and Uspenskij (cf. esp. Issatschenko 1980: 68–80, and Uspenskij 1987: 14–21) and subsequently discussed and assessed by others, problematic, to say the least, though these theories, too, are (cf. esp. Žukovskaja 1987, notably the introductory essay by A. I. Gorškov, 7–29; Lunt 1987).

However, in Shevelov's reasoning, as quoted above, there is no reference to the work of Nikol'skij mentioned by Issatschenko. If we turn to Nikol'skij's study on the Primary Chronicle (*PVL*) as a source for the history of the initial period of Rus' writing and culture (Nikol'skij 1930), we find that, whereas Shevelov indeed considered the possibility that Novgorod might have been exposed to the Glagolitic script and to Church Slavonic (and thus, by implication, to Christianity) earlier than Kiev, there is no indication to that effect in Nikol'skij's monograph. In other words, Novgorod is not singled out there as having become acquainted with—let alone having embraced—the Christian faith, as conveyed in Glagolitic Church Slavonic writing, before Kiev. Nonetheless, Nikol'skij's observations and suggestions, forming part of a century-long, lively discussion about the genesis and significance of the Primary Chronicle, bear on the question of when and how Novgorod was converted to Christianity. The tenor of Nikol'skij's work (polemicizing against some of Šaxmatov's pertinent findings while acknowledging their pioneering nature) is that the author, or rather one of the compilers, of the *PVL*—namely, either Nestor (of the Kiev Caves Monastery) or Sylvester (Sil'vestr, *igumen* at Vydubyči)—deliberately suppressed information that would have detracted from the allegedly unique achievement of Byzantium and the Greeks in the Christianization of Rus'. Consequently, we find in the Primary Chronicle only episodic mention of any Christian presence or Christian-related activity in Rus' before the country's official conversion in 988. What is more, even these brief accounts are all somehow associated with Byzantium and/or the Varangians

(about whom we read that "many of them were Christian"; cf. also the mention of "Christian Rus'," presumably consisting not only of Varangians, both s.a. 945; the account of Ol'ga's baptism in Constantinople, s.a. 955; and of the martyrdom of Christian Varangians, s.a. 983). By the same token, none of these references or tales is in any way connected with any other Slavic peoples already converted to Christianity. The only fairly detailed account of Christian activity among other Slavs prior to the events of 988 is found in what has been tentatively termed the *Skazanie o preloženii knig na slavjanskij jazyk*, entered in the *PVL* under the year 898 and held by Šaxmatov to be an interpolation made by Sylvester. Nikol'skij doubted the correctness of Šaxmatov's assumption. He preferred to see in the *Skazanie* a residual reflection of the conflicting historiographic trends, in terms of medieval ideology, in eleventh–twelfth-century Rus'—one Grecophile (and at the same time Normanist), which represented the attitude of the Caves Monastery as well as the ruling dynasty and was adopted also at Vydubiči, and which therefore came to prevail, the other Slavophile, as it were, that is, stressing Slavic unity and the close ties of Rus' to other Slavic peoples. This latter point of view was presumably suppressed and can be only partly recovered from a few vestiges in the chronicle text. Nikol'skij thus did not consider this account, forming part of the Primary Chronicle's initial, legendary portion, to be a secondary addition or insertion; rather, he saw in it an isolated trace of an earlier, submerged tradition. As is known to scholars in the field, the *Skazanie* is a brief description of the Thessalonian brothers Constantine and Methodius's Moravian-Pannonian mission and includes the erroneous information that Constantine returned from Rome to Bulgaria to teach the people there. The account concludes by tying the dubious tradition of St. Paul's teaching in Illyria (the Roman province of Illyricum; cf. Rom. 15: 19) with Moravia—the latter an extension with only feeble, ex post facto, ecclesiastical-administrative historical foundation (cf. Jakobson 1954/85: 161–64)—thus making him not only the first apostle of the Slavs in general but, by identifying them with the Poljane of the mid-Dnieper region and with the Rus', also the apostle of, specifically, the Eastern Slavs, a role otherwise traditionally reserved for St. Andrew (cf. below; see Nikol'skij 1930: 37, 59–67, 84–86, 98, 100).

Yet Nikol'skij was mostly concerned with the chronology of the advent of Christendom to Rus' and, to the extent he singled out any particular part of the East Slavic lands and tribes, it was the Kievans and the Poljane or what he referred to as Poljano-Rus', in other words, the East Slavic ethnic group of the Kiev area (cf. esp. 1930: 37–39), rather than any of the northern districts of the Kievan state. Only in making the important distinction, in substance and chronology, between the formal and official conversion of

Rus' to Christianity, on the one hand, its "baptism," which indeed was brought about by Byzantium (and led to the establishment of a Kiev metropolitanate subordinate to the patriarchate of Constantinople), and, on the other, the much earlier entry and spread of Christian beliefs and practices in Rus' territory, did Nikol'skij at one point (1930: 98) also specifically mention Novgorod. Thus he suggested that St. Andrew's legendary visit to the Volxov city and the tribe of the Slovene that had settled on the shores of Lake Il'men', as reported at the beginning of the Primary Chronicle, must—at least in the eyes of the annalist—have amounted to more than merely "a tourist's observations about the oddities of their bathing habits" and, like other journeys undertaken by Christian apostles, implied teaching and miracle-working for missionary purposes among the people of Novgorod and its environs. Compare also what Nikol'skij had to say about the notions of apostle-missionaries and missionary-teachers (1930: 38, fn. 1). To be sure, the chronicler's account of what he must have perceived as the savage habits of the Novgorodians may well suggest (as was pointed out by Shevelov in the discussion of this paper) a deliberate contrasting of them with the more civilized Kievans and their refined lifestyle. Otherwise, he specifically pointed out (36) that the *Skazanie* made no reference to the Novgorodians-Slovene or, for that matter, to any other East Slavic tribes except the Poljane ("Poljano-Rus' ").

The *Skazanie*, like the accounts of a Christian presence in pre-988 Rus', is episodic in character, unconnected with the rest of the chronicle narration. It thus lacks any continuation that would tell about some other Slavic, notably West Slavic (Moravian-Pannonian), Christian activity in Kievan Rus'. It is precisely that gap (which is how he conceived it) that Nikol'skij thought to be due to a deliberate historiographic, ideologically motivated manipulation allowing only for a Byzantine (including Khersonian) and Varangian political-cultural impact on the Kievan state, not for one originating among the Western Slavs. Further evidence of this Nikol'skij found in the fact that when Volodimer turned to the representatives of various religions, among the Christians there were, according to the chronicle account, only Germans (advocating the Roman Catholic form of Christianity) and Greeks (speaking in favor of its Greek Orthodox variety), but no Slavs, even though the gospels and other biblical books and liturgical texts are known to have existed at that time in (Old) Church Slavonic, especially in Glagolitic writing in Moravia-Pannonia (Nikol'skij 1930: 9). And only after Volodimer had decided in favor of Greek Orthodoxy did the flow of Slavic books allegedly begin from Bulgaria, a country recently and (as a consequence of Tsar Samuil's defeat in 1014) completely incorporated into the Byzantine Empire. It should be recalled here that as early as 971

Emperor John I. Tzimiskes had decisively defeated the Bulgarians (and their Rus' allies under Svjatoslav), resulting in the establishment of Byzantine rule over eastern Bulgaria. During the five years (966–71) spent among Christians in Bulgaria, some of Svjatoslav's warriors were surely exposed to Christian influences and upon their return to Rus' may have maintained an interest in, or even involvement with, that religion. Thus, as J. Fine (1983: 187) pointed out, "connections between Bulgarians and Russians, resulting from Svjatoslav's activities in Bulgaria, must be considered as an important part of the background to the official conversion of the Russians. . . ." Here I would merely substitute the Varangian-dominated Rus' for "Russians."

As for the compilation of the Primary Chronicle, it should be mentioned that even its earliest phase took place after the definite break between the Eastern and the Western church in 1054. This was also the year of the death of Jaroslav the Wise and, probably related to it, of the removal from office of Ilarion. Only the very first beginnings of the *PVL*, represented by what has been termed *Drevnejšij (kievskij) svod*, seem to have been associated with St. Sophia Cathedral and the formal establishment of the Kiev metropolitanate around 1039–40, and must date from no later than the brief term in office of Metropolitan Ilarion (1051–54). A strictly Byzantine church allegiance (and dependency), free from all Western (Roman, West Slavic) reminiscences, was therefore de rigeur, if not obligatory, in ecclesiastic and monastic circles at the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century in Kievan Rus'.

As Nikol'skij mentioned (1930: 100, fn. 1), it is further noteworthy, that when Ol'ga in 959 (in Nikol'skij, erroneously 954) turned to Emperor Otto I (as reported in a Latin [German] chronicle attributed to Adalbert of Trier, the subsequent unsuccessful missionary bishop to Kiev and successful first archbishop of Magdeburg, but, for reasons we can now understand, not mentioned in the *PVL*), she asked that not simply missionaries but a bishop be dispatched to Rus'. This suggests that Christianity had already gained a foothold in Kiev, although it was not yet generally accepted there.

Essentially, Nikol'skij considered the lost prototype of the *Skazanie* (as well as some prefatory matter of the Primary Chronicle) to have relied heavily on West Slavic chronicle-writing and legends. In Moravian-Pannonian literature he saw the source not only of the Rus' chronicle's account of the origin of "Poljano-Rus'," but also of the idea about the original unity of all Slavic peoples (and therefore of their continued ties; 1930: 50–58). Moreover, he considered the chronicle's identification of the inhabitants of Noricum—mistaken as part of another Roman province, Illyricum—with the Slavs as a reflection of a Moravo-Pannonian tradition

(1930: 59–67), with which he associated the Primary Chronicle's theories concerning the earliest settlement of the Slavs in Europe—namely, on the mid-Danube (1930: 68–77)—as well as the close ties that once existed between the mid-Dnieper Slavs ("Poljano-Rus'") and the Western Slavs (1930: 78–83). Finally, Nikol'skij (1930: 84–106) pointed to several indications that the continuation of the *Skazanie* (somewhat arbitrarily entered under the year 898), part of an earlier version of the chronicle text, was removed from the *PVL* as its text was reworked in the Caves Monastery.

Some other issues raised in Nikol'skij's incisive study—notably regarding lingering vestiges of paganism in Old Rus'—will be touched upon below. Suffice it to reiterate here that while the Russian scholar has indeed succeeded in making a strong case for assuming some knowledge of Slavic Christian writings (presumably in the Glagolitic script) in pre-988 Rus', he in no way singled out Novgorod or suggested that the northern Rus' city (or the Rus' north in general) was Christianized independently of Kiev. Rather, wherever he was specific, Nikol'skij in this context referred to Kiev and the local tribe of the Poljane.

Nikol'skij's critique of these important details of Šaxmatov's groundbreaking textological research into the genesis of the Primary Chronicle was mentioned approvingly by B. A. Larin, in his *Lekcii po istorii russkogo literaturnogo jazyka* (1975: 10–12). The Russian scholar points out that "Christianization left its distinctive imprint on the ancient culture of Rus' in the eighth–tenth centuries" and that "the culture of the early period sharply differed from the culture of Rus' toward the end of the tenth and at the beginning of the eleventh century" (see Larin, 1975: 12 and 22).

In this context it should be noted, however, that Nikol'skij's hypothesis was not accepted, or else was considered only with major qualifications, by several specialists in the field. Il'inskij (1930) criticized Nikol'skij severely in his review of the latter's study; and V. M. Istrin (1931), in an essay on "the Moravian history of the Slavs and the history of Poljano-Rus' as the alleged sources of the Primary Chronicle," rejected Nikol'skij's notions even more categorically and expressed the view that no earlier Christian culture of Western—or, to be exact, West Slavic—origin existed in Kievan Rus' prior to its official conversion. Also skeptical regarding some of Nikol'skij's views was, subsequently, N. K. Hudzij (1960: 8–14), while R. Jakobson (1954/1985) took a compromise stand, assuming that a Moravian historical text of the time of Mojmír II—the presumed Old Church Slavonic original reflected in the Latin *Privilegium moraviensis ecclesie* (and possibly, to some extent, also another one, underlying the Latin *Epilogus terre Moravie atque Bohemie*)—was directly incorporated into the *PVL* in the form of the *Skazanie o preloženii knig*. (For further discussion, see

Králík 1963 and 1960; Florovskij 1958: 215–16; Rogov 1968: 117–18; and, for some linguistic evidence in support of Nikol'skij's hypothesis, L'vov 1968.) Neither a West Slavic (Church Slavonic) source nor Byzantine models for the earliest chronicle-writing in Rus' were assumed by D. S. Lixačev (1952: 168–69), who instead claimed that "its sources are [to be found] in the [local] social-political reality and not in foreign models."

Recently, the whole question of the sources and the time and place of the writing of the *Skazanie* was reexamined by B. N. Florja (1985). Taking into account all relevant arguments—including the, in his (and my) view, erroneous notion expressed by K. Mečev that the *Skazanie* originated in Bulgaria rather than in Bohemia-Moravia—the Soviet scholar arrived at the conclusion that the Slavic tale most probably was written at the Sázava Monastery in Bohemia during the second half of the eleventh century, sometime before 1096, the date of the expulsion of the Slavic-writing monks from their monastery. The *Skazanie* can therefore be considered an attempt by the monks of the Abbey of Sázava to stand up for their right to translate Latin and Greek Christian texts into Slavic and to interpret them by making reference to a historical precedent—the Slavic rendition of the Holy Scripture by Constantine and Methodius, which had received the approval of the Roman Curia. Florja also argues against the view, advocated in particular by O. Králík, that Christian's chronologically controversial Legend of SS. Václav and Ludmila (*Vita et Passio sancti Wenceslai et sancte Ludmile avie eius*) is in fact one of the sources of the *Skazanie* (but cf. Uspenskij 1987: 44, based on Králík's reasoning; on the controversial chronology of Christian's Legend, see, e.g., Vlasto 1970: 90–91 and 346, fn. 12). As Florja (1985: 128) points out, "in view of the contacts of the Sázava Monastery with Kiev, attested to by direct evidence, there is nothing surprising in the fact that the *Skazanie* in the beginning of the twelfth century would fall into the hands of the compiler of the *PVL*—Nestor."

To sum up what has been said here about the *Skazanie o preloženii knig* in the form in which it appears in the Primary Chronicle and about its presumed West Slavic (Czech Church Slavonic) sources, there is nothing to indicate that its prototype, still in pre-Volodimerian times, would first have found its way to Novgorod. On the contrary, everything we know or can reasonably surmise suggests that it reached Kiev's Caves Monastery directly from Bohemia and that this did not occur until sometime toward the very end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century (probably between the expulsion of the Slavic monks from Sázava in 1096 and the compilation of the first version of the *PVL* by Nestor around 1113).

As for the fifteen Rus' Church Slavonic manuscripts exhibiting traces of Glagolitic script, of which thirteen are said to have originated in Novgorod, referred to by both Issatschenko and Shevelov (the latter crediting G. Il'inskij with this claim, without, however, citing any reference), this suggestion can be found in the notes to an article by Il'inskij dealing with the Pogodin Cyrillo-Glagolitic Folia (previously known as the Moscow Glagolitic Fragments). There (Il'inskij 1929: 101–102) the Russian Slavist listed the additional fourteen texts (to which we shall return shortly) that show traces of Glagolitic writing. He further mentioned (102, fn. 10) that "the knowledge of our ancestors of the Glagolica is irrefutably proven also by two Glagolitic (or rather Glagolitic-Cyrillic) inscriptions of the eleventh–twelfth centuries, which were discovered by Academician Suslov under the floor of Novgorod's Sophia Cathedral in 1898–1899." Il'inskij was of the opinion (102) that the presence of Glagolitic letters in these manuscripts can only be explained by their having been copied, albeit not necessarily always directly, from Glagolitic originals, and he went on to suggest that, consequently, "the current opinion that at the time when the Rus' people embraced Christianity the Rus' church received from Bulgaria only Cyrillic manuscripts is in need of substantial revision. Obviously, along with the latter, already during the first centuries of Rus' writing, bookmen handled also Glagolitic copies of the Holy Scripture, liturgical books, and the Church Fathers."

However, let us now return for a moment to Issatschenko's much more far-reaching hypothesis focusing on Novgorod and examine the arguments adduced by him in its support. Issatschenko's line of reasoning can be summarized as follows: (1) Nothing is known about Novgorod's conversion to Christianity; (2) Virtually no traces of the Glagolitic script are known from Kiev, while there is ample evidence of Glagolitic writing in Novgorod; (3) The First Novgorod Chronicle (*NPL*) contains lexical items also found in Old Czech (or in Czech and Slovak) but unknown in contemporary Kiev; (4) The martyred Czech king Václav (d. 929; Rus' form: Vjačeslav) was worshipped in Novgorod, but was barely known in Kiev. Hence, Issatschenko concludes, it is likely that Novgorod was Christianized from the Slavic southwest, i.e., Bohemia or Moravia, especially as Glagolitic was the only script in use during the Moravian-Pannonian mission of the Thessalonian brothers.

It is true, of course, that the *PVL* is quite laconic when referring to the spreading of Christendom throughout the land of Rus'. Thus, in the Laurentian Copy we read toward the end of the long entry for the year 6496/988 merely that "Volodimer was enlightened, and his sons and his country with him.... He set Vyšeslav in Novgorod...," and "When

Vyšeslav, the oldest, died in Novgorod, he set Jaroslav over Novgorod. . .'' (Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor 1973: 119). In the older version of the First Novgorod Chronicle (Synodal Copy), the beginning is missing and the extant text only sets in with the final portion of the entry for the year 6525/1016, i.e., nearly three decades after the conversion of Rus'. However, the younger version of the same chronicle (Commission Copy, fifteenth century) not only, near the end of the entry s.a. 6496/988, repeats almost verbatim the wording of the Primary Chronicle, but under the following year (6497/989) states: Крестися Володимиръ и вся земля Руская; и поставиша в Киевѣ митрополита, Новуграду архиепископа. . .И прииде къ Новуграду архиепископъ Аким Корсунянинъ, и требища разруши, и Перуна посѣче, и повелѣ влещи въ Волхово; и поверзъше ужи, влечаху его по калу, биюще жезлѣемъ; и заповѣда никому же нигдѣ же не прияти. И иде пидьблянинъ рано на рѣку, хотя горънци вести в город; сице Перунъ приплы к берви, и отрину и шистомъ: ''ты, рече, Перушице; досыти еси пилъ и ялъ, а нынѣ поплови прочь''; и плы съ свѣта окошьное. And further on, with reference to the baptism, we read still in the entry for the same year: А се в Новѣгородѣ: пръвыи князь по крещении Вышеславъ, сынъ Володимирь; и по нем брат его Ярославъ. . . .

Also, in the listing of Novgorod's ''archbishops'' immediately following the same year's entry (or forming part of it), the annalist claims: А се новгородчкыи архиепископы: пръвыи архиепископъ новгородьскыи Акимъ Корсунянинъ, Лука,. . . This, in turn, is followed by an enumeration: А се число колко есть епискупии в Русѣ: Первая киевьская митрополия, потом новгородчкая архиепискупья. . . (*NPL* 159–60, 161, 163, 164). Moreover, in one of the listings contained in the Commission Copy that precede the chronicle text itself we read: А се новгородскыи епископы. Акимъ Корсунянинъ бѣ въ иепископьствѣ лѣта 42; и бѣ въ него мѣсто ученикъ его Ефремъ, иже насъ учяше. Лука Жидята бысть епископомъ лѣт 23. . . (*NPL* 473). Naturally, some of this data can be proven to be incorrect or imprecise (as will be shown below), but nonetheless the oldest local chronicle is obviously not altogether silent on this point.

And whereas at the fragmentary beginning of the Second Novgorod Chronicle (16th-17th centuries) there is indeed barely any mention of the beginnings of Christianity in Novgorod—under the year 6538/1030 it is merely recorded that ''Archbishop Akim of Novgorod died and his disciple was Efrem who taught us''—the appended ''listing or brief chronicling of the Novgorod bishops'' under the entry for 6497/989 notes: Крестися первое князь Владимеръ, и взя у патриарха Фотия у Цареградского митрополита Киеву Леона, а Новуграду епископа Иоакима Корсунянина. . .; и прииде къ Новуграду епископъ Иоакимъ, и бысть во епископии лѣтъ 42.

И бѣ въ его мѣсто ученикъ его Ефрем и благословенъ бысть епископомъ Иоакимомъ, иже ны учити, понеже Руская земля вновѣ крестися, чтобы мужи и жены вѣру християнскую твердо держали, а поганскую бы вѣру забывали. And, in the same document we read s.a. 6544/1036: **Лука Жидята поставленъ бысть Новуграду епископомъ, и бысть лѣтъ** 23... (*PSRL* 3: 121 and 179). Similarly, we also find some mention of the advent and first years of Christianity in Novgorod in several of the other Novgorod chronicles (in the texts subsumed under the designations Third, Fourth, and Fifth Novgorod Chronicles, and also in the First Sophia Chronicle, while the Second Sophia Chronicle only begins with the year 1392), as well as in later large-scale compilations, notably the comprehensive Nikon Chronicle. In fact, in the First Sophia Chronicle, for example, the story about Perun's shameful departure from Novgorod is related s.a. 6499/991 even in somewhat greater detail than in some of the other chronicles (cf. *PSRL* 5: 121; for further discussion of the various chronicle accounts and their trustworthiness, see Janin 1984).

While the status of the just-mentioned chronicles as primary historical sources has basically gone unchallenged (which, of course, does not mean that the information contained in them is always accurate or noncontradictory—as a matter of fact, the opposite is frequently the case), the lack of reliability of the annalistic composition only indirectly known as the Joachim Chronicle (*Ioakimovskaja letopis'*, also *Jakimovskaja letopis'*) from V. N. Tatiščev's *Istorija rossijskaja* is generally acknowledged. Tatiščev himself clearly believed in the authenticity of the Joachim Chronicle, to which he devoted the fourth chapter of his history, associating at least its core with the activity of the first attested—Greek—shepherd of Novgorod's Christian flock. However, subsequent research has shown that we are dealing here with an as yet insufficiently analyzed mixture and compilation of genuinely annalistic, legendary-folkloric, and purely fictional material put together at the behest of Joachim's namesake, the Novgorod metropolitan and, from 1674, Muscovite patriarch Joakim (d. 1690). If, therefore, Tatiščev saw in Bishop Joakim (Akim) of Kherson and Novgorod a second Nestor, the aspirations of the seventeenth-century prelate were rather in line with those of his contemporary and—indirect—predecessor, Patriarch Nikon. (For some background concerning the genesis of this "chronicle," see Tatiščev 1962: 50–52: Lixačev 1947: 11–12, 112; and, in particular, Šambinago 1947; cf. now also Janin 1984 concerning the value of the Joachim Chronicle for the dating [between 988 and 992] of Novgorod's "baptism".) It is of little consequence, then—at least with regard to historical truth—that it is here that we find the by far most detailed description of the advent of Christianity to Novgorod and the stiff resistance

it is said to have encountered there, an account ending with the famous words: **Путята крести мечем, а Добрыня огнем** (cf. Tatiščev 1962: 112–13). Still, it is not easy to sort out fact and fiction in this story and, though highly unreliable as a historical source, it, too, contradicts Issatschenko's flat statement that nothing is known about the Christianization of the northern metropolis.

Turning now to Issatschenko's second point, considered crucial also by Shevelov, it must be conceded that, generally speaking, Glagolitic writing seems to have been somewhat more widely known in Novgorod than in Kiev. However, some important qualifications are called for here. As indicated above, Il'inskij (1929: 101–102) had listed fourteen Rus' Church Slavonic manuscripts that, in addition to the fragments studied by him, exhibit a number of Glagolitic letters, some of them by the dozen ("**иногда в количестве нескольких десятков**"). Yet, as far as I was able to determine, he nowhere claimed that of this total of fifteen texts, as many as thirteen had been written, or rather copied, in Novgorod. Also, checking the references cited in the footnotes to Il'inskij's article, no such count could be corroborated, as it could not be confirmed by consulting the detailed commented listings of the early texts from Rus' found in such standard reference works as those by Durnovo (1969: 52–92) or Kiparsky (1963: 30–70). Specifically, these manuscripts and fragments are, in addition to (1) the Pogodin Folia (12th c.), as follows: (2) the Eugenius Psalter (11th c.); (3) Gregory of Nazianzus's thirteen homilies (11th c.); (4) the Christinopolitan Apostle (12th c.); (5) a Liturgical Menaion for April (12th c.); (6) a Typicon (Cerkovnyj ustav, 12th c.); (7) Archbishop Cyril of Jerusalem's Instruction of and Dispute with the Jews (12th c.); (8) the Tropologium (Trefologij) of 1260; (9) one of the so-called Finland Fragments (without a date, but cf. Widnäs 1966); (10) a Lent Triodion (15th c.); (11) a Homily by St. John Chrysostom, part of a Miscellany of the Moscow Historical Museum (15th c.); (12) a Miscellany of the Trinity-Sergius Monastery (15th c.); (13) the Homilies of Isaac the Syrian of 1472; (14) a Commentary to the Books of the Prophets (16th c.); and (15) the Books of the Prophets with Commentary (16th c.). While many, and perhaps most, of these manuscripts and fragments may indeed have originated in Novgorod, this cannot, in most cases, be established beyond doubt. Thus, for example, the Tropologium of 1260 (also known as *Novgorodskij Trefoloj*) was undoubtedly copied in Novgorod and the same is very likely—but not certainly—true of several of the other texts listed; however, some, among them the Christinopolitan Apostle, which shows some early Ukrainian features, were definitely not copied in the Rus' northwest. It should further be noted that these fifteen texts span half a millennium, from the eleventh through the sixteenth century.

The widespread familiarity with Glagolitic writing in Novgorod during the eleventh and even twelfth century, when contrasted with a lack of such knowledge in Kiev in the same period, would, if proved, be at least an indication of Novgorod's closer ties with Christianity in its Slavonic-Glagolitic garb. The latter appeared in Moravia-Pannonia and subsequently in Bohemia, in addition to western Bulgaria (Macedonia). Yet it is hard to see how a continued, albeit occasional and selective, use of the Glagolitic script in Novgorod in later times, that is, in the thirteenth to sixteenth century, can have any bearing on the question of the point of departure of Novgorod's conversion to Christianity—unless, of course, we are to assume that any later Novgorodian texts exhibiting some traces of Glagolitic script necessarily were copied from antegraphs which in turn also originated in Novgorod and likewise contained such Glagolitic letters or words. In other words, such later use does not really tell us whether Novgorod's first exposure to the Christian faith and liturgy came from the south—Kiev, Byzantium (with Kherson), and Bulgaria—or from the southwest, i.e., Moravia-Pannonia and/or Bohemia. Also, it can be assumed that since the time when Il'inskij, in the late 1920s, listed fifteen Rus' Church Slavonic manuscripts and fragments containing some Glagolitic writing, more such texts may well have come to light (without my being able to account for them here; on Glagolitic writing in Cyrillic manuscripts, see also Karskij 1928: 211–13 and 249–52 [including its cryptographic use]).

We are better informed as regards recent finds of Glagolitic inscriptions (graffiti) dating back to the time of Old Rus'. Here, in addition to the two Glagolitic (or more precisely, Glagolitic-Cyrillic) inscriptions published by Ščepkin and mentioned also by Il'inskij (1929: 102, fn. 10) and Shevelov (1960: 74), eight more Glagolitic graffiti have been identified, so that their total number now is ten (cf. Medynceva 1978: 25–32, and 128, (nn. 1–30). Inscriptions 7 and 8 in Medynceva's listing are those previously edited and examined by Ščepkin. The Glagolitic epigraphic material of St. Sophia Cathedral in Novgorod, all of it dating from the second half of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century, is quantitatively no doubt more significant than the few Glagolitic letters and words scratched on the walls (and an embrasure) of St. Sophia Cathedral in Kiev. The Kiev inscriptions date from the eleventh century or shortly thereafter and occasionally resemble in their shape the Croatian, angular (rather than the Macedonian, round) type of Glagolitic script. (See Vysoc'kyj 1966: 37, 41, 52, 126, with plates IX: 2–3, X: 1, XVII, XVIII. Cf. also Bodjans'kyj's speculation and Il'inskij's skepticism regarding the likelihood of finding traces of the Croatian variety in Rus'; Il'inskij 1929: 88). Still, Medynceva (1978: 31–32),

considering also the virtual absence of Glagolitic data in the Novgorod birchbark material and the lack of Glagolitic letters on Old Rus' coins, concluded that "the relative paucity of Glagolitic inscriptions in the epigraphic material attests to the fact that Glagolitic writing was not widespread among the urban population of Old Rus'. And only scribes, strangers, and artists, familiar with both alphabets, would occasionally use the Glagolitic script for their pious inscriptions on the walls of a church."

One more consideration further weakens the "Glagolitic argument" in favor of a conversion of Novgorod as originating in the Slavic west. I am referring here to a recent and, in my opinion, quite persuasive hypothesis advanced by A. Poppe (1986), which resumes, to be sure, an idea first suggested a century ago by Archimandrite Leonid (L. A. Kavelin). According to Poppe, the notation of 1047 by the Novgorodian priest and scribe Upir' Lixoj (Lixyi) that he copied "these books" (viz., a commentary to the prophets) *is kurilocě* is not to be understood as meaning that the original was Glagolitic. The latter, widely held view was previously, though on insufficient grounds, contested also by Sobolevskij and Karskij. (Incidentally, Sjöberg 1982, with much ingenuity but unsuccessfully, tried to identify Upir' with the Swedish rune-carver Ofeigr Upir.) Instead, Poppe proposes that the reading *is kurilocě* (normalized *iz kurěloca*) should be associated with the word *kurělъkъ* 'model, sample, prototype', here presumably referring to the antegraph from which Upir' had copied his text. The form *kurilovicě* would simply be a later mistaken reinterpretation. The word *kurilocě* would thus have nothing to do with a different script, the Glagolitic, from which the eleventh-century Novgorodian scribe, whose work is preserved in numerous copies of the late fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries—a few of them containing some Glagolitic letters; cf. nos. 14 and 15 in the above listing—would have done his copying. Still, there is one linguistic (phonological) difficulty with Poppe's explanation. If Novgorodian *kurilocě* indeed stands for standard *kurěloca*, it is not readily clear why *k* (after *o* or, for that matter, *ъ*, but not *ь*) would have been shifted to *c* in the position before *a* (and only graphically *ě*).

As for Issatschenko's further argument, namely, that the First Novgorod Chronicle contains a number of lexemes unknown in medieval Kiev but attested in Old Czech (or, as he suggested elsewhere—1973: 51, fn. 3—having parallels in Modern Czech and Slovak), this claim is pointless as long as we are not provided with some concrete examples. At any rate, how can we ever prove that a particular lexical item encountered in a medieval text from Novgorod was not also known at the same time in Kiev? I rather doubt that the late Slavist actually compared and systematically collated Novgorodian and Kievan chronicle texts to reach his conclusion.

Also, since the Primary Chronicle and its continuation (up to the year 1200), the Kiev Chronicle, are best attested by considerably later copies produced in the Rus' northeast, in the Vladimir-Suzdal' region (Laurentian and Hypatian texts, only the latter also including the Kiev Chronicle), how can we judge whether a given item, present or lacking in the language of these copies, faithfully reflects the linguistic situation of pre-Mongol Kiev? Moreover, at the time Issatschenko made his statement concerning the lexicon of the First Novgorod Chronicle, J. Dietze's frequency dictionaries of this historical source (in its two chief variants, of which only the second covers the crucial period) were not yet available; cf. Dietze 1977 and 1984. In this respect, therefore, Shevelov's few examples of lexical Hellenisms preserved in Russian but not attested in Modern Ukrainian are, in fact, more telling, even though they at most might suggest that Church Slavonic may have reached Novgorod, and the Russian north in general, earlier, and in that case presumably from some other point of origin than Kiev. As for the claim about lexical counterparts in Old Czech or, for that matter, Contemporary Czech and Slovak, Issatschenko could, of course, rely on his own familiarity with Old Czech texts and on his near-native command of the two West Slavic languages. Yet, again, the mere ascertainment of West Slavic parallels without simultaneously corroborating the uniqueness to Novgorod of these unidentified lexical items is essentially inconsequential.

This leaves us with Issatschenko's last point—the claim that the Czech martyred king, Václav, was worshipped only in northern Rus' and was virtually unknown in Kiev. Here we must distinguish between, on the one hand, the incipient worship of St. Václav-Vjačeslav in early Rus' and, on the other, the popularity of the name Vjačeslav based on the knowledge and veneration of the Czech saint. As regards the former, i.e., the cult of Václav-Vjačeslav, it is important to keep in mind the affinity between the fate of the Czech martyr-saint and that of the first Rus' princely martyrs, Boris and Glěb, an affinity early and clearly perceived in Rus'. Once Jaroslav had prevailed over his half brother Svjatopolk, the instigator of the assassination of the two Rus' princes (who also were his half brothers), the image of Boris and Glěb became wholly transfigured. It has been suggested that the chronicle account of the murder of Boris (and Glěb), entered under the year 6523/1015 in the *PVL*, is largely dependent on the anonymous Tale (*Skazanie*) about the martyrdom of the two young princes, which is believed to have been composed around 1072, the year of the canonization of Boris and Glěb during the rule of Jaroslav's son Izjaslav. In turn, the *Skazanie* was strongly influenced by the legends of the Czech Princess Ludmila (Lidmila) and her grandson, King Václav. It can therefore be assumed that these legends and their protagonists were widely known in Old Rus',

certainly not only in Novgorod or the Rus' north. That this was indeed so is also borne out by the fact that Jaroslav gave one of his sons, recorded as born in 1036, the name Vjačeslav. This can hardly be viewed as a mere reminiscence of Jaroslav's own rule in Novgorod some twenty years earlier. In this context it is not insignificant that in the same year, after the death of his brother Mstislav, previously in control of the territory east of the Dnieper, Jaroslav became the sole ruler of Rus', and that only a few years earlier, in 1032/33, the Czech Abbey of Sázava was founded. (For some further discussion, see esp. Xorošev 1986: 20 and 51, n. 30; Rogov 1968: 119–20, incorrectly giving the date of the birth of Vjačeslav Jaroslavič as 1034.)

As for the frequency of the name Vjačeslav in Novgorod, the records are not overly conclusive. Thus, in the younger version of the First Novgorod Chronicle, the name Vjačeslav is found nineteen times, and the phonetic variant Večeslav once. Besides, the hypocoristic form Vjačko is attested in the chronicle text (Dietze 1984: 44). Surprisingly, however, Vjačeslav—or rather, the genitive form ***у Вяцьслава*** (with the dialectal feature of *cokan'e*)—is recorded only once in all of the 614 Novgorod birchbark documents published to date: it occurs in *gramota* no. 510. In addition, the form ***Вячко*** (in the dative and with *cokan'e*: ***ко В[я]цьку***) is possibly attested once, though the graphic shape is uncertain as the original editor, A. V. Arcixovskij, here read ***Влцьку***; cf. Janin and Zaliznjak 1986: 271; Arcixovskij and Janin 1978: 105–109, making reference also to a Vjačeslav Prokšinič, a Novgorod boyar and later monk of the 1220s, several times mentioned in the chronicle; Arcixovskij and Borkovskij 1958: 15).

It should be noted, moreover, that not only is a canon in honor of St. Václav, originally composed outside Rus', included in the Novgorod Menaia of 1095, but that the twelfth-century Liturgical Menaia (*Služebnye Minei*) which also contain an office for St. Václav—those for the month of September—are indeed from Novgorod (cf. Durnovo 1969: 59). On the veneration of St. Václav in eleventh and twelfth-century Rus', including Jaroslav's naming of his son after the Czech saint and the thematic link between the legend of St. Václav and the tale about the assassination of Boris and Glěb, see further, e.g., Hudzij (1960: 18–23), Rogov (1968: 115–16 and 119–29), and Xorošev (1986: 20 and 51).

While the worship of St. Václav-Vjačeslav and the popularity of the saint's name were thus well established in Novgorod—though its virtual absence in the birchbark material is striking and calls for some explanation—these were, it seems, in no way restricted to northern Rus' but were also known in Kiev and southern Rus'. At any rate, H. Procházková's suggestion (1954: 14) that the Menaion version of the legend of St. Václav

was composed in Novgorod to boost the northern Rus' city's separatist aspirations cannot, as Rogov (1968: 125–26) rightly argues, be substantiated.

On the whole, therefore, none of Issatschenko's arguments is entirely well-founded, even though each of them may contain some grain of truth; none is unequivocally sufficient to support his hypothesis about Novgorod's separate conversion to Christianity initiated in the Slavic west. Consequently, some years ago I stated (Birnbaum 1981: 119) that "though such a bold hypothesis might at first seem appealing, it is upon closer scrutiny not overly persuasive," adding that there could have been other reasons for the near-silence in local historical sources about the introduction of the new religion. One conceivable cause, for example, would be a brief return to paganism, possibly alluded to in the phrase about Joachim-Akim's Greek successor, Efrem (Ephraim), "who taught us," the latter perhaps implying a renewed evangelization of the townspeople of Novgorod.

What, then, can really be claimed with some assurance, based on historical evidence, about the advent of Christianity to Novgorod and the city's conversion to the new faith? There is, to my mind, no reason not to agree with Nikol'skij's view that Christianity and Christian culture began to make their appearance in Rus' informally and without princely approval several decades, if not a century or more, before the country's official baptism. However, there is little reason to assume that Novgorod, more than some other town of Old Rus' and notably the capital city of Kiev, would have been especially or more directly exposed to such an influence. In fact, there are on the whole more traces of early Christianity pointing to Kiev than such suggestive of Novgorod (for a general survey, see Müller 1987). True, Novgorod's foreign trade contacts were from the outset very much oriented toward the west. But the city's earliest trading partners—Scandinavia, primarily the island of Gotland and mainland Sweden, as well as the West Slavic (Pomeranian) towns on the southern shores of the Baltic (prior to the appearance of the Saxons in the area)—were themselves at that time, i.e., before 988, all by and large pagan. Possibly, though, Novgorod's long-distance commerce extended already then as far as German Saxony and the lower Rhine Valley, as well as to recently (in 966) Christianized Poland and the Czech lands of Bohemia and Moravia, where Christendom had taken root much earlier. As for the Glagolitic epigraphic evidence of Novgorod's Sophia Cathedral, built in 1045–50, and the occasional use of Glagolitic letters in Novgorodian manuscripts of medieval times, they can hardly be adduced as proof of a truly significant pre-988 Christian presence and activity in the city on the Volxov. This is also not substantially altered by the likelihood that a Christian church (and hence a small Christian

congregation) may have existed in Novgorod as early as Princess Ol'ga's time, as tradition has it, especially as there is evidence (found in the *PVL* s.a. 945) that at least one Christian church, that of St. Elijah, existed also in Kiev by 944 at the latest, that is, when Prince Igor's treaty with Byzantium was concluded. Rather, I would suggest, there is every reason to give credence to the account of the *PVL* and the local town chronicles, according to which Christianity in its Byzantine form was officially introduced in Novgorod only shortly after Volodimer's own conversion in 987 and the mass baptism of the Kievans in the waters of the Dnieper at Easter or Pentecost of 988. (For a thorough discussion of the chronological details and the general political background of the events of 987–88, see Poppe 1976/82; cf. further, e.g., Rüss 1979/80: 305–12; Podskalsky 1982: 30–36; Janin 1984.)

Likewise, there is no ground, I submit, to doubt the accuracy of the chronicler's claim that the Chersonian Joachim—in East Slavic his name was distorted to read Akim—was dispatched as the first bishop of the northern Rus' metropolis (not archbishop, to be sure, as Novgorod's *vladyka* was not elevated to the rank of archbishop until 1165). In this context it should be noted, though, that despite the fact that Novgorod undoubtedly ranked second only to the southern capital, it was nonetheless the nearby Bilhorod, some fifteen miles southwest of Kiev and founded in 991 by Volodimer as a border fortress but soon serving him as a second residence, that was made the see of the first suffragan bishop under the Kiev metropolitan. Only in 1165, in connection with Novgorod's elevation to the see of an archbishop, was the title *protóthronos* of the Kiev metropolitanate transferred from the bishop of Bilhorod to the head of the Novgorod church (cf. Poppe in Podskalsky 1982: 281; for a detailed discussion, see Poppe 1968: 152–205, esp. 158–64). It is also noteworthy that the exact date when Joachim-Akim assumed his ecclesiastic office in Novgorod does not seem fully established. Thus, e.g., Xorošev (1986: 141) lists his term in office as 989–1030, while Poppe (in Podskalsky 1982: 281) indicated more vaguely 988/90 as the date of foundation of the Novgorodian bishopric. Cf. also Podskalsky 1982: 32, who points out that the exact date of the foundation of the Novgorod diocese and the name of its first bishop must remain uncertain but that both fall within the rule of Volodimer. The chronicler's statement that Joachim (d. 1030) was bishop for a total of forty-two years, which would make him begin his term as early as 988, must at any rate not necessarily be taken literally, but may well represent a later chronological adjustment by a year or two. (On the discrepancy of five years, between 988 and 992, in various chronicle accounts, see especially Janin 1984.)

Just as Christianity had at first reached Rus' through the back entrance, as it were, gradually penetrating for a century or more before the new faith was officially embraced and its liturgy introduced, so paganism and its traces were not about to disappear suddenly after the conversion of 988. The phenomenon of *dvoeverie*, lingering in East Slavic lands for centuries, bears eloquent testimony to this. Here, Novgorod was no exception. In fact, it rather seems to have been among the places of Old Rus' where paganism was particularly deep-rooted and therefore put up stiff resistance to the new religion. Thus, as pointed out by Poppe (1980/82: 32), among others, "the evangelization in terms of turning to the new faith was during the first period after the baptism of Rus' rather the exception, a privilege, which applied only to the upper stratum of society." To be sure, it is difficult to say how much credence we are to give to the late, and as a historical source generally unreliable, Joachim Chronicle's account of how Dobrynja, originally dispatched by his nephew, Volodimer, to Novgorod in 980, during the heyday of paganism, subsequently became instrumental in implementing Volodimer's new religious order. For he, along with the local *tysjackij*, Putjata, is said to have lent forceful support, "by fire and sword," to Bishop Joachim-Akim's difficult task of winning over the reluctant Novgorodians to the new faith (for details, including an assessment of the testimony of the Nikon and Joachim Chronicles, see Janin 1984). But the previously mentioned reference to Efrem (fl. 1030–36; cf. below), the somewhat enigmatic successor to Novgorod's first bishop, as the one "who taught us," may indeed allude to a renewed attempt of this Greek-born prelate to convert (or reconvert) some segment—but hardly the whole—of Novgorod's urban population. And as late as under the year 6579/1071 in the Primary Chronicle (Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor 1973: 154) we read toward the end of the entry for that year, which deals primarily with the activity of the pagan sorcerers: "A magician likewise appeared at Novgorod in the principate of Glěb. He harangued the people, and by representing himself as a god he deceived many of them; in fact, he humbugged almost the entire city. For he claimed to know all things, and he blasphemed against the Christian faith, announcing that he would walk across the Volxov River in the presence of the public. There was finally an uprising in the city, and all believed in him so implicitly that they went so far as to desire to murder their bishop. But the bishop took his cross, and clad himself in his vestments, and stood forth saying, 'Whosoever has faith in the magician, let him follow him, but whosoever is a loyal Christian, let him come to the cross.' So the people were divided into two factions, for Glěb and his retainers took their stand beside the bishop, while the common people all followed the magician. Thus there was a great strife between them."

This is also closely echoed in the younger version of the First Novgorod Chronicle (*NPL* 196). And, typically, it was only by using a trick—in the vein known from the "Varangian tales" of the early sections of the *PVL*—that the prince, by striking the sorcerer with a hidden axe, eventually could prevail and presumably turn around the people of Novgorod. Prince Glěb Svjatoslavič, mentioned in the chronicle text, ruled in Novgorod from 1068 to 1078, while the bishop at the time was Teodor, who held his episcopal office from 1068 until his death in 1077.

How long and persistently the pagan-Christian "dual faith" in fact continued to exist in Novgorod is perhaps best shown by the testimony of various applied-art objects, found in archeological sites dating from the twelfth to fourteenth century, which display both Christian and pagan symbols or deities, as a precaution for their users. Also, still in the twelfth and even thirteenth century, Novgorodian burial sites exhibit some traces of a pagan tradition. And as late as the sixteenth century we find, in some sermon texts, strong condemnations of remnants of heathen customs and beliefs that were seen as threatening the Christian faith and as being a disgrace to the church half a millennium after the official introduction of Christianity in Rus'. (For some further discussion, cf. Kolčin et al., eds., 1985: 13; Xorošev 1980: 20; Poppe 1980–82: 341; Andreev 1983: 27–28; Tixomirov 1975: 270; Rybakov 1987: 455–782. For a somewhat different interpretation of the political implication of the advent of Christianity to Novgorod, namely, as increasing the power of the feudal lords [boyars] represented in the *veče*, rather than strengthening the hand of the prince, see Janin 1977: 231.)

Turning, finally, to the organization and earliest history of the Novgorod bishopric itself, there is, I would think, no reason not to assume that Joachim-Akim, who must have arrived in the Volxov city shortly after the official conversion, i.e., within a year or two after 988, was indeed Novgorod's first bishop. Clearly, he was, like his presumed successor Efrem, a Greek, though it is not entirely certain that he actually came from Cherson or even the Crimea. This is quite possible; yet his identification as Chersonian (*Корсунянинъ*) may also be seen in the context of the chronicle's mention that Volodimer, after the capture of the Crimean town, brought back to Rus' a number of "Chersonian priests." We know that a portion of the collection of handwritten books that were once part of the Bulgarian Preslav School reappeared in Rus', and notably in Novgorod. This transfer of manuscripts was not, as one might at first think, the result of some early contacts between Tsar Samuil's residual successor state to the First Bulgarian Empire and newly Christianized Rus'. Rather, it was facilitated by the Byzantine conquest of Bulgaria accomplished with the help of

the Kievan ruler (cf. Poppe 1986: 334, with fn. 43). The mysterious Efrem (Ephraim)—not identical to the Kiev metropolitan by the same name (another Greek, who replaced Ilarion in 1054 or 1055 and held the Kiev metropolitan see for about a decade; cf. Poppe in Podskalsky 1982: 285–86)—was also a Greek, as mentioned, but seems never actually to have been confirmed in his ecclesiastic office by the metropolitan (see Poppe 1968: 163). Possibly, as indicated above, he was instrumental in an attempted reevangelization—or now more far-reaching evangelization—of the Novgorod citizenry. His replacement by a native Rus'ian, Luka Židjata, in 1036 (or 1035) must be seen in the light of Grand Prince Jaroslav's policy of bringing native Slavs into the ranks of the initially exclusively Greek high clergy of Rus', a policy finding expression also in the appointment of Ilarion to the metropolitan throne of Kiev in 1051. However, this did not mean that Jaroslav intended to remove the Kiev metropolitanate from the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople and render the newly founded ecclesiastic hierarchy of Rus' autocephalous. Židjata is most likely a familiar form of Židislav (or some similar proper name) and does not point to any Jewish ancestry of the Novgorod bishop (cf. Birnbaum 1973–81: 228 [218], with fn. 11). Though suspended temporarily by Metropolitan Efrem in 1055, Luka remained head of the Novgorod church until his death in October of 1060 (or possibly 1059). His successors were Stefan (1061–68), Teodor (1068–77, facing the pagan riots of 1071), German (1078–95), and Nikita (who took office in 1095 or 1096 and died in 1109). (For further details, see Poppe 1968: 160–64; Podskalsky 1982: 31–32; Vlasto 1970: 263, where the date 900 is a misprint for 990, with fns. a and b; Xorošev 1980: 1–21; 1986: 137–52, esp. 141, where the exact dates given for the various bishops and archbishops of Novgorod are those indicated in the chronicle text but are not always corroborated by other source material; Onasch 1969: 17–23.)

We may state, then, that Christianity and Christian culture began to penetrate into Rus' long before the country's official conversion in 988. There is certainly reason to assume that Novgorod, like Kiev, experienced this early Christian influence very possibly in the Church Slavonic linguistic garb and combined Catholic-Orthodox—or rather, Roman-Byzantine—form that it had assumed in Moravia-Pannonia and later in Bohemia as a result of the Thessalonian brothers' Moravian mission and the subsequent, most likely unbroken continuation of the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition in the Czech lands. Yet there is no unequivocal documentary proof of such Christian influence from the Slavic west (in addition to Christian activities originating in or associated with Byzantium), notwithstanding the Glagolitic epigraphic and textual data found in Novgorod.

As for the argument that Church Slavonic may have reached Novgorod earlier than Kiev, suggested by Shevelov's reasoning, this is at any rate very hard to prove. For the notion that Church Slavonic may have more readily been adapted to the vernacular usage in Novgorod than in Kiev—of which there is indeed some indication—this, too, can well have occurred only after the gradually intensified, more and more thorough Christianization of Novgorod in the late tenth and throughout the eleventh century. Moreover, there may have been some additional, sociolinguistic causes for that (the predominantly commercial orientation of urban life in Novgorod, the lesser degree of education of the local clergy, etc.). Also, the fact that Russian has preserved some lexical Hellenisms, which entered the language via Church Slavonic, while Ukrainian has not retained them, may just as well be explained in terms of the evolution of Ukrainian itself, considering, in particular, the much more profound impact made on its lexicon by Polish as compared to the Polish lexical influence on Russian.

The northern Rus' city's official conversion, which formally, albeit superficially, must have taken place shortly after the baptism of the Kievans, clearly was a consequence of the immediately preceding development in Kiev, and ultimately points to Byzantium (Cherson, Constantinople). Subordinate to and part of the metropolitanate of Kiev, which in turn was under the direct jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople (and certainly not dependent on the see in Ochrid, as has also been suggested), the form of Christianity that was officially introduced in Novgorod was undoubtedly that of the Eastern—or Byzantine—church.

As in the rest of the Kievan state, paganism remained a strong and resistant force in Novgorod's everyday life, as possibly hinted at by the reference to the evangelizing role of Bishop Efrem in the 1030s but indisputably evident from the events of 1071, when the vast majority of the city's population sided with a pagan sorcerer against the Christian bishop (and the legitimate prince). The broader sociopolitical implication of the events of that year—a confrontation of the church and the prince, on the one hand, with the boyars backed by the common people, on the other; or a rift between the feudal lords, including the prince as well as the representatives of the church, and the lower strata of Novgorod's townspeople—is not altogether clear. Even after Christianity had in effect prevailed, various forms of "dual faith," appealing to Christian symbols and heathen powers alike, and seeking the reassurance of both, continued for centuries in Novgorod as it did elsewhere among the Eastern Slavs and in the Slavic world at large.

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Projets missionnaires cisterciens dans la Rus' du sud-ouest aux XII^{e}–XIII^{e} siècles

TERESA DUNIN-WĄSOWICZ

L'activité missionnaire des cisterciens dans la Rus' de Halyč et Volodymyr et les questions qui s'y rattachent: la lettre de saint Bernard aux représentants de l'Église polonaise, la réponse donnée par l'évêque de Cracovie Matthieu et le comte Pierre fils de Vlost, l'essaimage des monastères cisterciens en Petite-Pologne au XII^{e} siècle, puis l'érection de l'évêché missionnaire à Opatów—sont autant de sujets qui reviennent sur le tapis dans l'historiographie polonaise et étrangère.[1] Les vagues successives d'intensification des recherches sur les cisterciens en Europe centrale[2]—

[1] W. Abraham, *Powstanie organizacji kościoła łacińskiego na Rusi*, t. I (Lwów, 1904); T. Manteuffel, *Papiestwo i cystersi, ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem ich roli w Polsce na przełomie XII i XIII w.* (Warszawa, 1955); H. Ludat, *Bistum Leubus. Studien zur Gründungsfrage und zur Entstehung und Wirtschaftsgeschichte seiner schlesish-polnischen Besitzungen* (Weimar, 1943); cf. c.r. A. Gieysztor, *Przegląd historyczny* 36 (1946), pp. 169–174; M. Ludat, *Stiftsregister von 1405, Studien zu den Sozial- und Wirtschaftsverhältnissen im mitteren Oderraum zu Beginn des Jahrhunderts*, t. I (Wiesbaden, 1965); M. Plezia, «List biskupa Mateusza do św. Bernarda», dans: *Prace z dziejów Polski feudalnej ofiarowane Romanowi Grodeckiemu* (Warszawa, 1960), p. 135; B. Kürbis, «Cystersi w kulturze polskiego średniowiecza. Trzy świadectwa z XII wieku», dans: *Historia i kultura Cystersów w dawnej Polsce* (Poznań, 1987), pp. 321–342; Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa, S. Szczur, «Dzieje opactwa cystersów w Koprzywnicy do końca XIV wieku», dans: *Nasza Przeszłość. Studia z dziejów kościoła i kultury katolickiej w Polce*, 60 (Kraków, 1983), pp. 5–76; K. Białoskórska, «L'abbaye cistercienne de Wąchock», *Cahiers de Civilisation médiévale* 5 (1962), pp. 335–350; eadem, «Wąchocki skarb brakteatów. Przyczynek do dziejów mennictwa kościelnego w Polsce w XIII stuleciu», *Wiadomości numizmatyczne* 29 (1985), fasc. 3/4, pp. 166–190; B. Zientara, *Henryk Brodaty* (Warszawa, 1984).

[2] A. Gieysztor, «Cisterciensia», *Biuletyn historii sztuki i kultury* 11 (1949), pp. 368–374, analyse les plus importantes publications du temps de la dernière guerre et immédiatement après elle; S. Trawkowski, *Gospodarka wielkiej własności cysterskiej na Dolnym Śląsku* w XIII wieku (Warszawa, 1959), donne l'ample littérature parue jusqu'aux années 50; *Die Cistercienser. Geschichte–Geist–Kunst*, A. Schneider, A. Wienand, W. Bickel, E. Coester, eds. (Köln, 1974; 2^{e} éd. 1977); *Die Zisterzienser. Ordensleben zwischen Ideal und Wirklichkeit. Eine Ausstellung des Landschaftsverbandes Rheinland, Rheinisches Museumsamt, Brauweiler; Aachen-Krönungssaal des Rathauses. 3 Juli–28 September 1980* (Schriften des Rheinischen Museumsamtes, no. 10) (Köln, 1980); *Die Zisterzienser. Ordensleben zwischen Ideal und Wirklichkeit.* Ergänzugsband. Herausgegeben von K. Elm unter Mitarbeit von P. Joarissen (Schriften des Rheinischen Museumsamtes, no. 18) (Köln, 1982); *Historia i kultura Cystersów w dawnej Polsce i ich europejskie związki*, J. Strzelczyk, ed. (Poznań, 1987).

nous en avons connues au moins trois dans les quarante dernières années— ajoutent des données nouvelles à ce sujet.

Depuis quelques années a acquis droit de cité le point de vue de Tadeusz Manteuffel selon lequel

> l'envergure de la mission balte des cisterciens voile leur activité dans la Rus' de Halyč où elle s'est pourtant déployée sans interruption depuis la fin du XII^e siècle. Et bien que ses résultats n'aient pas été aussi éclatants qu'en Prusse ou ne serait-ce qu'en Livonie, elle ne peut être passée sous silence dans le bilan global de l'activité manifestée par cet ordre. A la différence de la région balte où régnait le paganisme, les territoires ruthènes professaient depuis longtemps le christianisme. Gardant cependant des attaches avec le patriarcat de Constantinople, ils avaient, depuis le schisme de Cérulaire, cessé de reconnaître la primauté romaine. Ainsi l'action menée par les cisterciens dans la Rus' de Halyč visait non pas, comme dans les pays baltes, la christianisation, mais la suppression du «schisme». Cela appelait évidemment des méthodes différentes. La pénétration des influences religieuses latines dans la Rus' de Halyč dépendait pour une large part du rapport des forces politiques dans ce pays: plus les liens entre les duchés ruthènes et leurs voisins occidentaux étaient serrés, plus largement ces territoires s'ouvraient à la pénétration des influences romaine.[3]

D'autre part, «Les premières fondations cisterciennes en Pologne datent de la période préparatoire à la deuxième croisade. On peut donc les rattacher aux importants projets d'action missionnaire que préparait l'Église latine en Europe orientale».[4]

Dernièrement se sont fait entendre des voix[5] niant l'activité missionnaire des cisterciens en Rus', qualifiant la persistance de cette thématique d'«injustifiée» puisqu'elle n'est pas fondée sur les sources; des voix modérées, tout en admettant que des projets de mission dans la Rus' du sud-ouest avaient été conçus, affirmaient que, selon toute probabilité, ces projets n'avaient jamais abouti.[6] Je me permets de ce fait d'ajouter quelques remarques sur les récents acquis des recherches polonaises en la matière, qui ont le mérite de situer dans un contexte plus clair nos rares sources écrites concernant cette question.

Trois spécialistes du Moyen Age polonais ont considérablement contribué à éclaircir certaines énigmes concernant à la mission cistercienne en Rus': Brygida Kürbis[7] a donné une nouvelle publication de la lettre de l'évêque de Cracovie Matthieu à saint Bernard; Zofia Kozłowska-

[3] Manteuffel, *Papiestwo i cystersi*, p. 107.

[4] Manteuffel, *Papiestwo i cystersi*, p. 69.

[5] J. Kłoczowski, «Die Zisterzienser in Klein-Polen und das Problem ihrer Tätigkeit als Missionäre und Seelsorger», *Die Zisterzienser*, pp. 71–78.

[6] A. M. Wyrwa, «Początek, świetność i upadek Ordo Cisterciensium», *Roczniki historyczne* 51 (1985), pp. 117–118.

[7] Kürbis, «Cystersi».

Budkowa[8] s'est décidée, peu avant son décès récent, à faire paraître sa thèse de doctorat sur l'abbaye de Koprzywnica; Krystyna Białoskórska[9] a publié les monnaies trouvées dans l'abbaye cistercienne de Wąchock et la plaque commémorative de ce monastère. Nous leur devons l'élargissement des connaissances sur ce sujet controversé.

I

On sait que Bernard de Clairvaux, au temps de l'organisation de la deuxième croisade, s'intéressa à la Pologne en tant que base éventuelle d'une action missionnaire en direction des territoires de la Ruthénie «schismatique». En témoigne la lettre qui lui avaient adressée[10] l'évêque de Cracovie Matthieu et le comte Pierre fils de Vlost en réponse à sa question sur la possibilité d'entreprendre une telle action à partir du territoire polonais. Cela eut lieu le plus probablement entre 1143 et 1145.[11] Ce n'est cependant pas la seule preuve de l'intérêt manifesté par saint Bernard pour la Pologne. Le chroniqueur polonais Jan Długosz,[12] dont la crédibilité a été confirmée sur de nombreux points par les recherches de ces dernières années, fait état dans son «Histoire» du voyage en Pologne projeté par l'abbé de Clairvaux pour visiter l'abbaye cistercienne de Jędrzejów. Le projet n'a pas abouti, mais le procès-verbal des pertes subies par l'église de Jędrzejów pendant l'incendie de 1800[13] indique que la bibliothèque abbatiale aurait perdu à cette occasion l'original de la lettre que saint Bernard avait adressée à ce monastère; sa teneur reste cependant inconnue.

On connaît bien, en revanche, la lettre à saint Bernard composée par l'évêque de Cracovie Matthieu où il l'invita à venir en Pologne pour entreprendre la conversion à la foi catholique des Ruthènes schismatiques et, en cette occasion, pour annoncer la parole de Dieu aux Polonais, aux Tchèques et, en général, aux pays du monde slave. Cette lettre a été emportée par maître A., «le disciple bien-aimé» de Bernard, identifié par

[8] Kozłowska-Budkowa et Szczur, «Dzieje opactwa».

[9] Białoskórska, «L'abbaye cistercienne»; eadem, «Wąchocki skarb».

[10] A. Bielowski, «List Mateusza biskupa krakowskiego do św. Bernarda o nawróceniu Rusi około r. 1150», dans: *Monumenta Poloniae Historica* II, pp. 15–16; Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa, *Repertorium polskich dokumentów doby piastowskiej* (Kraków, 1937), pp. 49–50; Plezia, «List biskupa», note 1; Kürbis, «Cystersi», pp. 323–327, la publie à nouveau avec sa traduction polonaise.

[11] Kozłowska-Budkowa, *Repertorium*, pp. 49–50; Plezia, «List biskupa», p. 135, pense qu'Achard avait pu venir en Pologne uniquement dans les années 1146–1148.

[12] J. Dlugossi, *Historiae Poloniae libri XII*, t. II (Cracoviae, 1873), p. 7.

[13] A. Z. Helcel, «O klasztorze jędrzejowskim», *Roczniki Towarzystwa Naukowego Krakowskiego. Oddział sztuki i archeologii*, t. II et tiré-à-part (Kraków, 1852), p. 7.

Marian Plezia avec le cistercien Achard.[14] On suppose aussi qu'Achard avait participé à la fondation de la première abbaye cistercienne en Pologne, à Jędrzejów, où était venue s'installer la communauté de Morimond. On peut également penser que c'est toujours maître Achard qui avait apporté d'Occident la lettre de saint Bernard, aujourd'hui perdue. L'authenticité de la lettre de l'évêque Matthieu qu'il rapporta à saint Bernard ne suscite aucun doute bien qu'elle ne soit connue que par une copie. Seul Pierre David[15] exprima à son sujet des restrictions, la considérant comme «une composition scolaire».

Dans l'article récemment publié dans l'ouvrage collectif *Historia i kultura cystersów w dawnej Polsce* (Histoire et culture des cisterciens dans l'ancienne Pologne), Brygida Kürbis[16] a donné aux lecteurs, en plus du texte latin de la lettre, une très belle traduction en polonais et l'a de plus confrontée à deux chartes de fondation (1153), des plus anciens monastères polonais, Jędrzejów et Łekno, toutes deux délivrées certainement par Jean, l'archevêque de Gniezno, de 1149 à 1167.

Ainsi voyons-nous que la question de l'installation en Pologne des premiers cisterciens intéressait aussi bien l'archevêque de Gniezno que l'évêque de Cracovie et le comte Pierre, le plus illustre magnat de la Pologne de ce temps, dont l'histoire est relatée dans l'épopée *Carmen Mauri*, oeuvre unique dans son genre en Pologne.

Les premiers monastères furent érigés, l'un en Petite-Pologne, à Jędrzejów, avec une possibilité d'expansion à l'est et au sud au-delà des frontières du pays, l'autre à Łekno en Grande-Pologne, à proximité d'une autre région frontalière, près de la Poméranie prussienne. En 1153 moururent saint Bernard et le comte Pierre (auparavant aveuglé), plusieurs années plus tard l'archevêque Jean (v. 1166) et l'évêque Matthieu (v. 1170). Ainsi disparurent les quatre éminentes figures qui avaient certainement été liées à l'installation des cisterciens en Pologne.

Jędrzejów, filiale directe de Morimond, reçut, en plus du vocable de la Vierge Marie, celui du patron de la Pologne, saint Adalbert, tout comme la cathédrale métropolitaine de Gniezno, dediée à ce dernier, en plus de l'Assomption de la Bienheureuse Vierge Marie.

Łekno, filiale de Clairvaux par l'intermédiaire d'Altenberg sur le Rhin, reçut, en plus du vocable marial, le nom de saint Pierre, patron de la cathédrale de Poznań et, certainement, de la première église de Łekno.

14 Plezia, «List biskupa», pp. 135–138.
15 P. David, *Les sources de l'histoire de Pologne* (Paris, 1935), p. 210.
16 Kürbis, «Cystersi», pp. 321–342.

Les deux monastères avaient été fondés, contrairement aux directives du chapitre général, non pas dans un lieu désert mais dans un endroit habité. Le nom de Jędrzejów, dans sa version latine Andreovia, a assez vite remplacé le nom polonais de Brzeźnica et le nom latin de Morimundus Minor, originellement employés concurremment. B. Kürbis a sans doute raison de supposer[17] qu'anterieurement avait existé à Jędrzejów une église dédiée à saint André, qui a donné à la localité son nom actuel. Est c'est le fondateur qui a imposé à la communauté arrivée de Morimond en France comme deuxième patron saint Adalbert; toute fois, l'ancien vocable mieux ancré, s'est conservé dans le nom de la localité.

Le monastère de Łekno, comme l'ont démontré les recherches les plus récentes, se dressait sur l'emplacement d'un ancien *castrum* où les fouilles archéologiques ont également mis au jour des vestiges d'édifices sacrés antérieurs.[18]

Les chartes de fondation de ces deux monastères ont sans doute été redigées le jour de la fête de leurs nouveaux patrons: le 23 avril 1153, pour Jędrzejów, le 29 juin 1153 pour Łekno, comme le suppose Brygida Kürbis.[19]

Nous ignorons l'histoire de ces deux monastères pendant les vingt années qui ont suivi leur fondation. On ne sait pas si le souhait exprimé dans la lettre de Matthieu de devoir «extirper les rites et usages impies des Ruthènes. . .» a été réalisé. Peut-être les cisterciens se sont-ils tout simplement occupés de «s'incruster» dans le sol polonais, combien différent de la lointaine Bourgogne, et de mettre en oeuvre les autres recommandations de la lettre: «. . . Non seulement en Ruthénie qui est comme un monde à elle seule, mais aussi en Pologne et en Bohême, ou, selon l'appellation courante, dans le monde slave qui comprend beaucoup de pays, produisez un fruit agréable à Dieu, si grand que vous puissiez entendre de lui: Tu as bien agi, serviteur bon et fidèle. . . .»[20]

17 Kürbis, «Cystersi», p. 336; J. Zachwatowicz, «Architektura», dans: *Sztuka polska przedromańska i romańska do schyłku XIII wieku*, M. Walicki, ed. (Warszawa, 1971), p. 171; cf. J. A. Splitt, «Stan badań archeologiczno-architektonicznych nad męskimi opactwami cysterskimi w Polsce», dans: *Historia i kultura*, pp. 225–249, sur Jędrzejów particulièrement pp. 229–232 et fig. 1 représentant le plan de l'église romane précistercienne à Jędrzejów.

18 A. M. Wyrwa, «Klasztor cysterski pod wezwaniem NMP i św. Piotra w Łeknie. Stan badań architektoniczno-archeologicznych (konspekt)», dans *Historia i kultura*, pp. 305–320. Sous le choeur de l'église cistercienne mise au jour ont été trouvés des vestiges d'une rotonde; poursuivant les recherches, on a découvert aussi des fragments du *castrum* et de certaines parties de la place intérieure du *castrum*.

19 Kürbis, «Cystersi», p. 337.

20 Kürbis, «Cystersi», pp. 324–326 et 325.

II

La deuxième phase de l'intérêt porté à l'Église de la Rus' correspond à l'épiscopat du successeur de Matthieu, l'évêque de Cracovie Gedko. Il fit venir de Modène à Cracovie les reliques de saint Florian[21] et propagea ce nouveau culte dans son diocèse. C'est alors que furent fondés en Petite-Pologne trois nouveaux monastères cisterciens, dont Wąchock[22] et Koprzywnica.[23] Tous deux portent après le vocable de Marie celui de saint Florian; le troisième, Sulejów sur la Pilica, est dédié à la Bienheureuse Vierge Marie et à saint Thomas à Becket.[24] Les trois fondations sont des «filles» directes de Morimond. Dans le même temps, d'autres maisons cisterciennes apparurent sur le territoire polonais à Lubiąż en Silésie, à Ląd en Grande-Pologne et à Kolbacz et Oliwa en Poméranie.

Arrêtons-nous sur Koprzywnica et Wąchock. Grâce aux travaux de Z. Wdowiszewski[25] et à l'étude récemment publiée de Zofia Kozłowska-Budkowa,[26] nous sommes en mesure de bien connaître la dotation de Koprzywnica: c'est le seul monastère cistercien (a part Szpetal et Szczyrzyc au XIII^e siècle) dont le domaine se situe au-delà de la Vistule, tant à l'est qu'au sud. Nous sommes, il est vrai, dans la période de colonisation intense des vallées de la Wisłoka et du Wisłok, et, le long des voies conduisant en Hongrie et en Slovaquie, on trouve aussi les domaines des bénédictins de Tyniec. Les biens possédés par le monastère de Koprzywnica dans la région de Lublin (entre autres Sułów) sont mieux connus pour la période ultérieure, leur importance au début du XIII^e siècle n'étant pas suffisamment attestée par les sources.

[21] K. Dobrowolski, *Dzieje kultu świętego Floriana w Polsce* (Warszawa, 1923).

[22] H. Niwiński, «Opactwo cysterskie w Wąchocku», *Rozpr. Wydz. Hist. Fil. PAU*, 48 (Kraków, 1930); Białoskórska, «L'abbaye cistercienne»; eadem, *Wąchock. Opactwo cystersów* (Warszawa, 1960); eadem, «Wąchocka rezydencja książęca. Nieznany epizod z dziejów Polski wczesnopiastowskiej», *Biuletyn historii sztuki* 41, no. 2 (1979), pp. 135–178; G. Labuda, «W sprawie osoby fundatora i daty powstania najstarszych (przedcysterskich) budowli sakralno-pałacowych w Wąchocku», *Biuletyn historii sztuki* 45, no. 3 (1983), pp. 251–255.

[23] Z. Wdowiszewski, «Ród Bogoriów w wiekach średnich», *Rocznik Pol. Tow. heraldycznego* (Kraków) 9 (1928); Kozłowska-Budkowa, Szczur, «Dzieje opactwa».

[24] J. Mitkowski, *Początki klasztoru cystersów w Sulejowie* (Poznań, 1949); Z. Świechowski, *Opactwo cysterskie w Sulejowie* (Poznań, 1954). Dernièrement, les anciennes suppositions de K. Stronczyński, T. Szydłowski et W. Łuszczkiewicz sont confirmées, notamment le fait que le monastère se trouvait sur l'emplacement d'un *castrum* médiéval. Sur les traces de la colonisation précistercienne à l'emplacement de l'abbaye, voir Splitt, «Stan badań», pp. 225–249, particulièrement p. 233.

[25] Wdowiszewski, «Ród Bogoriów».

[26] Kozłowska-Budkowa, Szczur, «Dzieje opactwa».

Le second vocable, celui de Saint-Florian, à Koprzywnica et à Wąchock, doit attirer l'attention: il n'arrive pas en général que deux abbayes cisterciennes proches l'une de l'autre, fondées en même temps, portent le nom du même patron. Chez les cisterciens, le premier vocable étant toujours celui de Marie, c'est le second qui était distinctif; il était souvent emprunté au nom du lieu, mais pas toujours. Le patronage de Thomas à Becket avait certainement été apporté à l'abbaye de Sulejów[27] par les cisterciens de France. A Zawichost sur la Vistule, à proximité de Koprzywnica, on trouve depuis le XI^e^ siècle une église placée sous l'invocation de saint Maurice.[28] C'est un vocable typiquement chevaleresque, lié à l'expansion ottonienne dans l'est de l'Europe (nous trouvons, il est vrai, une seconde église placée sous ce patronage, fondée plus tard, à Pyrzyce en Pomérie). De même le culte de saint Florian,[29] officier martyr, mort noyé pour sa foi chrétienne, devait patronner l'expansion, mais plutôt celle de quelque ordre chevaleresque que d'une colonie de moines. L'invocation identique de Koprzywnica et de Wąchock indiquerait-elle quelque lien entre ces deux abbayes pendant leur période initiale? Dans les deux cas, l'évêque de Cracovie Gedko, propagateur de ce culte, avait eu une part importante dans la fondation, et c'est ce qui a peut-être pesé sur cette situation peu typique.

La thèse de Tadeusz Manteuffel sur l'installation des monastères de Petite-Pologne le long des principales voies de communication menant à l'est, vers la Rus' de sud-ouest, doit, malgré une critique récente, être dans une certaine mesure maintenue.[30] Dans le cas de Koprzywnica comme dans celui de Wąchock, nous voyons que le système des voies de communication est resté jusqu'à ce jour inchangé et le monastère de Koprzywnica se trouve

27 Mitkowski, *Początki klasztoru*, p. 158. Thomas à Becket était bien connu des cisterciens français puisqu'il avait vécu un certain temps en France, au monastère de Pontigny. Le culte du saint a été certainement apporté par la première colonie de cisterciens de Morimond. L'église originelle—continue J. Mitkowski—que les cisterciens avaient trouvée à Sulejów et qui a été remplacée par le nouvel édifice, avait certainement un autre patron, car elle datait du commencement du XII^e^ siècle, avant la canonisation de saint Thomas de Canterbury (1173). Peut-être s'agissait-il de Saint-Blaise comme le supposait Helcel, et c'est dans cette église qu'a été accompli l'acte de fondation (cf. aussi p. 313 les Documents no. 1, Falsifiés). De plus, Kozłowska-Budkowa, *Repertorium*, pp. 84–86, écrit que cela avait pu avoir lieu en 1186–1193. Quant à la localisation de l'église Saint-Blaise, elle est plus prudente: «L'église Saint-Blaise se trouvait dans le diocèse de Gniezno (cf. *MPH*, III, p. 356) et probablement dans le duché de Casimir, donc le plus probablement dans le duché de Sieradz ou de Łęczyca. . .» (p. 86).

28 T. Wąsowicz, «Le réseau routier de la Pologne du IX^e^ au XIII^e^ siècle», *Le Moyen Age* (1962), pp. 125–394, et eadem, «Sandomierska sieć drożna», dans: *Studia Sandomierskie* (Warszawa, 1967), pp. 113–132; eadem, «Wczesnośredniowieczne przeprawy przez środkową Wisłę», *Kwartalnik historii kultury materialnej*, 1957, no. 3/4, pp. 433–706, p. 437, fig. 1.

29 Dobrowolski, *Dzieje kultu*.

30 Manteuffel, *Papiestwo i cystersi*, p. 73; Kłoczowski, «Die Zisterzienser», pp. 71–73.

toujours sur la voie médiévale, le long de la Vistule, allant de Cracovie par Sandomir, vers Volodymyr et Kiev. Wąchock, quant à lui, est situé sur la voie conduisant de la Pologne centrale, le long de la vallée Kamienna via Opatów vers les gués de Zawichost et Sandomir.[31] Ce sont les voies qui furent empruntées par les expéditions tartares, les incursions des ducs ruthènes, mais aussi par les marchands. On ne doit pas surestimer l'importance de cette localisation des monastères de Petite-Pologne, mais on ne saurait la nier.

III

La troisième phase de l'intérêt porté par les cisterciens aux territoires sis au-delà de la Vistule coïncide avec la première moitié du XIII^e^ siècle et correspond à la création de l'évêché missionnaire d'Opatów. Depuis l'ouvrage de Władysław Abraham sur l'organisation de l'Église latine en Ruthénie,[32] le thème d'Opatów revient sous la plume des historiens russes, ukrainiens, polonais et allemands, suscitant à la fois un grand intérêt et un profond scepticisme. Cependant, ces dernières années notre savoir a fait des progrès considérables, grâce à l'apport de l'archéologie.

Władysław Abraham avait déjà expliqué que, dans la première moitié du XIII^e^ siècle, il y eut des rivalités entre les cisterciens et les dominicains à Rome pour ériger un évêché latin en Rus.' L'évêque prussien Christian, un cistercien, qui mena, avec des succès inégaux, des activités missionaires en Prusse et en Livonie, se fonda sur la bulle d'Honorius III de 1218 lui accordant le droit de créer des diocèses et de sacrer des évêques dans les pays convertis pour instituer un évêché latin en Rus' et pour sacrer à ce siège le cistercien Gérard, jusque-là abbé du monastère d'Opatów.[33] W. Abraham fixe la date de cette consécration en 1232 ou en 1233;[34] Aleksander Gieysztor[35] tend à ne retenir que 1232.

31 T. Dunin-Wąsowicz, «Tradition hagiographique romaine en Pologne médiévale: Saint Maurice et la légion thébaine», *Archaeologia Polona* 14 (1973), pp. 405–420.

32 Abraham, *Powstanie organizacji*, pp. 109ff.

33 *MPH*, II, p. 556; *MPH*, p. II, t. VIII, 1970, pp. 82, 101, 168; *Kronika Wielkopolska* (Warszawa, 1965), pp. 208–209.

34 Abraham, *Powstanie organizacji*, pp. 109ff.

35 A. Gieysztor, «Początki misji ruskiej biskupstwa lubuskiego», *Nasza przeszłość*, 1948, no. 4, pp. 83–102; cf. aussi B. Włodarski, «Rola Konrada Mazowieckiego w stosunkach polsko-ruskich», *Archiwum Tow. Nauk. we Lwowie*, dz. 2, z. 19 (Lwów, 1936), pp. 89, 96, 104; Zientara, *Henryk Brodaty*, p. 288; G. Labuda, *Zaginiona kronika w Rocznikach Jana Długosza* (Poznań, 1984), p. 117, admet que Gérard avait été démis de l'abbaye en 1232.

La politique hostile de l'Ordre teutonique et de ses alliés à l'égard de l'évêque Christian ne fut pas étrangère à l'élimination rapide de l'évêque de la Rus' Gérard: en effet, vers la fin de l'automne 1232, Henri le Barbu, duc de Silésie, ayant conquis la région de Sandomir, transmit les attributions de l'évêché de la Rus' et les biens d'Opatów qui en relevaient, à son allié l'évêque de Lubusz-Lebus, Laurent. La cession d'Opatów à l'évêché de Lubusz ouvre un problème totalement nouveau auquel de nombreuses pages ont été consacrées. Le silence profond des sources sur ce point semble témoigner que la hiérarchie de l'Église de Pologne s'était entièrement résignée aux événements dont Opatów avait été le théâtre en 1232.

Qui était l'abbé Gérard? De quel monastère provenait-il? Quel fut son sort? Nous essaierons de répondre en partie à ces questions, en nous appuyant sur les dernières recherches.

Toutes les sources l'appellent *Gerhardus primus episcopus Russie Ordinis Cisterciensis*.[36] Il est cité la dernière fois parmi les évêques réunis pour la proclamation publique de la canonisation de saint Stanislas à Cracovie en 1254.[37] On connaissait jusqu'à nos jours peu de traces de son activité, mais certaines questions se sont partiellement éclaircies grâce aux sources archéologiques. Pendant un certain temps, dans la première moitié du XIII^{e} siècle, il fut, comme le suppose K. Białoskórska, abbé du monastère de Wąchock, ce dont peut témoigner, entre autres, la plaque commémorative, appelée par certains chercheurs plaque funéraire, trouvée et conservée à Wąchock: au début du XX^{e} siècle, on en avait découvert deux fragments,[38] et les recherches de 1960 en ont mis au jour un troisième; tout le champ de la plaque est rempli par une composition symétrique d'entrelacs géométriques sur lesquels se profile la crosse de l'abbé, entourée d'une bande étroite portant une inscription en quatre hexamètres rimés. Déchiffrée[39] par Zofia Kozłowska-Budkowa et partiellement par K. Białoskórska, elle a la teneur commémorative suivante: ARDE PAT [er] TV[us] AD CELESTIA TECV[m] GREX VENIAT X [risto] O [?] PORR[. . .] [. . .]IS CV[m] [?] [. . .]P[er] PETVA[m] TE REGE[n]S [. . .] C[us] [est] FACIENS FANTASTICA CEC[us] VN [de] T[ib]I T[rib]VIT

36 Abraham, *Powstanie organizacji*, p. 109, note 3; *Kronika Wielkopolska*, pp. 208–209.

37 *MPH*, p. II, t. VIII, pp. 82 et 169; *MPH*, t. II, p. 573; *Kronika Wielkopolska*, p. 245.

38 W. Sztolcman, «Nieznane zabytki romańszczyzny i gotyku w dawnym opactwie cysterskim w Wąchocku», *Architekt* 8 (1907), pp. 34–39; Białoskórska, «L'abbaye cistercienne», p. 345; Z. Świechowski, *Budownictwo romańskie w Polsce. Katalog zabytków* (Wrocław, 1963), p. 319; M. Walicki, «Dekoracja architektury i jej wystrój artystyczny», dans *Sztuka polska*, p. 241; T. Jurkowlaniec, «Nagrobki przedromańskie i romańskie w Polsce», *Roczniki historii sztuki* 12 (1981), p. 39.

39 Białoskórska, «L'abbaye cistercienne», p. 345.

FAMA PERENNE DECUS. Dernièrement, K. Białoskórska a déchiffré le premier et le dernier mot de l'inscription—*hardus*—forme tronquée du prénom Gerhardus[40] (au vocatif GERHARDE).

La même auteur a également publié le trésor de bractéates trouvé dans l'abbaye de Wąchock en 1974, contenant seize pièces frappées sur une mince feuille d'alliage d'argent et de cuivre. L'ensemble retrouvé se répartit en huit types: (I) avec la *Manus Dei* bénissant; (II) avec la *Dextera Domini* bénissant; (III) avec la tête et la main de l'évêque ou de l'abbé bénissant; (IV) avec une croix «double» et une inscription sur le pourtour; (V) avec une croix aux bras égaux et un motif de pièces transversales coupant les bras de la croix, avec une inscription; (VI) avec une inscription entourée de motifs végétaux et zoomorphes; (VIII) avec une demi-figure tenant une croix ou un glaive.[41]

Les types IV, V et VI portent des inscriptions. La plus importante pour nous est celle du groupe V, et notamment: MONETA GERH. C'est très probablement l'abréviation du prénom du seigneur ayant le droit de battre monnaie, donc—MONETA GERH[ardi].[42]

Citons Białoskórska: «Ce sont enfin des prémisses réelles pour identifier le Gérard qui se trouvait à la tête du monastère de Wąchock avec le Cistercien Gérard sacré en 1232 évêque latin pour le siège à Opatów, et défini dans les sources comme *Ruthenorum episcopus et primus episcopus Russie*».[43] En faveur des liens de Gérard de Wąchock avec Opatów témoigne aussi, au dire de K. Białoskórska, la part active prise par l'atelier (qui avait construit l'abbaye de Wąchock) au remaniement de la collégiale-abbatiale Saint-Martin du XII^e siècle, à Opatów, en cathédrale épiscopale.[44]

Il apparaît que des fouilles archéologiques plus poussées offrent des possibilités pour résoudre la question d'Opatów[45] et apportent un argument

40 Białoskórska, «Wąchocki skarb», p. 186; Walicki, «Dekoracja architektury», p. 241 associe aussi la plaque à l'abbé Gérard.

41 Białoskórska, «Wąchocki skarb», pp. 169–174; S. Suchodolski, *Moneta możnowładcza i kościelna w Polsce wczesnośredniowiecznej* (Wrocław, 1987), pp. 96–102, parle entre autres des privilèges de monnayage accordés aux cisterciens en Pologne è partir du deuxième quart du XIII^e siècle. Il déchiffre p. 100 la légende: MONETA. GER [ardi]. A [bbatis]. «Etant donné le lieu de la découverte du trésor, il semble le plus vraisemblable qu'il s'agisse de l'abbé du lieu; on peut reconnaître comme sûr que la monnaie portant le nom de Gérard a été frappée par l'abbé Gérard connu par la *Chronique de Grande-Pologne*. Il est plus difficile de dire s'il l'a fait avant 1232 en tant qu'abbé d'Opatów, ou encore plus tôt, quand il pouvait être abbé de Wąchock (après 1219 mais avant 1234) dates auxquelles sont cités d'autres abbés».

42 Białoskórska, «Wąchocki skarb», pp. 182–183; S. Suchodolski, *Moneta*, p. 188.

43 Białoskórska, «Wąchocki skarb», p. 186.

44 Białoskórska, «Wąchocki skarb», p. 186.

45 Zachwatowicz, «Architektura», p. 114, attire aussi l'attention sur la participation probable des bâtisseurs cisterciens au remaniement de la collégiale d'Opatów du XII^e siècle.

supplémentaire en faveur de l'hypothèse avancée dans les années cinquante par Tadeusz Manteuffel sur les tentatives d'activité missionnaire des cisterciens de Petite-Pologne dans la Rus' du sud-est.[46]

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[46] Voir note 37. La *Chronique de Grande-Pologne* (en 1232, 1248, 1254) appelle à trois reprises l'évêque Gérard abbé du monastère d'Opatów. La difficulté vient de ce que, comme on le sait, aucune source ne parle de l'existence d'un monastère à Opatów. On désignait probablement par *monasterium* la communauté de chanoines auprès de la collégiale de la Bienheureuse Vierge Marie, plus tard près de la collégiale Saint-Martin. La possibilité de liens et de coopération entre le chapitre d'Opatów et les cisterciens de Petite-Pologne est indiquée par T. Manteuffel et J. Szymański (T. Manteuffel, «Przyczynek do działalności norbertanów w Polsce», dans: *Opuscula Casimiro Tymieniecki* [Poznań, 1959], pp. 225ff.; J. Szymański, «Kanonicy opatowscy w planach polityki ruskiej z przełomu XII i XIII wieku», *Przegląd historyczny* 56 [1965], p. 392). Cf. aussi S. Trawkowski, *Między herezją a ortodoksją. Rola społeczna premonstratensów w XII w.* (Warszawa, 1964), p. 199, note 27.

On peut voir à Opatów un des huit monastères des prémontrés fondés par Cyprien, le premier abbé du monastère Saint-Vincent à Ołbin, qui précédemment avait été chanoine dans une abbaye de Moravie, ensuite dans la cathédrale de Lubusz, puis de Wrocław. Trawkowski (*Między*, p. 200) se demande s'il n'y avait pas eu à Lubusz, à une époque qu'on ne peut pas déterminer de plus près, un canonicat de prémontrés auprès du chapitre cathédral. Dans cette conjoncture, il ne serait pas étonnant qu'Henri le Barbu ait donné les biens d'Opatów à l'évêque de Lubusz et que Gérard soit revenu à Wąchock. Il faut aussi ajouter que le vocable de Saint-Martin attribué à la collégiale d'Opatów était l'un de ceux qu'affectionnaient les prémontrés: leur première église, près de laquelle ils avaient été installés à Laon, portait le nom de ce saint. Trawkowski remarque aussi (*Między*, p. 199, note 25) qu'en plus de la mission intérieure (menée par les prémontrés en Pologne), entre aussi en jeu une mission en Rus' et—chose moins probable—en Prusse.

TABLE DES ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. 1

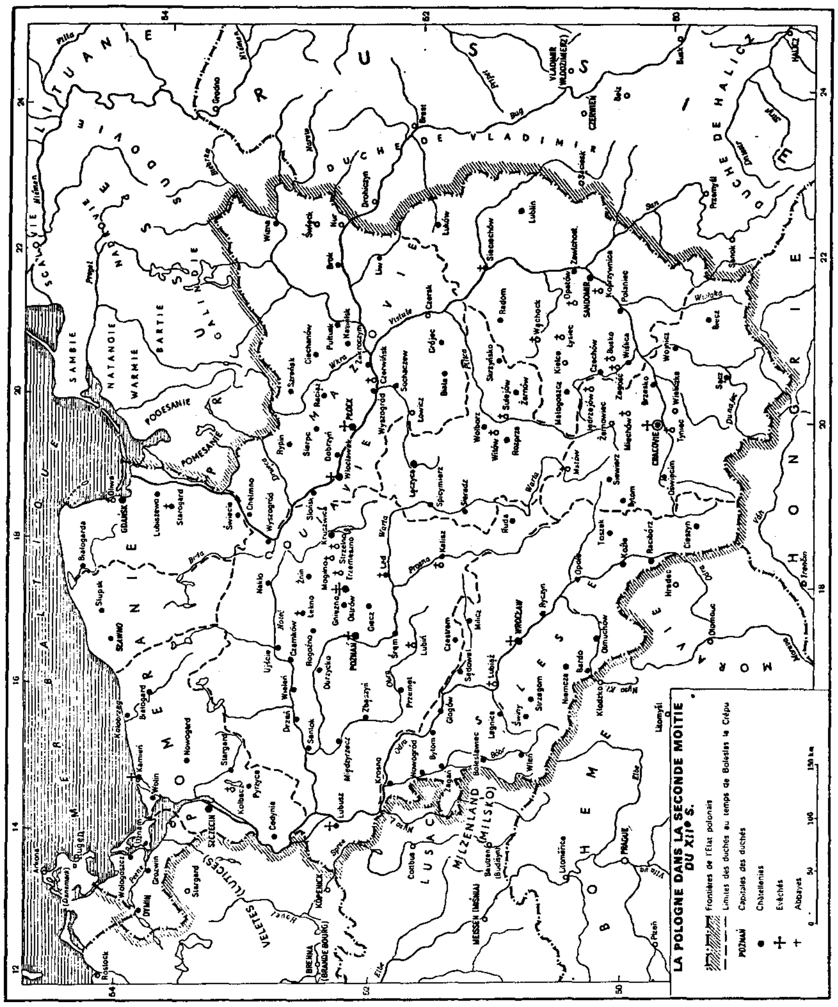

LA POLOGNE DANS LA SECONDE MOITIE DU XIIe S.
Frontières de l'État polonais
Limites des duchés au temps de Boleslas le Crépu
POZNAŃ Capitales des duchés
Châtellenies
Evêchés
Abbayes
0 50 100 150 km

Fig. 2

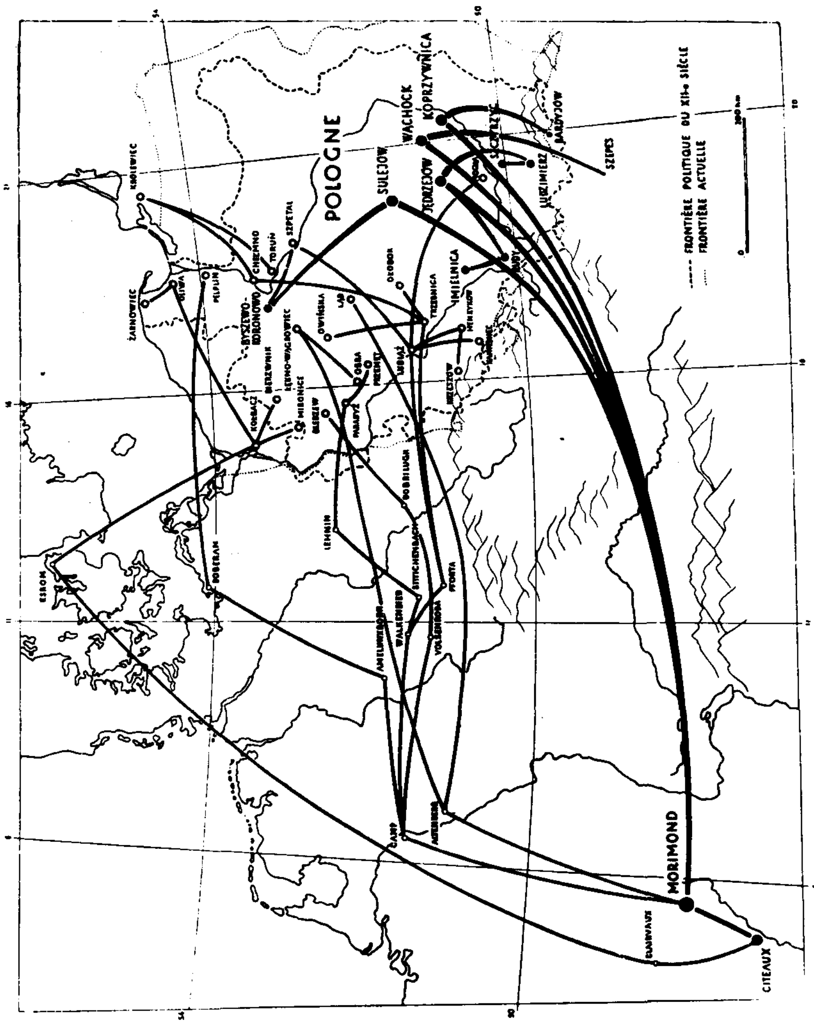


Fig. 3

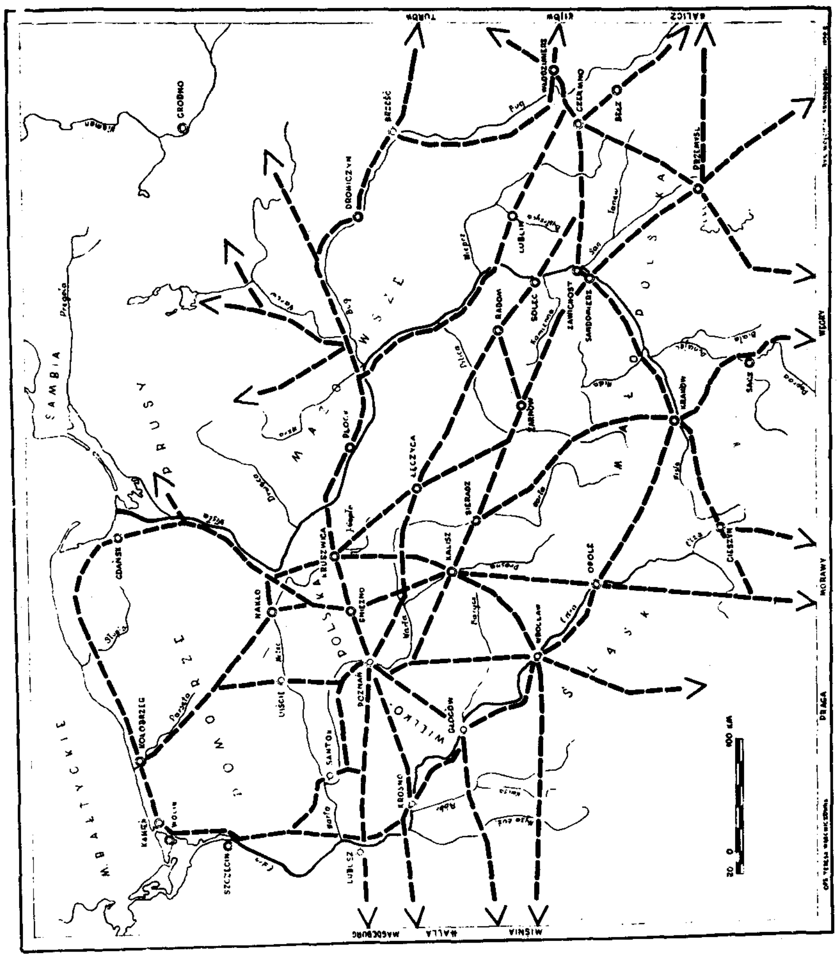

GRODNO
TURÓW
WŁODZIMIERZ
BEŁZ
HALICZ
PRZEMYŚL
LUBLIN
SANDOMIERZ
ZAWICHOST
SOLEC
RADOM
KRAKÓW
SĄCZ
CIESZYN
OPOLE
WROCŁAW
SIERADZ
ŁĘCZYCA
PŁOCK
KRUSZWICA
KALISZ
GNIEZNO
NAKŁO
POZNAŃ
GŁOGÓW
UJŚCIE
SANTOK
KROSNO
LUBUSZ
SZCZECIN
KAMIEŃ
WOLIN
KOŁOBRZEG
GDAŃSK
MORAWY
PRAGA
MIŚNIA
HALLA
MAGDEBURG
SAMBIA
PRUSY
M. BAŁTYCKIE

Fig. 4



Fig. 5

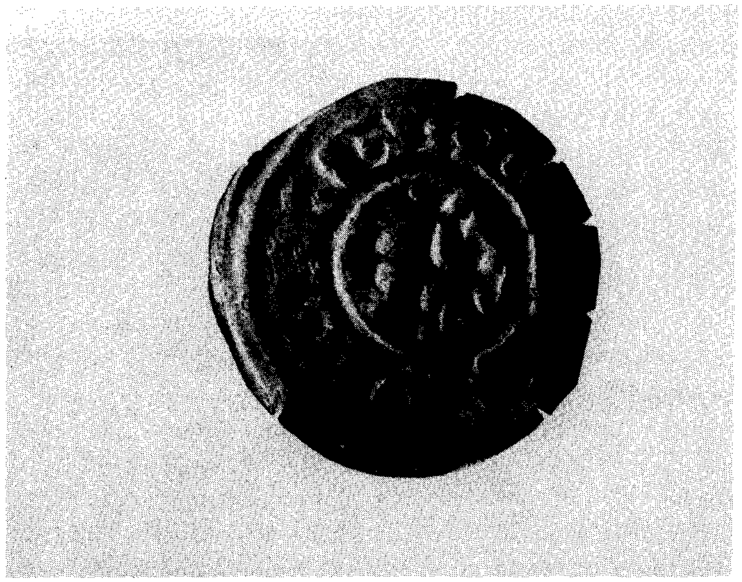




Fig. 6

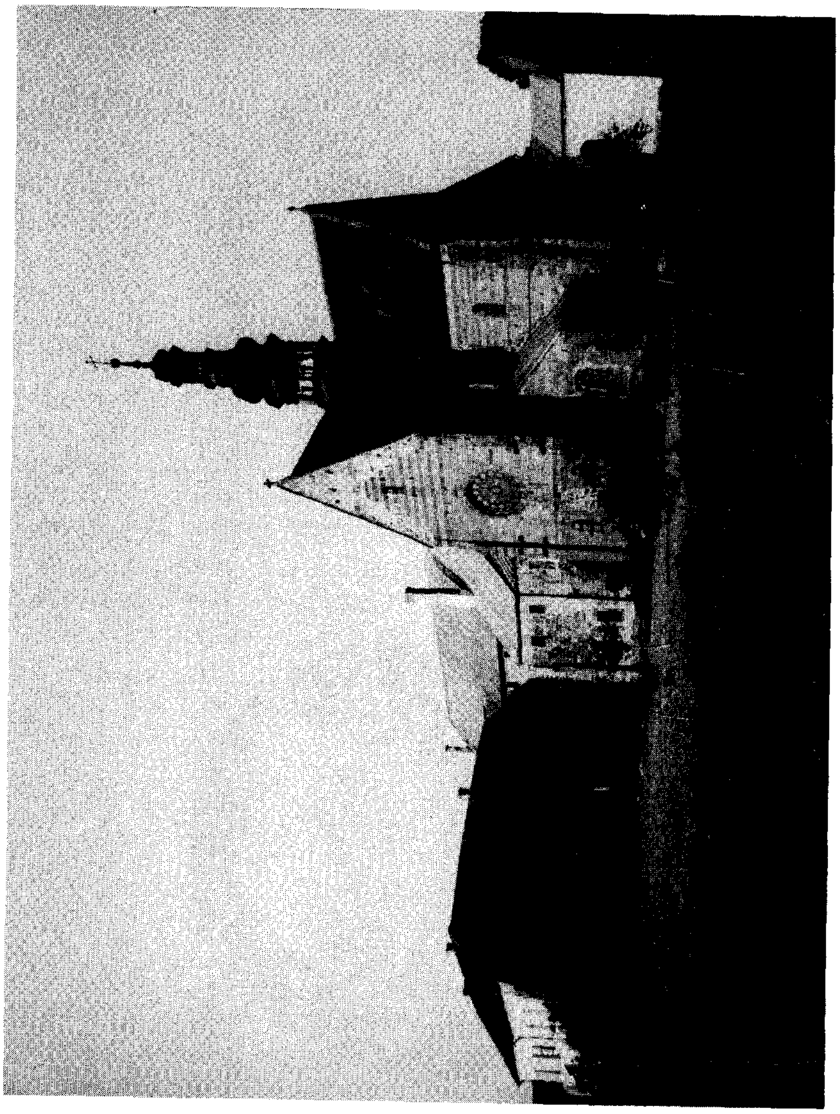


Fig. 7

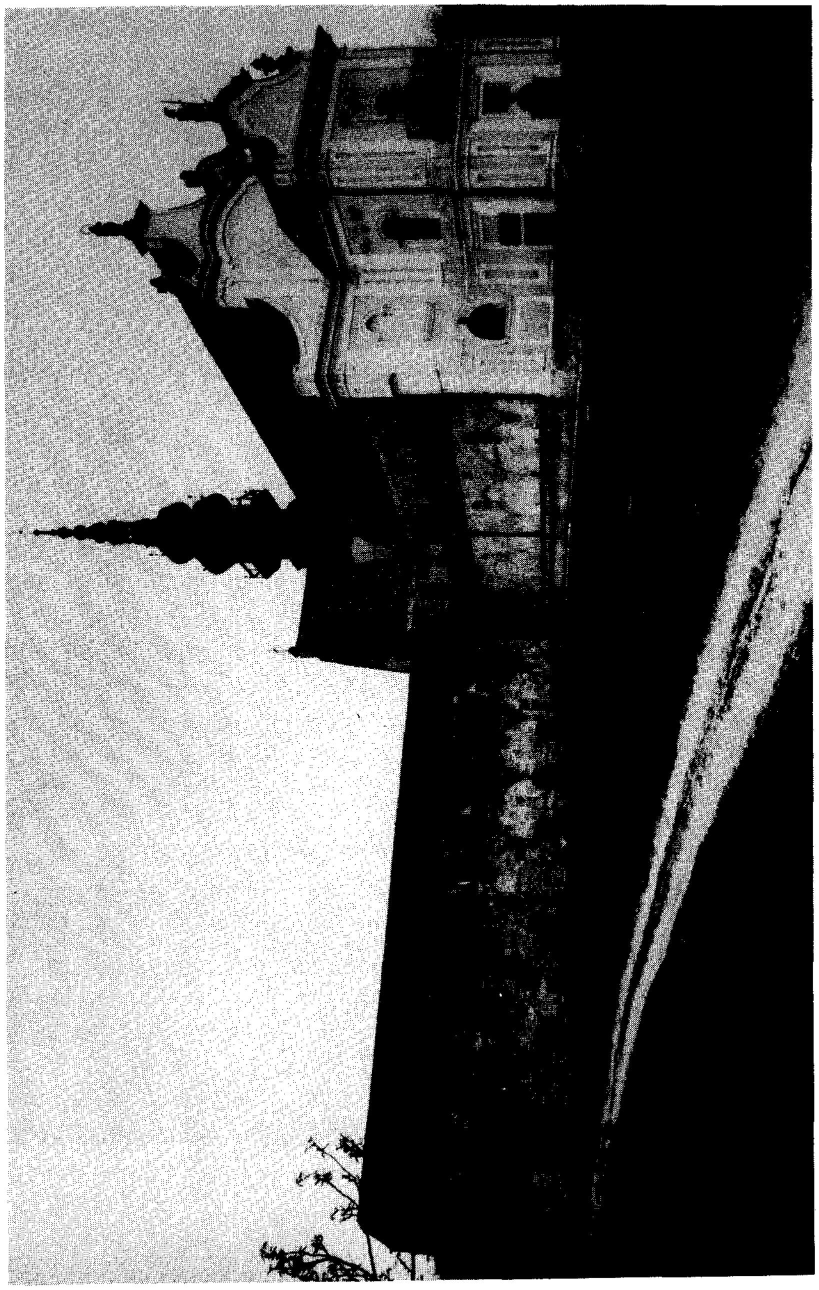


Fig. 8



ECHOES AND AFTERMATH OF THE CONVERSION

The History of Christian Rus' in the *Annales Ecclesiastici* of Caesar Baronius

GIOVANNA BROGI BERCOFF

> ... *semper contrariis magis consueverit dilatari, secundum quod ait David: In tribulatione dilatasti mihi*'' [Ps. 4:1]
> (C. Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, s.a. 866)

1. It is a generally accepted statement that Humanism and Renaissance gave origin to a new era in history writing, more exactly to modern history writing. It would be hard to contradict such a statement and it is not my intent to do so. Leaving aside the revolutionary impact of Valla's critical approach to documentary sources, and the ideological as well as formal significance of Leonardo Bruni's *History of Florence*, I will deal with history writing concerning the Slavic world. Even within such limits, the innovations brought by Humanistic trends are unquestionable. Not only have the works of such authors as Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, Philippus Callimachus Buonaccorsi, Antonio Bonfini, Flavius Blondus, Paolo Giovio, and Marcantonio Sabellico, to mention just a few, have not only made Slavic and generally Transalpine peoples more widely known among kings, princes, politicians, and men of letters; they have also created new stylistic and euristic models on which local historians in each country could rely in writing works which, adapted to the needs and the sensibility of their fellow countrymen, fulfilled the expectation of a given society.

Beginning with the end of the fifteenth century, in fact, a large number of historical works appeared in a comparatively short time in all European countries. Though inspired to a stronger or lesser degree by the newborn sense of ''national'' and political identity, each of those works elaborated common historiographic patterns, and none could, of course, ignore the international connections of the past or of the present. German, Dalmatian and Croatian, Polish, Czech, and Hungarian works often conveyed a common stock of information, although single events or persons were inter-

preted variously by different writers.

In spite of the many new works concerning the Slavic peoples published in the sixteenth century, the information circulating in Europe about Kievan Rus' and Muscovy remained limited and often stereotyped. Historical information concerned mainly the growth of Muscovy from the times of Vasilij II and Ivan III until that of Ivan IV, the conquest of Novgorod, and the elimination of the Tatar domination. For the Kievan period short mentions appear about Saint Volodimer and, in the best cases, about Jaroslav the Wise and Volodimer Monomach, who succeeded in establishing a strong power and therefore were regarded as the sole representatives of a monarchy in Kievan Rus'. Renaissance western historiography gave a peculiar representation of Rus' people and habits. Two kinds of images, simultaneously parallel and opposite, were common. On the one hand, the Rus' (both southern and northern) were considered wild, uncultivated, even brutal and primitive; one example is the widespread view of the tyrannical power of the Muscovite tsar, especially Ivan IV. On the other hand, following the pattern given for primitive ancient Germans by Tacitus (Paolo Giovio refers *expressis verbis* to that model), the Rus' were viewed as good, uncorrupted people, strongly concerned with their religious creed, pious and much more honest than corrupt Westerners; they were also exhorted to be strong and patient in enduring labor and cold, i.e., to be hard and brave soldiers. The *topos* of an exceedingly strong army led by the tsar was tied with the utopia of a general Christian alliance against the Turks, in which Muscovy was also represented. At the same time, Western travelers, historians, and geographers were unfailingly struck by the peculiar natural and climatic conditions of the immense Rus' lands, and described them with a naive and joyful curiosity characteristic of the open-minded *Weltanschauung* of Renaissance people.

Most of this information was transmitted from one book to another until the second half of the seventeenth century. In spite of several important discoveries—for instance, Miechovita's rejection of the Ptolemaic theory about the Riphaean and Hyperborean Mountains—historical and geographical notions often remained vague, giving rise to numerous misunderstandings (first of all in the identification of ancient and modern populations; the procedure was widely adopted because it was especially useful for genealogical purposes, on dynastic as well as on state or "nation" levels), due in part to the practice of considering ancient historians as the most authoritative sources.

This does not diminish, of course, the importance of the information about Muscovy brought into circulation in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by Western writers, or the information about the Rus' provided by

Polish historiographers. Many were based on eyewitness accounts made by highly qualified diplomats and men of letters. Pathbreaking was the *Commentarium* by Sigmund von Herberstein, who probably had gathered the most first-hand information, derived from medieval Rus' sources and from personal contacts during his numerous diplomatic missions. Herberstein also had a fair, precise knowledge of the Rus' Orthodox religion, of church affairs, of ecclesiastical organization, and of canon law.

Nonetheless, Herberstein, like all his predecessors since the fifteenth century, says very little about the most important event in East Slavic history: the conversion to Christianity and the baptism. His information about that event is limited to the communication that Volodimer was baptized by the Byzantine emperor and took the new name Basil, after which the whole population followed him in adopting the Christian faith. Tied to this fact is the statement that since then, the Rus' belong to the Eastern branch of the church, which means they have been and still are schismatic and heretic. The degree of virulence in condemning their heresy varies; in some cases the reports are even close to a simple enumeration of facts (for instance, Giovio demonstrates a good deal of esteem for Muscovy, due no doubt to the sympathy inspired by his informer, Dmitrij Gerasimov). Yet the Kievan and Muscovite religions and faiths are always presented in a light that, in spite of all attempts at union, acknowledges the historical background of the schism and of the harsh polemic that opposed the Latin and the Slav Orthodox churches. This situation lasted until the last decades of the sixteenth century. The attitude was still evident in such a leading personality of the Counter-Reformation as Antonio Possevino, let alone such Polish writers as Kromer and, at least in his first polemic writings, Skarga.

2. For different information and a completely new way of presenting Kievan and Muscovite history and Christian tradition, one had to wait for the new history writing of the seventeenth century. It was in this century that some characteristics of Renaissance thinking, concerning mainly ''antiquarian'' interests, especially the erudite search and critical approach to documentary sources, gave rise to the research and analysis of medieval sources destined to give new information and authentic evidence on medieval history. This erudite and, in the best instances, critical approach went hand in hand with an extremely simple, non-rhetorical style which rejected some of the basic principles of the Ciceronian tradition. An emphasis on the Ciceronian concept of history as *magistra vitae* often led to a biased interpretation of facts or historical personalities and to heavy moralistic prejudices. Nonetheless, during the seventeenth and especially in the eighteenth century many outstanding works were produced in theologi-

cal and biblical philology and history, as well as in secular historiography, where the German, French, and Dutch had leading roles, but the Slavic world was also represented, by the work of Ioannes Lucius (Ivan Lučić), *De Regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae, libri VI* (Amsterdam, 1668). Also, the clear division between ecclesiastical and lay history, though rooted in Renaissance tradition, came to the fore in this period.

On Slavic history from this erudite point of view, one of the most striking writers is undoubtably Caesar Baronius. His *Annales Ecclesiastici* are a milestone in the development of Slavic history writing, both in the West—note the translations of his work in Poland, and the impact of his example in Counter-Reformation Bohemia—and in the East, thanks to the translations into Church Slavonic and frequent citation by Paisij Hilendarskij.[1] They also contain a considerable amount of information about different Slavic countries and peoples, especially on the history of their church and religion. Only a small part of this information has been analyzed, almost all on Bulgaria.[2] Here I analyze Baronius's account of the church history of Kievan Rus'. My source is the eighteenth-century edition that contains not only the continuation of Baronius's work by Rinaldi, but also the excellent commentary by Antonio Pagi, and his "General Index" in three volumes—a most useful, almost indispensable guide for following the events of states and individuals through the strictly annalistic order of the work.[3]

3. The first entry in the *Annales* familiar to anyone acquainted with Rus' history is a short notice about the apostle Andrew and his mission on the northern shores of the Black Sea. The notice appears under the year A.D. 44.

[1] R. Picchio, "Gli Annali del Baronio-Skarga e la Storia di Paisij Hilendarskij," *Ricerche slavistiche* 3 (1954): 212–33; idem, "La Istorija slavenobălgarskaja sullo sfondo linguistico-culturale della Slavia Ortodossa," *Ricerche slavistiche* 4 (1958): 103–18; J. Tazbir, "Baronius et Skarga," in *Baronio storico e la Controriforma*, ed. R. De Maio, L. Giula, and A. Mazzacane, (Sora, 1982), pp. 546–68.

[2] Cf. R. Picchio, "La Bulgaria nella Storia ecclesiastica del Baronio," *Annali del Dipartimento di Studi dell'Europa Orientale, Sezione storico-politico-sociale*, IV–V (Rome, 1982–1983), pp. 41–52 (with the cited bibliography).

[3] *Annales Ecclesiastici, Auctore Cesare Baronio sorano e congregatione Oratorii, S.R.E. presbytero, Cardinali, tit. SS. Nerei et Achillei et Sedis Apostolicae Bibliothecario, una cum critica historico-chronologica Antonii Pagi, Ordinis Minorum Convent. S. Francisci, qua rerum narratio defenditur, illustratur, suppletur, ordo temporum corrigitur, et Periodo graeco-Romana munitur*. . . , Lucae, Typis Leonardi Venturini, 59 vols., 1738–1759. In citations from this edition, for each entry the year given by Baronius and Pagi, the volume (in Roman numerals) and pages (in Arabic numeration) will be given. The *Continuatio Baronii* by Odoricus Raynaldus, vols. 1–16 will be cited from the same edition.

This entry's interest lies, first, in that before Baronius, the so-called St. Andrew Legend was practically ignored by Western historiography: only Herberstein wrote a relatively long paragraph on this subject, drawing directly from the Rus' chronicles. His scepticism about the story is evident, however, for it is presented as a mere presumption of the Rus'. [4]

In his effort to collect as much data as possible about the history of the Christian faith and church, Baronius could not fail to relate such an important apostolic episode, but he carefully ignored any implications concerning the Byzantine church's claims to an apostolic origin. Nor does Baronius mention Andrew as the first Apostle of the Rus' either: "Andreas. . . ad Scythas missus traditur ab Origene (1.3 in Genes.) & Eusebio (hist. 1.3, col. I). . . Nicephorus (hist., 1.2, c. 39). . . accessit quae Antropophagorum dicitur, & ad Scytharum solitudines, ad utrumque Pontum Euxinum orasque Septentrionales, ad ipsum quoque Byzantii solum" (I, 299). It is difficult to believe that Baronius was unaware of Herberstein's text on this subject, but he does not even mention the possibility that the lands that in his time were known as Ruthenia and Muscovy had been visited by the apostle Andrew.

Without referring to the Andrew legend, Baronius actually dealt with it in connection with the baptism of Poland in the year 965 (XVI, 158): although some writers mention a very early Christian influence in the Sarmatian lands, he says that there is no proof of such among the inhabitants of ancient Sarmatia, who are now called Poles and belong to the Slavic race. Clearly Baronius refused to identify Sarmatians and Scythians with the Slavic peoples. Only the impossibility of omitting Andrew's mission from the history of the Rus' people made him relate the facts about Andrew's mission as documented by Byzantine historiographers; he believed that this episode did not possibly concern Rus' history. Only in the last century have scholars paid attention again to the Andrew legend and to the penetration of early Christian influences along the northern shore of the Black Sea, although they explain it, of course, in a different manner and in a broader context. Ideological considerations, too, probably motivated Baronius in shaping his version of the Andrew legend: any implication of a direct apostolic origin for the Kievan church (or for the Polish church) went against his basic idea of the preeminence of the Roman See and of the need for Kiev and Moscow to recognize it. This would certainly be a good reason to pass over in silence the supposed trip of Andrew to the future Rus' lands. Nevertheless, for Baronius's time it was an innovation to include the episode in church history on the basis of Byzantine sources and with a

[4] Sigmund von Herberstein, *Commentarii rerum Moscovitarum*, (Frankfurt, 1600), pp. 19–20.

critical sense that may seem primitive but was quite new in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The *Index Universalis* by Pagi (I, 86) refers to Baronius's statement about the supposed early Christian influences in Poland, relating that "Andreas apostolus Poloniam fidei lumine illustravit." Baronius dealt with the baptism of Poland, under the year 965 (XVI, 157–60), by conveying the well-known information about Mieszko and his marriage to the daughter of the Czech prince Boleslav and by speaking about the mission of Pope John XIII destined to organize the Polish church. Quotations from Kromer are followed by the curious narration by Orzechowski about an embassy from the "Lechiti vel Poloni" to the pope, demanding to be baptized. Baronius sounds very sceptical about this tale, stating that it actually concerns the Germanic people, not the Poles. Of interest to us is not so much the curious narration (which has striking similarities with the famous account of Volodimer's search among three religions), as the facts that even for data about Polish history Baronius looks for information in a Rus' writer (though one who had a special religious career and special relationship with Catholics, Protestants and Orthodox!) and that this episode gives rise to a long and ingenious note by Pagi.

In a comment on Baronius's text, Pagi cites a statement by Stanisław Łubieński (1573–1640) to the effect that Andrew can be considered the Apostle of Poland, because Poland was variously called "Vandalia," "Gothia," "Magna Sarmatia," or "Scythia," as well as "Russia Magna," because many different missionaries have preached in these lands, and because their people speak the same language as the Rus' and the Muscovites.

Pagi was dealing here with a typical example of the kind of historiography that applied a presumed identity to different people to demonstrate a specific thesis with genealogical, "national," religious, or other ideological purposes. Łubieński was an active defender of the rights of the Polish king over the Eastern regions of the Rzeczpospolita, but he also supported the idea of a durable peace between Poland and Muscovy. By the end of the sixteenth century he had spent several years in Perugia and Rome. Among his teachers in Perugia was Marcantonio Bonciari, a fine and witty literate who corresponded, among others, with Baronius. By all evidence Łubieński used the Andrew legend for his specific ideological aims.

Pagi argues against Łubieński's theories, pointing out that no classical source allows for such conclusions and bringing to bear the statements of such a relevant erudite as Grotius about the history of the Vandals and Goths. This shows the great progress in history writing made by the end of the sixteenth and the seventeenth century, as well as the great erudition and

solid critical approach of Pagi. Yet it also shows that Baronius had already rejected the Andrew legend as having no direct bearing on Kievan history, and that he had also expressed serious doubts about the identification of Poles and Vandals, which had become current in Polish historiography from the mid-sixteenth century.

4. The first and most interesting sequence of information in the *Annales* about Christianity in Rus' begins with the year 863 (XIV, 593–94): following his method of reproducing in full the available documents, Baronius cites Patriarch Photius's epistle, sent, in his opinion, to the patriarch of Alexandria with the intent of calling a synod against Pope Nicolas I. The epistle includes mention of the "Rus'," who having brought "infinitos populos" under control, caused great damage to the Roman (i.e., East Roman) Empire, but were finally converted to the Christian faith.

Pagi deals with this entry under the year 861 (XIV, 554–55) reporting Constantine Porphyrogenitus's account about the siege of Constantinople by the "Rhos," its liberation thanks to prayers of Patriarch Photius, an embassy from the "Rossi" to Constantinople, and their subsequent conversion to Christianity. His comment includes an account of a Rus' attack against Mytilene, where Ignatius was exiled, and against other Greek regions, and of the earthquake that destroyed a section of Byzantium's city walls. This explains, among other things, why Pagi placed this entry under the year 861.

Pagi adds a passage giving an exact indication of his attitude toward the beginnings of Christianity in Rus' and of his critical approach to that problem: "It is hard to know which tribes underwent Christianization by that time," he writes, "because the Rus' included many different populations. Since we know for sure that the Rus' were baptized by the end of the following century," he continues, "the inescapable conclusion is that this was a partial conversion, followed by a period of oblivion and a return to paganism before the final acceptance of Christian faith." Interesting to note is that Pagi proceeds in a different way from Baronius, who cited Photius's mission to the "Rhos" in a "crude" manner, including it in the patriarch's well-known encyclical. Pagi gives a detailed account of the Rus' attack and the mission sent by Photius, supporting it by evidence from various Byzantine sources and placing it in a general context involving, on the one hand, the Normans and their invasions in Western Europe, and, on the other, the conversion of the Bulgarians. He must have had a clear idea of the connections of the "Rhos" both with Scandinavia and with Bulgaria.

Baronius, too, however, was in no way so naive as to announce the Christianization of Rus' only through Photius's account. The next two notices about this event show his clear ideological position.

Baronius returns to the Varangian-Rus' campaign against Byzantium in 860 (the names of Askol'd and Dir, just as in Byzantine sources, are not mentioned by either Baronius or Pagi), writing about it under the year 867 (XV, 115): his note is taken from Curopalates (with reference also to Zonaras and Cedrenus) and inserted in the necrology of Emperor Michael III in the year of his death (867), as one of the good deeds Michael III performed for the church (some of which were directed to the Roman church, says Baronius) regardless of his dissolute life. In fact, this note belongs to the same episode described under the year 863 (861 by Pagi): it sums up the account of the siege of Constantinople and the following conversion of the "Rhos," including the mention of the "effera & agrestis" nature of that people. Baronius adds a marginal note expressly identifying the "Rhoxolani" with the "Rossi" and "Russi."

The next entry concerning the "Rhos" comes upon Basil I's death in 886: Baronius describes as one of the achievements of Basil the Macedonian an agreement between Rus' and Byzantium, the dispatch of a missionary by the Byzantine patriarch, and the miracle of the Gospel not destroyed by fire attributed to the archbishop Michael (XV, 418–19). Here, too, Baronius cites Curopalates as his main source.

Baronius's accounts are chronologically inexact; also, surprisingly enough, they do not follow a precise annual order, as the *Annales* always do.

An initial explanation may be that Baronius, as Pagi states in his comment (XV, 418), did not know Constantine Porphyrogenitus's *Vita* of Basil the Macedonian, and was therefore compelled to give an approximative chronology for the end of the lives of the two emperors. This also explains, at least partially, why no patriarch, not Photius or Ignatius, is cited.

Considering the relevance Baronius attributed to this first episode of Rus' Christian history, more precise ideological implications must be sought. As we will see later, Baronius regarded these missions to the "Rhos" people as the only valid baptism of the Rus'. His aim was to demonstrate from the beginning that the Rus' belonged to the Undivided, Universal Body of the Unique Holy Church. The first proof for this theory was to demonstrate that the Rus' became Christians before the church was divided: before 1054, but also before the end of the tenth century, when Roman-Greek relations were rapidly deteriorating, and before Photius's schism had any real consequences. In fact, the note about the conversion of the Rhos/Rus' immediately precedes the notice that after Michael's death

Photius was removed and could not give full vent to his anathema against Rome: "Ne scilicet Romani irent," writes Baronius, "quo a Photio & pseudosynodo destinati erant ad Nicolaum Romanum Pontificem ad ejus anathema perferendum; sic Deus intercessit, ut haec tam nefanda Romae ne audirentur quidem" (XV, 115). This explains why Baronius emphasizes this year (867) as the year of baptism: in spite of Photius's efforts, the unity of the Universal church was not broken, and the Rus' baptism should be considered an act of the Unique and United Christian Church. The date 886, on the other hand, can be explained by the fact that Photius had been recognized by the Roman See after a reconciliation at the council held in Constantinople in 879. The date 863, on the contrary, is not really important, in Baronius's view: it merely depends on the citation of Photius's epistle. Actually, Baronius states openly that the actual baptism of Rus' has to be put in the year 867.

Even though the first bishop was said to have been sent to the Rus' during the reign of Michael III, Baronius could not reasonably prove that Ignatius had converted the Rus' or founded the Rus' church. Nor could he admit that this merit should be ascribed to Photius. In order to give an account that looked truthful and could not be accused of lacking a solid documentary base, he had to ascribe the events to two emperors: they had the advantage of having been, at least in part, supporters of Ignatius and promoters of other missions to the Slavs, particularly to Great Moravia and to Bulgaria. By referring wholly to Photius's epistle but ascribing the religious legations to the emperors, and by passing over in silence the names of the patriarchs, both Ignatius and Photius, Baronius could demonstrate his "scientific," objective methodology and, at the same time, defend the ideology that dominates in all his articles on Rus' history: that Christianity in Rus' belonged to the Undivided Universal Church from the very beginning.

In Pagi we confront a new kind of scientific consciousness and cleverness. He does not comment on the first of the two articles written by Baronius, but about the second, he points out that the author was "incertus quo Imperii eius [Basilii] anno illa acciderit," since the episode happened not in 886, but in 876 (or 877). Without a single critical word about his predecessor's account (an indication that he agrees with his ideological premises), he tries to explain his chronological inconsistency and to give a logical recital of the events.

Pagi makes use of his knowledge of new sources. He refers to Constantine Porphyrogenitus's reports about the agreement between the "Rhos" and Emperor Basil and maintains that the subsequent mission was sent by Patriarch Ignatius, whereas Curopalates and Cedrenus ascribe this mission

with the miracle of the Gospel to the reign of Emperor Michael III. Pagi states that this discrepancy reflects the existence of two different missions, one sent by Photius, the other by Ignatius. One more source, the *Vita Sancti Ignatii* by Nicetas (Paphlagon, ninth–tenth century, PG, 105), who puts the death of Basil's elder son in the same year that Photius returned to the patriarchate, allows him to state, by way of comparison with Constantine Porphyrogenitus, that Ignatius sent a bishop to the "Rhos" just before the death of Basil's son. Thus, by scrupulous research, Pagi for the first time conveyed to Western scholars the notion that two bishops, according to Byzantine sources, had been sent to the Rus' by the two antagonistic patriarchs.

Pagi does not know many names before Ol'ga and Volodimer, nor does he cite Tmutorakan' or Crimea or other centers of pre-Volodimerian Rus'. Like Baronius he identifies Kievan history with Muscovite history, but he maintained that "Russia Alba seu Moscovia" was baptized in 988.[5] Therefore, in order to allow that the first Christian influences came in the ninth century, he explains with astonishing lucidity that different groups lived scattered in different centers of Rus' and that the early missions were short-lived, which explains the fact that before Volodimer's baptism in 988, only "Queen Helena" (Ol'ga) was Christian: only in the tenth century, he concludes, did "Russi citeriores & ulteriores" live under the rule of a unique power which got a "metropolia in Kiovia." Thus, despite a somewhat naive way of explaining facts, he correctly surmised that Christian influence might have reached different centers at different moments, thereby giving origin to the debate that still concerns scholars in the Slavic and Byzantine fields.

Even after Volodimer's baptism, Pagi admits, not all the Rus' tribes were converted: in his comments to Baronius's account of St. Bruno's (Boniface) missions (XVI, 370, 454, 457, 458), he remarks that they went to "aliam gentem Scytharum sive Russorum," more exactly, a Rus'-Slavic population who lived in the northern lands along the border with Prussians and Poles. Thus he introduced the idea that the Christianization of the East Slavic peoples was a long and complex process, marked by spectacular

[5] Evidently Pagi correctly interpreted the transfer of religious as well as political power from Kiev to Moscow. The chronology is not really clear, but Pagi seems to have understood perfectly the importance of the Tatar invasion and of the transfer of the grand prince and the metropolitanate to Moscow: "[Russorum] princeps. . . Vlodomiriae primum sedem habuit, & postea Kioviae donec ea urbs saeculo XIII a Tataris penitus eversa fuit, & a duobus tantum saeculis sedes Principis Moscuam translata, a quo tempore Moscovitarum nomen celebre fuit. Metropolita autem Russiae seu Moscoviae sedem cum Principe mutavit" (XVI, 287). Cf. below the opposite judgment about Rinaldi.

success and progress, but also by periods of oblivion and regress, and by differentiation among geographical and political areas.

Pagi's attitude towards Baronius is worth noting. He was concerned about his predecessor's errors and inaccuracy, but he was also aware of Baronius's importance as a pioneer and respected the gigantic work he had produced. It was with satisfaction in his own erudition and ingenuity, but also with profound devotion for his forerunner that under the year 876 he corrects the attribution of the victory against the Bulgarians to Basil Porphyrogenitus instead of Basil the Macedonian, stating that misunderstandings and errors in Baronius are to be ascribed to the exceeding amount of work he had to do ("Negotiorum mole oppressus") and to his lack of sources (such as the *Vita* of Basil the Macedonian) that were discovered only later (XV, 417–18).

5. For new information about the Rus' in the *Annales*, the reader has to wait for almost a century. As we have seen, for Baronius the episodes cited under the years 867 and 886 represent the actual Christianization of the Rus'. He does not mention the implicit contradiction in the statement that the Rus' people were Christians from the ninth century and the fact that he has to report new Rus' attacks against Byzantium in the tenth century. For 941 he gives a short account about the victory of the Greeks over the "Russorum classem. . . qui Christianis immensa intulerant mala" (XVI, 32–33). After a citation from a Greek source about the tremendous cruelty of the "Russi" ("quos ceperant alios in crucem agere, alios clavis in terram affixere, alios quasi scopos propositos sagittis petiere. . ."; Baronius refers to Curopalates, but inexactly), he also cites a Western medieval source, Liutprandus, for information about those invaders who came from the Boreal lands and were called "Northmanni": their chief ("dux") or king ("rex") is said to have been "Inger."

At first glance this entry (like most of the others) looks fortuitous, as if Baronius presented some casual news about the Rus' just as he had found them by chance in the sources. In fact, this is not the case: in keeping with his strictly providential idea of history, and with his purpose of writing a history of the church, the Rus' defeat in 941 is but a divine nemesis for the many pains the pagans had inflicted on the Christians. The citation from Liutprandus about the Normans is not fortuitous either: Baronius, who was an eyewitness of the church union of 1596, was well aware of the cultural and spiritual meaning of Kiev in the history of Rus' and of Muscovy. For that reason he makes every effort to demonstrate that the Rus' were Christian already in the ninth century and were not schismatic until the fourteenth century. Liutprandus's statement that the people called "Russos" in

the Byzantine sources came from the northern lands suggests that they were not the same people who had received baptism in 867, supposedly in the Kievan state (Baronius never mentions Kiev in connection with that baptism, although he probably had that area in mind). This is surely his way of resolving the statement that Rus' was already Christianized in the ninth century with the fact that other Rus' populations, coming from the north, invaded the Byzantine empire again in the tenth century, murdering the Christian folk. Such an interpretation of Baronius's entry is suggested also by Pagi's comment to this year.

Pagi adds some information to the scanty but dramatic account of Baronius. From Byzantine sources he reports mythological details about the Pontus Euxinus and the Argonauts, suppposes that the "Russi" were called Dromitae and descended from the Franks ("a Francis genus ducunt"), and finally suggests that they came to Constantinople from Novgorod ("Nemogardia"), without mentioning when. Following Constantine Porphyrogenitus, he adds that their prince was "Sphendostlabus Ingor Russiae Principis filius," who died before 945 (XVI, 32–33). Despite certain chronological errors, the detail that the "Russi" came from Novgorod fits perfectly with Baronius's spirit and also with Pagi's assumption that there were many Rus' centers, pagan as well as Christian, before Volodimer. From his somewhat vague and inexact account, Pagi seems to have perceived here the difference between the Christian ties of Kiev and the pagan dominance of Novgorod in the pre-Volodimerian era.

Baronius's concern with church history also dominates the account of Svjatoslav's expedition to Bulgaria and Byzantium in 969–972. Under the year 970 he gives a short notice from Cedrenus and Curopalates about the victory of Ioannes Tzimisces over the "Roxolanos seu Russos aliorum barbarorum copiis annitentes" (XVI, 200). Later, for the year 971, the "Rossi" are simply listed among the several enemies who attacked Byzantium ("Rossos, Bulgaros, Scythas, Turcas & alios barbaros"). In the following description of the Byzantine conquest of Bulgaria, he expressly declines to describe the war (he gives the sources where those events are described), and declares himself interested only in the miracle of St. Theodore, who saved the Greek army (XVI, 210–11).

Pagi provides more information: he knows about the embassy from Ioannes Tzimisces asking Svjatoslav to retreat to the boundaries fixed by the Emperor Nicephorus (the cited source is Leo Diaconus) and gives more details about the battles between the Rus' and Greeks (XVI, 199–200). He gives a long account of Svjatoslav's invasion of Bulgaria and the subsequent occupation of Preslav by the Greek army. He cites the miracle of St. Theodore, but also knows about Svjatoslav's death at the hands of the

Pečenegs and states that his successor was Volodimer. However, Pagi does not seem to know in what year the Kievan prince died, for he places it in 973, together with the miracle of St. Theodore and the Greek victory (XVI, 211–12, 221–22).

6. Under the year 987 or 988 one looks, of course, for information about Volodimer's baptism, but as far as Oriental affairs are concerned ("quod ad res pertinet Orientis"), one finds only a few lines in Baronius about Bardas's revolt, without any mention of the role played in it by the Kievan prince and his troops. This entry is most important for understanding Baronius as a historian and as a Roman Catholic thinker.

The separation between state, political history and church history finds its explicit formulation here. Baronius inherited it from the Renaissance historians, but no one else before him applied it so consciously and thoroughly, except, of course, the authors of the *Centuries* of Magdeburg: "We will no longer write about this [Bardas's revolt]," says Baronius, "as it belongs to political history ('politici . . . status'), not to church history. He who wants to get more information can look up Curopalates and other authors. The account of a certain Praetor Gregory, who became paralyzed as he lifted his weapon over St. Nikon, and recovered his health when he went back, penitent, to the Saint, is much more interesting for us." This account takes four full columns (XVI, 286–88).

Far more important is Baronius's silence on Volodimer's baptism. In the *Annales* he simply passes over the fact itself, for which he had documentation in Byzantine as well as in Western Renaissance historiography: the latter—from Giovio, Flavius Blondus, Długosz until Campense and Possevino, with the exception of Herberstein—was not rich in detail but it was very compact. In the article he wrote after the Union of Brest, *De Ruthenis ad communionem sedis apostolicae receptis monumentum ss. Clementi VIII P.M. sempiternam felicitatem*, published at the end of volume IX of the *Annales Ecclesiastici* (vol. VI of the first edition, Rome, "ex typographia Vaticana," 1595), and separately in Cologne in 1598, Baronius argues openly against those Western historiographers who believe that Rus' received baptism only about 990. As a scapegoat he cites the Polish historian Maciej z Miechowa, to whom he opposes the Byzantine sources of Zonaras, Curopalates, and Nicephorus as witnesses that the Rus' were converted already in 867. In fact, he writes against "all those who think that the Christian faith entered Rus' only in 980 or 990."

Baronius's position is, of course, absolutely antihistorical. This is certainly one of the greatest, if not the greatest, errors in the *Annales*. Actually, it is not an error—it is a plain falsehood. From the ideological point of

view, it must be explained by Baronius's desire to demonstrate that the Christian history of the Rus' was an uninterrupted relationship with the Universal church of Christ (whose first and only real representative on earth is, of course, the successor of Peter in Rome) from the times of Michael III and Basil the Macedonian until the Union of Brest and until a subsequent Union with the Muscovite church. The statement on the early baptism of Rus' and the permanent identification of the southern Rus' with the Muscovite Rus', an identification that Baronius stresses very often, seem to represent two aspects of an opposition to those who, like Possevino, approved of the plans of a Polish, even armed, conquest of the heretic Slavic Orthodox state and church. Possevino's diplomatic missions fairly quickly led him to understand that a real religious union with Moscow was not foreseeable, at least not soon. Baronius's plans, on the contrary, went in the same direction as the policy of Pope Clement VIII, to whom the article *De Ruthenis* was dedicated. His constant identification of Kiev and Muscovy, and his emphasis on the non-heretical character of the Rus' church until the thirteenth century (Pagi, as we will see, brings forth testimonies to declare that the Muscovite church existed only from the beginning of the sixteenth century), indicate that for him a direct union with Moscow, a direct contact between Rome and the tsar, was probably at least as important, if not more important, than a partial one with Ukrainians under Polish rule. It is from this perspective that one can explain some of Baronius's polemic statements towards Polish writers in the *Annales*. In spite of his generally positive stance and of many friendly personal relations with Poles, Baronius's attitude towards Poland is not always idyllic: the many corrections in Skarga's translation may be one indication of this sense, though both the author of the *Annales* and his Polish translator aimed for the same goals of the Counter-Reformation.[6] One should not forget that, at least at the beginning, Skarga had a fairly rigid attitude towards the Orthodox church.[7] A more exact study of Baronius's writings concerning Polish history and Polish historians, and of his official and private relations with Poles, could perhaps give new information on this subject.

[6] Cf. Tazbir, "Baronius et Skarga," pp. 556–61.

[7] Cf. O. Halecki, "From Florence to Brest (1439–1596)," *Sacrum Poloniae Millennium*, V (Rome, 1958), pp. 210–342; A. Jobert, *De Luther à Mohila. La Pologne dans la crise de la Chrétienté: 1517–1648* (Paris, 1974), pp. 321–84 (esp. pp. 336–41, 347–50); D. Caccamo, *La diplomazia della Controriforma e la crociata: Dai piani del Possevino alla 'lunga guerra' di Clemente VIII*, "Archivio storico italiano," Dispensa II–1970 (Florence, 1971), pp. 262, 265–66. For Possevino see also: D. Caccamo, "Conversione dell'Islam e conquista della Moscovia nell'attività diplomatica e letteraria di Antonio Possevino," in *Venezia e Ungheria nel Rinascimento*, (Florence, 1973), pp. 167–91.

There was probably no actual gap between the ideological position of Pagi and that of his predecessor. Towards the Rus' he manifests the same captivating attitude, the same interest in demonstrating their belonging for centuries to the Universal church community. At the same time, however, he was clearly interested in giving a real version of the facts, based on the most faithful sources. With that aim he openly argues with Baronius, even if he does so without any kind of resentment or contempt, on a strictly scholarly plane. He derives his documentation from Cedrenus, Herberstein, and even from the *Historia saracena* by Elmacinus. He reports faithfully about Volodimer's intervention in the Bardas Phocas revolt, his marriage with the emperor's sister Anna, his dispatch of "oratores" to get information about the different religions, and his choice of the Greek Orthodox faith. By comparing the dates given by Arabic, Greek, and Western sources (Herberstein), Pagi puts Volodimer's baptism and marriage in Korsun' in 987, and the victory over Bardas Phocas in 989. Referring to Baronius, he states once more that it is impossible to put the Christianization of Rus' into the ninth century: first contacts with the new religion existed then, but they did not have lasting effects and did not concern the whole of the population of the Rus' lands.

Pagi's comment does not end here. Against the opinion of Possevino, who maintained that the Rus' received baptism from schismatics and are therefore to be considered heretic, and against the Catholic Rus' in Lithuania, who stopped venerating their old saints for fear of contamination with schismatics, he cites Papenbroeck's statement that the Rus' received baptism when the Greek church was not yet schismatic: "thus, there is no hindrance to the veneration of the Rus' saints who lived in the first four centuries of Rus' Christendom," he writes. Although the metropolitans of Rus' had to be confirmed by Byzantine authorities, as Papenbroeck also states, they did not change their faith like the Greeks did. Besides, several metropolitans were persecuted by Greeks, which shows that they disagreed with some Byzantine authority or law and were not schismatic. Finally, Pagi cites Albert Kojałowicz, according to whom the metropolitans who followed Isidor must be considered Catholic until 1520, since only then did the Muscovite metropolitan Jonas revive the schism. Pagi does not really distinguish between Kievan and Muscovite metropolitans: he probably exploited this intentional ambiguity to show that the Rus' (whether Ruthenians or Muscovites) were not really schismatic.

It is not really clear to what extent Pagi agreed with Papenbroeck's, and especially with Kojałowicz's, opinion. There is, however, a clear tendency to confirm that the church of Rus'-Ruthenia belonged to the Universal church and to the correct faith until the fourteenth century. Pagi seems to

be a bit more aggressive towards the Greek church or, maybe, towards some of its representatives. This factor should be examined in the general context of Roman-Greek-Rus' relationships in the years when Pagi was writing.

Be that as it may, it is evident that Pagi's ideology did not really differ from that of Baronius. What was different was the critical awareness that facts cannot reasonably be denied even if one belongs to a certain ideological trend.

7. To foster his specific aims, Baronius tended to demonstrate that from the beginnings the Latin Roman church constantly had contacts and received signs of devotion from the Rus' rulers. Baronius's negative attitude towards Ol'ga's embassy to Emperor Otto may seem surprising. This, however, can easily be explained (1) by the desire of Baronius to put the baptism of Rus' in the times of the Emperors Michael III and Basil I, and (2) by the authority of the cited source, the *Continuator Reginonis*, who, like later Latin-Germanic sources, accused Ol'ga-Helena of being false and of being responsible for the failure of Adalbert's mission (XVI, 104–105). Baronius manifests a very strong interest in medieval sources: in his view, the *Continuator Reginonis* was surely a most faithful account, for it was writtten by an eyewitness to the events (the author was Bishop Adalbert himself, the envoy sent to Ol'ga). Other ideological motivations have played an important role: Roman-Byzantine relations grew rapidly worse in the second half of the tenth century, and Baronius had no interest in giving details about Ol'ga's Byzantine baptism, an act considered a first step towards Volodimer's own baptism. Since he rejected the latter, Baronius had logically to reject also the former.

It was only Pagi who, almost a century later, put things more correctly: he amended not only Baronius's statement that there were three Adalberts (one the bishop of Magdeburg, one the bishop of Prague, and one the bishop of Rugians) (XVI, 104–105, 210), but also his judgment on Ol'ga: Adalbert's failure was not caused by the Christian princess, but by her son Svjatoslav, who remained a pagan (XVI, 104).

8. The subsequent entries of the *Annales* are dominated by the missionary activities of Catholic saints and popes. Hagiography can be the main source of information. In two separate entries based on the *Vita sancti Romualdi* by Peter Damian, Baronius relates the missionary activity of St. Boniface (997) and his martyrdom (1008) at the hands of the brother of a Rus' prince who refused to accept the Holy Word (XVI, 370, 455–56). This mission is said to have been directed to a Rus' prince living on the border with Prussia

and Poland. For the same year (1008) Baronius reports Thietmar's account about the mission of St. Bruno, who is also said to have been martyred by a Rus' prince living near Prussia (XVI, 370, 455–56). Thus Baronius ascribes to two different saints the deeds of St. Bruno-Boniface, whom modern hagiography regards as the same person. It is worth noting, however, that Baronius was bothered by his statement that the Rus' were Christians from 867. Hence, preceding the analogous statements by Pagi, he asserts that even if the Rus' had already been baptized, the Christian faith had lost much because of the many wars; thus St. Boniface brought Christian religion anew to those lands.

Pagi accepts Baronius's interpretation of the existence of two saints, but is clearly bothered by the fact that another important source, Ademarus's *Historia*, has a different account of St. Bruno's mission and martyrdom by the Pečenegs (there Bruno was not beheaded, but disemboweled) as well as an otherwise unknown notice that the saint's body was ransomed by a Rus' prince who built a church in his honor. Afterwards, concludes Ademarus in Pagi's citation, "quidem Graecus episcopus in Russiam venit, & medietatem ipsius provinciae . . . convertit, & morem Graecum. . . suscipere fecit" (XVI, 456). Pagi remarks that this account contradicts Thietmar's version, but he probably could not find any satisfactory resolution. Perhaps today a fresh examination of the confused problem would yield some interesting result.

Under the same year (1008) Baronius cites the account of Reinbern, bishop of Colberg, who, as Thietmar states, was martyred by the king of Poland Bolesław and by the Kievan prince Volodimer. This entry deserves some more attention.

Reporting literally Thietmar's entire text, Baronius seems to agree with his negative evaluation of Volodimer. The Kievan prince is said to have been lustful, cruel, and false, and to have deprived Otto III of his promised bride, the Byzantine princess Helena (that is, of course, Anna). Thus, Baronius not only passes in silence over Volodimer's baptism; he also probably shares the opinion of his German source. His judgment, however, is no better of the Polish king Bolesław Chrobry, who is said to have given his agreement *ex silentio* to Volodimer. Pagi, on the contrary, stresses the biases of Thietmar's narration, and warns that his accusations against Volodimer must be regarded with suspicion, for the Germans were always fighting with the Rus' and the Poles, and were therefore inclined to condemn them. Moreover, it is interesting to compare the cited reports with the account of the same episode by Bzovius (Brzowski) (1567–1637), the Polish author of the Epitome and continuation of the *Annales*: according to him, the only one responsible for Reinbern's death was, of course,

Volodimer! Thus, Pagi's concern with maintaining a good standing for Rus' history was, by all evidence, at least as strong as Baronius's; yet he also had a much better critical sense, and gave a fair evaluation of Bolesław's reign and merits.

Bzovius's interpretation seems quite typical of the Polish attitude towards Baronius.[8] A closer scrutiny of his literary and ideological work might help to define Baronius's relationship to Poland and to the Russian and Ukrainian Orthodox churches with more precision, as well as the attitude of the Polish church towards the *Annales*, beyond general acceptance and official praise.

For the next 190 years (Baronius's work on the *Annales* was interrupted by his death; the last entry was the year 1198), only four entries concerning the history of Rus' are to be found. A short but important paragraph reports Długosz's narration of the growth of the Rus' church (''Ecclesia Russica'') under Jaroslav the Wise (XVI, 613). Baronius certainly cited from the manuscript brought to Rome by the nuncio Germanico Malaspina and still preserved in the Vallicellana Library. The citation from Długosz used by Baronius presents a very positive image of the Kievan prince as a pious and well-educated man. The stress put on Jaroslav's church as ''Russica,'' probably indicates that Baronius wanted to emphasize its independence from the Greek church. This seems to be in harmony with the fact that in the *Annales* he never defines the Rus' as barbarians, in the sense given to that word by Byzantine sources,[9] and is further indicated by the special moral ''privilege'' he granted to the Kievan church and the ''direct communication'' he wanted to establish between the Rus' (''Russica'') and the Roman churches. Only for Volodimer (and Ol'ga, as correlated to him) does Baronius show disdain and mistrust. One wonders whether the Byzantine baptism alone is responsible for that attitude, or if there is some other hidden ideological motivation.

Baronius's generally favorable disposition towards contemporary Rus' is also apparent in the long paragraph devoted to the pope's legation to the Kievan prince Izjaslav-Dmitrij in 1075 (XVII, 415–16). This paragraph is preceded by an account of the new obedience brought by the Hungarian king Géza to the Roman church after his victory over Salomon, and of the embassy sent by Gregory VII to the Poles. In these passages Baronius refers to the pope's epistles, but does not cite them entirely. The pope is

[8] Cf. Tazbir, ''Baronius et Skarga,'' pp. 556–60.

[9] For the year 970, for instance, this term occurs in a citation from Cedrenus, but there ''barbarus'' refers clearly to other populations associated with the Rus' (''traditur Joannem Roxolanos seu Russos aliorum barbarorum copiis annitentes. . . superasse''; XVI, 200).

said to have sent instructions to the Polish duke Bolesław for the creation of new bishoprics and a metropolitanate, but also to have been asked "ut restituat quae abstulisset a Russis, quorum pacem servare rogat." Thus Baronius defines the traditional role of the Roman See as a mediator between Poland and Rus', but he also clearly stresses the Poles' obligation to recognize the rights of Rus' lands.

On the other hand, Baronius shows his interest in Rus' affairs by citing extensively from the pope's epistle to Izjaslav containing his confirmation as king of the Rus' people by the Roman See. We know that this nomination by the pope had no real consequence for the political history of the Ukrainian lands, but for Baronius it had a peculiar didactic value. In a comment following the letter, Baronius stresses how an intense and constant apostolic action can bring about more results than armed attacks, and how Izjaslav got his reign back not by the arms, but by the protection of the Holy See: we transcribed the whole epistle, writes Baronius, "ut eo exemplo intelligatur, quomodo contigerit plura regna oblata reperiri Apostolicae Sedi. Christiana Regum pietas efficiebat, ut persuadentes sibi illi magis protectione S. Petri Principis apostolorum, quam armis regni defendi, offerrent illa eidem sancto Petro." It is evident that the appeal was directed to the Orthodox princes (mainly the tsar), who should secure their crown by direct obedience to Rome. Rome, on its part, would guarantee the integrity of that reign. Certainly it is in order to foster this view that Baronius, in a letter to Skarga of 1603, expressed a desire to see the *Annales* circulating among Orthodox readers.[10]

Two more entries concern Kievan history. The first is very doubtful, since it reports the information given by Cardinal Umberto de Silva Candida that the Greek emperor, after the departure of the Roman nuncios from Constantinople to Rome after the Kerullarios Schism (1054), "exemplar excommunicationis veracissimum a civitate Russorum sibi remissum accipit" (XVII, 95).[11] Baronius makes no comment about this, nor does Pagi.

The last item concerns the history of Eupraksia (Adelheid) Vsevolodovna, the sister of Volodimer Monomax who was married to the Roman emperor Henry IV and played a relevant role in the fierce struggle that opposed the emperor and the antipope Clement III to Pope Urban II (XVII,

[10] Tazbir, "Baronius et Skarga," p. 566.

[11] E. Golubinskij, *Istorija russkoj cerkvi*, I (Moscow, 1901), p. 595; I. Ševčenko, "The *Civitas Russorum* and the Alleged Falsification of the Latin Excommunication Bull of 1054 by Kerullarios," in *Actes du XII^e Congrès International d'Études Byzantines, Ochride, 10–16 septembre 1961*, 2 (Belgrade, 1964), pp. 203–212.

641; XVIII, 16–17).[12] For Baronius this story (told under the years 1093 and 1095) is important because Eupraksia asked for the protection of Matilde and Welph and gave witness against the emperor at councils in Konstanz and Piacenza. This is one of the very rare episodes where Baronius indulges in giving a long and pathetic account, rich in descriptive details: his personal feelings in describing the struggle between the Church and the Empire overwhelmed his normally severe narrative habits.[13] He never writes openly about Eupraksia's Rus' origin and original religion: she gets all the sympathy of the author of the *Annales*, but is presented simply as the persecuted wife of the wicked emperor. As marginal information given by a secondary source, Baronius remarks that "Albertus Stadensis... eam in Russiam ad suos esse reversam affirmat" (XVII, 641).

9. An evaluation of Baronius's work should take into account what he did not write. Only a few examples are noted here. He omitted all mention of the treaties of peace between the Rus' princes and Byzantine emperors in the tenth century; most probably he considered this kind of information unimportant for church history. For the years 907–911, he failed to mention not only the final treaty ratified by Oleg, but also his campaign against Constantinople: this is certainly due to the lack of information about it in the Greek sources.

No mention is made about an embassy sent by Jaropolk to Otto I at the Quedlinburg Diet, as reported by the *Annales Lamberti* for the year 973. The embassies supposedly sent to Rome by Volodimer in 984 and 1001, as well as an epistle sent to Andrej Bogoljubskij by Pope Aleksander III in 1169,[14] are also unknown in the *Annales*. Such omissions, however, are not surprising, since these contacts between Rome and Rus' are poorly documented.

By contrast, a will to ignore fact is evident in the case of the epistle sent by the antipope Clement III to Vsevolod between 1084 and 1089.[15]

[12] About Eupraksia-Adelheid, cf. S. P. Rozanov, "Evpraksija-Adel'gejda Vsevolodovna," *Izvestija Akademii nauk*, 1929, no. 8, pp. 617–46.

[13] That style is very evident, for instance, in a comparison of the detailed descriptions of the war of 969–971 given by Byzantine sources (Ioannes Scylitzes, Cedrenus, Zonara, Leo Diaconus) with the simple account of Baronius, where every spectacular element (duels, individual attacks, etc.) has been systematically eliminated (XVI, 210–12).

[14] Cf. Golubinskij, *Istorija*, 1: 588–603.

[15] Golubinskij considers this epistle the antipope's direct answer to the relations that Pope Gregory VII had with Izjaslav in 1075 (*Istorija*, 1: 595–96).

Even from this partial list, one can conclude that Baronius's omissions are in most cases due to a simple lack of information. In some cases, however, he obviously kept silent about information which he considered inadmissible.

10. After Baronius's death, his work was carried on by Odorico Rinaldi (1594–1671). It is important to read his volumes to evaluate the superiority of the first, as well as the tremendous gap between him and his successor. It is not possible to examine the individual entries about Rus' history here, so only some brief interpretations of them will be made.

Baronius presents facts and documents in such a plain and seemingly objective manner that the reader is led to a definite ideological interpretation almost without direct intervention by the author: this shows Baronius's writing ability but also his cleverness and enormous erudition.

In order to extol the role of the Roman church, Rinaldi by contrast indulged in grandiloquent statements about the supposed victories of the true Catholic faith among the Rus' princes: for instance, there is his emphatic description of the Christians' sufferings and the subsequent victory of Roman Mstislavič over the Cumans in 1200 (I, 95), celebrated as "clarissima religionis nostrae trophaea." It is evident that the author's description was intended to support a crusade for the liberation of Balkan Christians from Turkish domination. Surprising is only the clumsy organization of historical facts and, here as elsewhere, Rinaldi's total inability to establish causal and logical connections between individual facts. In his dramatic, pathetic account of the Tatar invasion, Kiev and Rus' receive only a few lines, with the most generic reports about death and destruction: Rinaldi obviously had no idea of the historical weight of the event, or of the connections between the different states and peoples of the region (II, 255). He also shows a more deferent attitude towards Poland, and a less favorable one towards Muscovy.

The most eloquent indication of his method and style is the description of the same event, the Tatar invasion, in Hungary: all that interests him is to show that the Tatar invasion was but a divine punishment, and that the victims were only a guilty party who had to expiate their faults (II, 255–58). This does not stop Rinaldi from accepting as fully true the statement of the medieval chronicler William of Nangis that the Tatars in their attack against Hungary were guided by demons: those demons, Rinaldi assures us, are real devils, our devils—the ones we know who fought on that occasion against the Christian soldiers (II, 256).

11. It is time to draw some conclusions from our observations. The *Annales Ecclesiastici* represent a milestone in the development of history writing and of church history, as well as of Slavic studies.

Baronius's information concerning Rus' history and Muscovite church history is scattered amidst the enormous variety of subjects in the *Annales*, whose only logical principle is a strict adherence to chronology. At first, this gives the impression of fortuity, even of inconsistency. Such is Cronia's reproach addressed to our historian, whose work he considered a regression after the brilliant Renaissance flowering,[16] an opinion that is totally unfounded.

A closer analysis of his individual entries and their logical connection shows that Baronius followed a very well-defined ideology whose main elements were a plan for an anti-Turkish coalition of all the Christian states (including Muscovy) and the search for church union through the return of the Muscovite Orthodox church under the obedience of the Roman See. The Union of Brest, which recognized some liturgical peculiarities of the Eastern church, may have seemed a first example of what should follow. In this overall plan, Poland was considered a natural ally of the league, though it was expected to abandon its rigid stance (or at least that of many leading Poles, for instance Warszewicki and/or Jan Zamojski) towards Moscow and to renounce plans of armed conquest.

To open the way for such a plan (consistent with the general policy of the Roman Curia, especially under Pope Clement VIII), Baronius chose to show by the *exemplum* of history (the idea of history as *magistra vitae* brought to its ultimate conclusions) that Muscovite Russia, as the natural heir of Kievan Rus', was not really heretical, for its baptism both belonged to a period before the actual schism and had been celebrated by the emperors, i.e., the representatives of the Eastern Roman Empire, who retained a sacred power. Moreover, a long tradition of friendly relations between the Holy See and the Rus' princes (implying, in Baronius's view the recognition of the pope's preeminence, as in the case of Izjaslav Dmitrij and Roman of Galicia) made a reconciliation between Rome and Moscow possible and probable.

It is evident, from such premises, that Baronius's account of Rus' history in the *Annales* cannot be considered an objective and scientific historical account in the modern sense. Ideological bias brings more prejudice to his work than its many factual and chronological errors (they were counted at

[16] A. Cronia, *La conoscenza del mondo slavo in Italia* (Padua, 1958), pp. 215–17.

8,000!).[17] This holds true for the whole of the eighteen volumes *in folio*, and for his accounts of Rus' and Muscovite history as well. Nevertheless, there are several reasons to maintain that Baronius's work is a milestone in history writing about the Slavs.

From the ideological point of view, Baronius was the first author to apply in a historical work the ideology of the Council of Florence-Ferrara and that of papal policy from Eugenius IV and Pius V to Clement VIII, namely, that Muscovy should be considered, in spite of all schisms, a part of the Universal Church. From a practical viewpoint this led to the discovery that, more than a century before Volodimer, Christianity had somehow reached the East Slavs. This revelation was at least as important as the discovery of the very existence and power of the Muscovite state made in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by Western humanists. Moreover, the ignorance of West Europeans about Muscovy before the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was due simply to a lack of information. Every new description seemed revolutionary because so little was known about the Slavs, especially the East Slavs.

Baronius introduced much new information and provided a completely new perspective on knowledge of the East Slavs in the West. He shed light on the existence of a well-documented, non-mythological early Slavic history, more precisely of Slavic Christian history, and of the evolution of a Rus' state from the ninth century until his own time. Baronius also introduced his contemporaries to a problem not resolved even today: when and by whom did the East Slavs receive baptism, and which groups of East Slavs first had an organized church and hierarchy? Baronius did not solve these questions, but he was the first to raise them.

A man of his time, Baronius had great respect for medieval sources, in keeping with the traditional belief (inherited from antiquity through Renaissance theory and practice) that contemporary sources were the best. His attitude was probably also the fruit of the new sensibility towards medieval culture and sources manifested by the end of the sixteenth and the seventeenth century. Baronius dedicated an entire paragraph to this problem before his account of the election of Pope Gregory VII. History must be true, not polemic or apologetic; and truth must be proved by examining the available contemporary sources and comparing them with other faithful and candid testimonies (in the words of Baronius, the authors who wanted to denigrate Pope Gregory VII lacked "candor"; XVII, 353–54). The echo of the Ciceronian theory of "lux veritatis" is evident, but the conception of

[17] By Lucas Holstenius (Olstenius), librarian at the Vatican Library; F. Nicolini, "Baronio, Cesare," in *Enciclopedia italiana*, VI (Rome, 1949), p. 226.

''truth'' in Baronius was very peculiar. It concerned, first of all, the absolute and universal idea of truth represented by the Revelation in the Roman Catholic interpretation. Thus, truth does not mean simply the account of actual facts, but the account of a providential evolution of facts and ideas dominated by religion and God. In practical application this approach severely damaged his work (from the scholarly point of view), but Baronius's cleverness and lucidity helped him to write a work which, in spite of all its faults, is a monument of history writing. Even taking into account his biases, the searching and sifting of medieval and documentary sources is certainly new in Baronius, different from the dominant habits of Renaissance history writing, based on the *auctoritas* of the ancients and, too often, on second-hand sources. Baronius passed over in silence what did not fit his theories, and many times he reported history in a false manner.[18] Nonetheless, it has been said that he was simple and honest in spirit.[19] Both judgments are true. In his energetic search of documents and materials and writing of history, there was a sort of simplicity and uprightness: only a firm, honest faith could keep alive the ideals that run through the whole *Annales*, including the unbelievable utopia of a Church Union. Baronius was totally dominated by his ideology, and to this ideology he remained absolutely faithful. Such types have existed, of course, throughout history.

In spite of his errors and omissions, Baronius opened to Western scholars new avenues in investigating the history of the Slavs. For the first time German, French, and Latin medieval chronicles were quoted and compared with Polish and Italian sources and, what is far more remarkable, with Byzantine histories. For the first time, the most important medieval Greek sources were thoroughly scrutinized and compared. His peculiar way of putting together many different sources, quoting from them literally, and integrating them with documents and epistles from the Roman archives (mainly from the Vallicella and the Vatican libraries), was one reason for the large circulation that the *Annales* had in West Slavic and in East and South Slavic countries. Before Baronius no one had put together in a simple way, without rhetorical embellishments or *orationes fictae*, so many new, historical accounts.

After Baronius came Pagi. Bibliographical data concerning this historian are slight, but his critical sense and ability to reconstruct historical facts speak for themselves. In some respects he might be considered the founder of modern Slavic studies. Pagi's work deserves to be studied in the

[18] Cf. A. Ferrarini, "'Socrates novatianus homo': giudizio storico e metodologia storiografica in Cesare Baronio," in *Baronio storico*. . ., esp. pp. 309–345, 325–26.
[19] Cf. R. De Maio, "Introduzione. Baronio storico," in *Baronio storico*. . ., p. xx.

context of Italian erudition during his time and of the new historical school of the Enlightenment.

A comparison of Baronius with Pagi best shows the enormous progress in church history made in Italy from the end of the sixteenth to the beginning of the eighteenth century. Pagi's work seems to radiate a new light after an era of darkness, with its repression of free thought, Inquisition, and stacks where millions of Jews and heretics were condemned to a dreadful death. That darkness was still represented, alas, by the Counter-Reformation and by Baronius's conscious willingness to distort facts in the absolute conviction that he fought a divine battle for a sacred cause.

Baronius represents a stage in the development of human history, in which oppression and criticism, mysticism and rationality, persecution and piety, modern science and obscurantism, political interests and deep religious faith existed side by side, or were so interconnected that one aspect cannot be understood without taking into account the others.

This may explain why, for all the credit and praise accorded to Pagi, Baronius's work cannot be ignored. Pagi could not have written his *Comments* nor such a critical account of Slavic medieval history if Baronius before him had not brought the sources into light and presented them in a particular, biased way. "In tribulatione dilatasti mihi," sings the psalmist. Baronius attributed the verset to the growth of the church and the Glory of God. The eternal truth of the psalmist's song can be applied to the development of science and human thought: in spite of darkness and torment, science and the search for critical judgment grew in an unexpected way just when conditions were apparently the least propitious. But the most typical characteristics of history and human thinking are, perhaps, contradiction and contrast.

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The Image of Western Christianity in the Culture of Kievan Rus'

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In approaching an issue such as this, the following frame of reference becomes an obvious but necessary premise: during the period with which we shall be concerned, the Rus' church was in close contact with the Byzantine church, under whose supreme authority it was placed and of which it represented but a single branch. The Rus' church had, therefore, little choice in sanctioning the cleavage that occured between Rome and Byzantium in 1054, while necessarily having to accept all ensuing consequences, not only on a strictly theological level but also, in a broader sense, in ideological and political terms. There is no reason to conclude from this, however, that Kievan Rus' was in total agreement with the views of Byzantium in assessing either Catholicism or Catholics themselves. On the contrary, the outlook is highly nuanced. And, although this question has been consistently dealt with by scholars from the beginning of the nineteenth century until recent times, I feel it may be useful to review it in the present context, without, however, attempting an in-depth study.

To begin with, let us address the question of terminology, i.e., how Western Christianity was defined in Rus'. The expressions used in our sources are (with a certain degree of orthographic variation) as follows: *varjažkaja vera*, *nemeckaja vera*, *latynskaja vera*. The first of this series of adjectives, *varjažkij*, ''Varangian,'' contains historical overtones, i.e., the fact that a number of Scandinavian warriors settling in Rus' prior to its Christianization had espoused the Catholic faith. The second qualifier, *nemeckij*, ''German,'' as is known, denotes not only Germans in a narrow sense, but westerners in general. A variation of the latter is the term *frjažkij*, which means, literally, ''Frank'' (from the middle Greek Φράγκος), although it is used most prevalently in designating Italians.

The above terms may be looked upon as being semantically ''neutral,'' whereas the case of *latynskij* was originally (in middle Greek, from which it was derived) given a limiting and negative nuance. As maintained recently by S. Averincev,[1] the connotation that was found in Byzantine culture,

[1] S. Averincev, *Poètika rannevizantijskoj literatury* (Moscow, 1978).

λατέινος, was actually ethnic—referring to the inhabitants of Italy or to the western world in general—as opposed to the more universal appellation of a political and legal nature called to mind by the lexeme Ῥωμαῖος, "Roman," which is closely tied to the concept of *imperium*.

Having established these premises, relevant pronouncements made in the context of the culture of Kievan Rus' may be examined. These may be divided into two categories. The first is comprised of documents in which the polemic against *latynskaja vera* is explicit, i.e., writings composed for the purpose of unmasking and rebutting western *zabluždenija*. The works that have been collated and thoroughly analyzed by a critical tradition harking back to the second half of the nineteenth century, beginning with Popov[2] and Pavlov,[3] and continuing by and large until recent years are—with the exception of several lesser works—as follows:[4]

—a pamphlet whose authorship is attributed to the metropolitan of Perejaslav, Leo (active around 1060), Περὶ τῶν ἀζύμων ("On unleavened bread");

—the *Slovo o vere krest'janskoj i o latynskoj* ("Discourse on the Christian and Latin faiths"), found in the *Kievo-Pečerskij Paterik*, whose authorship has for centuries been attributed to Feodosij († 1074), the holy prior of the Caves Monastery;

—the *Stjazanie s'' Latinoju* ("Dispute with a Latin"), attributed to George, metropolitan of Kiev who reached Rus' around 1062 and returned to Greece in 1073;

—the epistle addressed to Clement III (the antipope appointed by the Emperor Henry IV) by John II, metropolitan of Kiev († 1089): *K arxiepiskopu rimskomu o opresnocěx* ("To the archbishop of Rome on unleavened bread"), also known in another redaction under the title of *Poučenie o sedmi sbor'' na Latinu* ("Teaching of the seven councils on the Latins");

—two epistles from Nikephoros, metropolitan of Kiev from 1104 to 1127, sent to the grand prince Volodimer Monomax and Jaroslav Svjatopolkovič, prince of Volhynia.

Of these six writings, the most arresting and the most widely disseminated by far is the "Discourse on the Christian and Latin faiths." There

[2] A. N. Popov, *Istoriko-literaturnyj obzor drevnerusskix polemičeskix sočinenij protiv Latinjan XI–XV vv.* (Moscow, 1875; reprint, London, 1972).

[3] A. S. Pavlov, *Kritičeskie opyty po istorii drevnej grekorusskoj polemiki protiv Latinjan* (Saint-Petersburg, 1878).

[4] Popov, *Istoriko-literaturnyj obzor*, pp. 69–78.

are eighteen indictments levelled against the Latins:[5] they eat with dogs and cats; they drink their own urine; they feed on turtles, wild horses, donkeys, on the meat of strangled animals or carcasses of other impure animals; they eat meat during Lent; their priests eat fat; they fast on Saturdays; they do not ask God to forgive their sins but offer money to priests in return for forgiveness; their priests are not lawfully wedded but live with concubines; their priests do not officiate according to established rules; their bishops wear rings and go to war; they administer the Eucharist with unleavened bread; they do not kiss the icons, nor do they kiss the relics of the Saints; instead, they kiss a cross traced on the ground, then, after standing up, they rub it with their feet; they place corpses in the tombs with their feet to the west; two brothers marry two sisters; their baptisms are performed by immersion in water once rather than thrice; they place salt in the mouth of those newly baptized; they fail to name their infants according to the Saint's day but use the names of the parents; they claim that the Holy Ghost comes forth from the Father and the Son.

From these arguments the author of the ''Discourse'' draws the following clear-cut conclusions (which are set out, incidently, at the exordium rather than the coda of the work): one must not lend credence to their teachings; one must avoid their company, neither allowing one's daughters to be wedded to them nor accepting gifts from them; nor is one to eat or drink from the same dishes as they, and, should they ask to be fed, they are not to be turned away, for the sake of God, but are to be fed and the dishes speedily cleaned.

It may be inferred from the above statements that the indictments are three-fold. First are those indictments of an actual theological and liturgical basis, such as the issue of the Holy Ghost (the Latin *filioque*) or the administration of the Eucharist with unleavened bread. Then come the questionable indictments levelled against the ethical sphere of the Western church, such as the reprimanding of priests for living with concubines or for granting the remission of sins only in exchange for lucre. Last are the indictments that bear the unmistakable mark of prejudice and superstitious rumor-mongering: such are the charges of eating with dogs and cats, of drinking urine, of feeding on the meat of impure animals, and so forth.

As shown by A. N. Popov a number of years ago, the sources for the ''Discourse'' are essentially as follows: the epistle of Michael Cerularios to Peter, the patriarch of Antioch, and the latter's response; the polemical Byzantine writing, Περί τῶν Φράγγων καί τῶν λοιπῶν Λατίνων (''On the Franks and other Latins''), traceable to the second half of the eleventh

[5] Popov, *Istoriko-literaturnyj obzor*, pp. 7–69.

century, and also translated into the Slavic language; and the anti-Latin works of Photius. It is unlikely the authorship of such a text could be imputed to Feodosij Pečerskij,[6] but, as previously stated, the question of the authorship of these writings is not a central issue. Paramount, instead, is the great extent to which, in all likelihood, the "Discourse on the Christian and Latin faiths" reflects the scenario of heated polemics that arose among the hard-line advocates of the Byzantine church after 1054. Within this framework, the Latins are not looked upon as mere schismatics, but as thoroughgoing heretics.

Of the other five writings, the "Dispute with a Latin" and the two epistles by Nikephoros are very similar to the "Discourse" in terms of the point of view of the sources from which they are derived. Noteworthy, for instance, is the fact that the epistle addressed to Jaroslav of Volhynia also ends in an exhortation to beware of all ties with Latins, and to avoid eating and drinking with them. Conversely, Περὶ τῶν ἀζύμων and the epistle of John II to Clement III—written in reply to an embassy sent to Kiev by Clement III to plead the cause of the unity of the Christian Church—both seem to portray a less bitter and polemical relationship with Western Christendom: the indictments brought against the Latins are fewer in number and, above all, are voiced on a strictly doctrinal level.

We shall now focus attention on the second category of writings—those wherein the image of the western Christian is incidental, or, at any rate, does not constitute the work's focal point. Needless to say, an investigation of this sort is not intended to be exhaustive (for hundreds of works would have to be dealt with); on the contrary, its scope will not exceed a few works, selected either because of their intrinsic relevance or because their relationship to the issues at hand is sufficiently meaningful. This, however, will allow us to venture several general conclusions.

[6] A discussion of the involved questions of authorship and dating of some of these writings has been purposely avoided. These issues are, in view of this paper, of meager importance. At any rate, it is worthy of note that the opinion of Feodosij Pečerskij as the author of the *Slovo o vere krest'janskoj i o latynskoj* is maintained by the *Slovar' knižnikov i knižnosti drevenej Rusi*, vyp. 1 (Leningrad, 1987), sub voce. On this question cf. inter alia: I. P. Eremin, "Iz istorii drevnerusskoj publicistiki XI veka (Poslanie Feodosija Pečerskogo k knjazju Izjaslavu o Latinjanax)," *TODRL* 2 (1935); K. K. Viskovatyj, "K voprosu ob avtore i vremeni napisanija 'Slova k Izjaslavu o Latinex'," *Slavia* 16, no. 4 (1939); A. M. Amman, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der kirchlichen Kultur und des religiösen Lebens bei den Ostslawen* (Würzburg, 1955); N. K. Hudzij (Gudzij), "O sočinenijax Feodosija Pečerskogo," in *Problemy obščestvenno-političeskoj istorii Rossii i slavjanskix stran* (Moscow, 1963); W. Vodoff, *Naissance de la chrétienté russe* (Paris, 1988).

In the *Povĕst' vremennyx lĕt* ("The Tale of Bygone Years"), aside from several not particularly significant allusions to Western Christianity,[7] the majority of the references to the Latins and their faith come between 986 and 988, strictly in conjunction with the baptism of Volodimer. There are four such instances: 1) the arrival in Kiev of the pope's messengers in 986; 2) the discourse of the "philosopher" sent by the Greeks to Rus' in the same year; 3) the reply of the ambassadors dispatched by Volodimer around the world in 987 in order to look into the various cults; 4) the so-called teaching of the Christian faith delivered to the neophyte Volodimer in 988. Leaving aside the above first three passages, it will be useful to focus on the fourth, which is by far the most meaningful: "Do not accept the teachings of the Latins," states the Primary Chronicle:

their teaching is deformed: upon entering the church they do not respect the icons, but while standing still they bow down, and while bowing they draw a cross on the floor and kiss it, but rising up they stand on it. . . . This was not taught by the apostles; the apostles taught to kiss the consecrated cross and to honor the icons. . . . Moreover they call the earth mother. . . . Following this council [the seventh] Peter the Stammerer came to Rome with his followers and, after having taken possession of the See and corrupted the faith he severed ties with the See of Jerusalem, Alexandria, Constanstinople, and Antioch. They caused the whole of Italy to rise up, having formed a different teaching. Some priests officiated while being married to only one wife but others were married as many as seven times, while officiating. Beware of their teaching. They forgive sins in exchange for gifts which is the greatest of all evils. May God save you from this.[8]

It may be noted that the majority of charges are the same as those which appear in the writings examined previously. And, if the reprimand handed down by the Greek "philosopher" for administering the Eucharist with unleavened bread is added to these charges, one reaches the conclusion that the sources used are one and the same. The only novelty in the Primary Chronicle is the figure of "Peter the Stammerer" (Petr Gugnivyj), traceable to a centuries-old tradition that was again widely disseminated following 1054. The origin of this legendary figure, who goes hand in hand with the

[7] At least one instance should be cited in this regard. The amusing episode of the aged monk Matvej, a seer, who "while at his place in church, raised his eyes, shifting his gaze on the brethren who were singing on either side of the choir and saw a devil going in the guise of a Pole, in a long robe, concealing on the front several of those flowers known as *lepokŭ*. Coming besides the brethren, it took out a flower from its bosom and threw it upon one of them. If the flower stuck to the monk who was singing, the latter. . . returned to his cell, fell asleep and did not return in church until the singing resumed. When, however, the flower thrown upon another brother failed to stick, the brother remained stalwartly engaged in singing until the close of matins." See: *Povĕst' vremennyx lĕt* (hereafter *PVL*), ed. V. P. Adrianova-Peretc (Moscow-Leningrad, 1950), ch. 1, pp. 126–27.

[8] *PVL*, pp. 79–80.

popess Joan, harks back to the heresy of the fifth-century patriarch of Alexandria, Πέτρος called μογγός, i.e., "the stammerer." The nickname is evidently an indication of the fallacy of his teaching, but may well be a play on words with regard to *Petrus Magnus*, the prince of the apostles, Saint Peter, to whom the Roman church constantly referred. Thus, by way of conclusion, it may be safely assumed that virtually all considerations made concerning the "Discourse on the Christian and Latin faiths" will also hold true for the above excerpts from the Primary Chronicle.

In contrast, one of the characteristic and important texts from Kievan Rus', the *Skazanie* ("Narration"), which relates the lives of the saints Boris and Glěb,[9] is devoid of a similar context of inter-confessional hostility. As a matter of fact, in the *Skazanie*, Svjatopolk, fratricide of the two saints, having fallen under the devil's sway, goes away to die "in a secluded place between Poland and Bohemia," i.e., in "Latin territory." On the other hand, however, unlike the account in the Primary Chronicle, Bolesław Chrobry, the king of Poland and father-in-law and ally of Svjatopolk, is not depicted negatively. One other detail stands out: the *Skazanie* does not fail to cite a Hungarian figure, Georgij, whom Boris "loved greatly," and to whom he gave as a gift a necklace with a *grivna*, a gold coin. Georgij is shown to have shared the tragic fate of his lord because of his faithfulness to him.

A writing that deserves particular notice owing to the peculiarity of its protagonist is the *Žitie prepodobnogo Antonija Rimljanina* ("The Life of the Blessed Antonij, the Roman").[10] Composed by a former disciple of Antonij's who subsequently became the prior of his monastery, this text was reworked and rewritten at the end of the sixteenth century by the monk Nifont, but in such a way that the primitive textual core is retained. The *Žitie* relates the life of Antonij, who is born in Rome in 1067 of Orthodox parents, studies Greek in order to read the writings of the Eastern fathers, and at an early age devotes himself to God. Subsequently, however, to escape persecution, which by that time Orthodox Christians are experiencing, he is compelled to seek refuge for twenty years "in the wilderness," which, we may venture to say, is a Basilian community in southern Italy. Moved by miraculous intervention, Antonij then travels by sea to Novgorod, where he founds a monastery and before long gains notoriety for a life

9 See *Pamjatniki literatury drevnej Rusi*, ed. L. A. Dmitriev and D. S. Lixačev (hereafter *Pamjatniki*), vol. 1: *XI–načalo XII veka* (Moscow, 1978), pp. 287–303.

10 *Pamjatniki starinnoj russkoj literatury*, ed. G. Kušelev-Bezborodko (St. Petersburg, 1860–1862), vol. 1, pp. 263–70. See also: *Žizn' prepodobnogo Antonija rimljanina novgorodskogo čudotvorca, s priloženiem. . .* (Novgorod, 1862).

of holiness. When viewed from the proper perspective, this Italian figure, who went to Novgorod so as to set up a monastic community, might provide some insight into the ecclesiastical relations between the Italian peninsula and Rus' at the time when the Norman conquest replaced Byzantine suzerainty in southern Italy. Resuming our analysis of the *Žitie*, it must be remarked that the account, insofar as relations with the Western world are concerned, is tinted, albeit superficially, with purely negative connotations. Antonij was indeed forced to flee Rome because of anti-Orthodox harassment, after which he was led by the hand of Providence to the city of Novgorod.

Another work of hagiographic origin—*Slovo o perenesenii moščej svjatitelja Nikolaja* ("An account of the transfer of the relics of the Holy Father Nicholas")—is markedly different in outlook. The work has been dealt with extensively by I. Šljapkin[11] and, more recently, in an updated edition by G. Cioffari.[12] Written at the end of the eleventh century by an unknown author who had drawn upon sources difficult to identify, but which were surely influenced by Western writings, the work relates how the holy relics of the thaumaturge were conveyed from Myra to Bari by sailors from this city in 1087. As is known, the Rus' church introduced the liturgical festival of 9 May to celebrate this very event. And this fact, however it may be construed, illustrates a continuity in church relations between Rus' and the West that, despite all, had not yet been entirely severed. This idea is explicitly substantiated in the *Slovo*: there is no negative ideological outlook to be found vis-à-vis the Latins in the account (the author merely states that the city of Bari is in "German land," quite likely due to the Norman domination of southern Italy); all the events described are viewed from an entirely positive stance, and in the final segment, the arrival in Bari of the "German pope" to pay homage to the saint's relics is spoken of respectfully.

The same rationale holds true in part for the *Xoždenie* ("The Journey") of Prior Daniil to the Holy Land.[13] Upon arrival in Palestine in 1106, shortly after the conquest of Jerusalem by the crusaders, "the prior of the land of Rus'"—as Daniil calls himself—displays no sign of mistrust, nor does he hesitate in establishing close ties with the Latins. In order to reach the lake of Tiberias safely, he requests and secures permission to join the suite of the Latin king Baldwin of Flanders, also traveling to the same place. Even more characteristic is that which transpired on the occasion of

[11] I. Šljapkin, *Russkoe poučenie o perenesenii moščej Nikolaja čudotvorca i ego otnošenie k zapadnym istočnikam* (St. Petersburg, 1881).
[12] G. Cioffari, *La leggenda di Kiev* (Bari, 1980).
[13] *Pamjatniki*, vol. 2: *XII vek* (Moscow, 1980), pp. 25–115.

the Easter celebrations in the Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre. Daniil once again addresses himself to Baldwin, who,"seeing me, miserable, called me to him with love and said to me: 'What do you wish, prior of the land of Rus'?' He at once recognized me and showed great kindness toward me because he is a virtuous man, humble and not at all haughty."[14] Daniil's request is again granted: he is allowed to hang a lamp in the Lord's sepulcher; furthermore, having gained the ruler's favor, he is permitted to follow the entire ceremony in the overcrowded basilica in a place of honor. The gap between the two churches, the hiatus, which by that time stood squarely between Eastern and Western Christianity, is noticeable only in the closing lines of the text. The reader is apprised by the good prior that only the three lamps hung by the Orthodox Christians—among which is his own—on that holy night were lit by heavenly beams, whereas the lamps placed by the Latins remained benighted. This savory detail, however, in no way modifies the overall picture conveyed by the work, which, it bears repeating, is one of peaceful coexistence.

Moving ahead to the thirteenth century, the *Pověst' o vziatii Car'grada krestonoščami*[15] ("The account of the taking of Constantinople by the crusaders") is certainly not indulgent towards the protagonists of the fourth crusade. In taking this attitude, however, it merely echoes historic reality. On the other hand—it is noteworthy—the *Pověst'* points out that both the pope and the emperor firmly advised the crusaders not to place Alexis on the throne unless the people were agreeable, and that, at any rate, "no harm be done the land of the Greeks." It is the crusaders who, in their lust for gold and silver, disregard the instructions and lay seige to the city.

In addition to the previously examined "Discourse on the Christian and Latin faiths," one finds a most interesting passage in the *Kievo-Pečerskij Paterik*. The work provides an account of the goodly Varangian Šimon or Simon (likely a Sigurd), who lived in Kiev at the time of Izjaslav.[16] Simon had already been the object of a miraculous prophecy made by Antonij, the founder of the Caves Monastery. Thus, one day Simon presents himself to Feodosij to ask him for a written "assurance" that he will pray for his soul and for the souls of his relatives. Feodosij eagerly accepts and writes out a prayer, which, from that time on, will be placed in the hands of the deceased prior to burial. As a token of his recognition, Simon converts from the Latin to the Orthodox faith, and thus, as related in the *Paterik*, "He who was formerly a pagan became a Christian. . . left the Latin error

14 *Pamjatniki*, vol. 2: *XII vek*, p. 106.
15 *Pamjatniki*, vol. 3: *XIII vek* (Moscow, 1981), pp. 106–113.
16 *Pamjatniki*, vol. 2: *XII vek*, pp. 412–623.

(*latinskoe zabluždenie*) and believed truthfully in our Lord Jesus Christ.''[17]

In the *Žitie* of Aleksandr Nevskij,[18] a text of fundamental importance in the history of hagiography, the passage most relevant to our topic is the one that speaks of the embassy dispatched by the pope to the prince of Novgorod: ''Once messengers came to him from Rome sent by the pope of Rome the great with these words: 'We are told that you are a worthy and glorious prince and that your land is great. Thus, of the twelve cardinals, the wisest have been sent to you—Agallada and Gemont—in order that you may hear their words on the law of God.' Whereupon Alexandr replies: 'From Adam to the flood, to the scattering of nations, from the scattering of nations to Abraham,... from the first council to the seventh all this we know very well and we do not accept teachings from you'.''[19]

We shall end this survey with the Old Ukrainian ''Galician-Volhynian Chronicle.''[20] There is little purpose in stressing the fact that because of the geographical location of these territories, Poland, Hungary, and the Holy Roman Empire continuously interfered in local events and are therefore mentioned on virtually every page of the chronicle. Indeed, the very religious experiences of Prince Danylo, who, albeit for a short period of time, converted to Catholicism, bear out this situation. Thus, it is not at all surprising that not only is there not a single attack in the entire work, there is not even a trace of preconceived opinion marshalled against Western Christianity. Moreover, when the author of the chronicle speaks of Elisabeth, the daughter of Andrew II of Hungary, canonized by the Catholic church, it states explicitly: ''She served God more than a little after the death of her husband and for this they call her holy.''[21]

The scenario that is coming into view would appear to be out of focus unless we were to add a number of historical data, which, fortunately in this case, are unidirectional. The issue to be settled concerns just how strongly western influences were felt in Kievan Rus'. The factors to be considered range from trade relations linking Kiev and Central Europe or Novgorod with the Germanic and Scandinavian worlds to the marriage agreements establishing ties between the house of Rjurik and the reigning families of Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, France, England, and the Empire (over thirty

17 *Pamjatniki*, vol. 2: *XII vek*, p. 416.
18 *Pamjatniki*, vol. 3: *XIII vek*, pp. 426–39.
19 *Pamjatniki*, vol. 3: *XIII vek*, p. 436.
20 *Pamjatniki*, vol. 3: *XIII vek*, pp. 236–45.
21 *Pamjatniki*, vol. 3: *XIII vek*, p. 242.

according to Wladimir Vodoff's calculations);[22] from clear traces in the primitive Rus' ecclesiastical organization of juridic terms and institutions derived from Roman Christianity to the role of cultural and religious mediation carried on by the Bohemian monastery of Sázava in relation to the Rus' church; or extending as far as the presence of western colonies in Novgorod or of Benedictine monks in Kiev, albeit for a short time, during the first half of the thirteenth century.

In combining these data with those gleaned from such clear-cut texts as the "Account of the transfer of the relics of the Holy Father Nicholas" or the "Journey" of Prior Daniil to the Holy Land, one would be tempted to arrive at a peremptory conclusion: the anti-Latin writings examined at the outset of the present paper are of limited scope. They belong to a closely knit circle of religious ideologues, who are held prisoner by their own grievances, and who are Rus' in name only in that they are Greek Orthodox prelates. The truth of the matter is that until the time of the Mongol invasion, the people of Rus' had never felt spiritually cut off from Rome, even going so far as to deny any such spiritual severance in their own writings. Therefore, it is not by chance that, when viewed from a different standpoint, the most blatantly anti-Western texts take on a new shade of meaning. Hence, the example of Šimon the Varangian from the Kiev *Paterik*, who was known to converse with monks even prior to the time of his conversion to Orthodoxy, may well be indicative of religious trends based to a large extent on mutual tolerance. Likewise, it should also be recalled that in the *Žitie* of Aleksandr Nevskij, the encroachment of the Swedes and Teutonic knights is not imputed to their being western, but merely to their inordinate thirst for conquest. The same may be said for the cardinals, who, having come to impart teachings on the Christian faith to Aleksandr, recognize him as a "worthy and generous" prince even though he is not Catholic.

One would be mistaken, however, to ascribe to the above point of view. In the face of these and other similar data, it would be easy to cite equally convincing passages whose meaning is dramatically opposite. To take one example: it is not a matter of chance that the chronicle[23] of a city so closely tied to the West as Novgorod, by way of trade relations, wherein three whole pages are devoted to the fall of Constantinople by the crusaders, should not include a single line concerning the taking of Jerusalem by Christians from the West. Nor does the fact that the same scenario is

[22] W. Vodoff, *Naissance de la chrétienté russe*, p. 310.

[23] See *Novgorodskaja pervaja letopis' staršego i mladšego izvodov*, ed. A. N. Nasonov (Moscow and Leningrad, 1950); *Die erste Novgoroder Chronik*, ed. J. Dietze (Leipzig, 1971).

evident in the West (throughout the entire *Divine Comedy*, Dante cites Byzantine Europe and Orthodox slavdom only *three* times) change the overall picture of events.

For this reason, other conclusions must be reached. In a recently published article in *Russkaja literatura*, A. M. Pančenko speaks of *dvoeverie*, or "dual faith,"[24] a dichotomy that is said to have characterized the cultural and religious life of Rus', which was divided between the rigorism of theoretical statements and the flexibility of actual praxis. However, when viewed from this standpoint, the above rationale is equally applicable to the Latin Middle Ages. At this juncture, the category termed *Europa Tripartita* by E. Winter in *Russland und das Papsttum* becomes plausible, despite the numerous fallacies to which the author falls prey, due to aprioristic ideology and partially selected bibliography.[25] The fact is that, while on the one hand being tied religiously and culturally to Byzantium with firm, manifold bonds, Kievan Rus' had little or no reason to share the bitter hostility toward the Western world that was felt in certain segments of the Greek world. Owing to her own economic and military strength, Rus' was quite capable of shaping her own particular ideological stance that allowed for a variation in trends and allowed, at times, for a significant degree of openness. This pattern is detectable not only up until the middle of the eleventh century, but also after the substitution in Kiev of Izjaslav by Vsevolod, and, in the final analysis, until the advent of the Mongols. This situation is to a certain extent paralleled in Byzantium, where the anti-Latin mood from the eleventh to the fourteenth century is by no means monolithic.

The above considerations are especially true of political trends, although, when carefuly examined, appear equally consistent in terms of religious trends. Otherwise, scholars would be hard pressed to account for the coexistence, in the framework of a single religious ideology, of texts such as the oft-cited "Discourse on the Christian and Latin faiths," which exhorts the reader not to eat with the same dishes used by a Catholic, and the "Account of the transfer of the relics of Holy Saint Nicholas." If the foregoing analysis is correct, Prior Daniil's account may be looked upon quite rightly as an apologue: the Holy Ghost may indeed choose to light only the Orthodox lamps in the Holy Sepulchre; not for this, however, does Baldwin cease to be understood as being a virtuous and pious man.

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[24] A. M. Pančenko, "Èstetičeskie aspekty xristianizacii Rusi," *Russkaja literatura*, 1988, no. 1, pp. 50–59.

[25] E. Winter, *Russland und das Papsttum*, teil 1-3, Berlin 1960-1972.

LINGUISTIC ASPECTS

What Does "Indo-European" Mean in Reference to the Slavic Languages?

NULLO MINISSI

From the title of this essay one might wrongly infer that some assumptions firmly held in historical linguistics are about to be questioned: this would mean to follow explicitly the same path already taken, de facto and implicitly, by some scholars soon after language groups were originally established. For in this consists the toil undertaken by those Penelopes, who, in the second half of the last century, and more resolutely in the recent years of our own, have split up and put back together again the families of languages, disassembling and reassembling them in different superfamilies, in utter discord among themselves but all alike in the arbitrariness and flimsiness of their methods.[1]

It is not my aim to venture on such a course. On the contrary, I choose the opposite tack: by discarding easy generalities and evident or hidden incongruities, and through a sharper definition of concepts, I will attempt to make up for the deficiencies so strikingly patent in the reconstructed prehistory of languages.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries linguistic investigation brought about the loss of the unity of human language—a concept implied by the myth of the Tower of Babel—and the discovery that some languages—most of them well known but a few of which had only recently come to light—were closely related. Therefore unitary groups took shape: first of all the Finno-Ugric, then the Indo-European, and later the other ones.[2] But it was with the organicistic thinking of the Romantic Age that

[1] The indissoluble bond between *family* and rigorous phonetic correspondences was soon obscured after J. Schmidt's essay, *Die Verwantschaftsverhältnisse der indogermanischen Sprachen* (Weimar, 1872), marked the crisis of Schleicher's method. On the actual state of superfamilies see *Preistoria linguistica dell' Asia*, ed. D. Sivestri, (Naples, 1988).

[2] At the end of a Danish Jesuit speculation that had lasted about two centuries, J. Sajnovics, *Demonstratio idioma Ungarorum et Lapponum idem esse* (Copenhagen, 1770), shaped the first clearly stated *family of languages*. S. Gyarmathi, *Affinitas linguae Hungaricae cum linguis*

these groups turned into *families*, i.e., languages traceable to the same *mother* language. Such a concept should have remained hypothetical and would not have asserted itself as a principle if it had not been linked to a methodological device for defining the *family*: a series of precise and consistent phonetic correlations known as *phonetic laws*.

Linguistic *families* and *phonetic laws* are joint concepts, because together—and only together—do they allow the unity of a group of languages to change from supposition to critical knowledge. The tendency to push each family further and further back into the past and to extend its range among known languages, together with the crisis in phonetic laws, whose accuracy was disputed chiefly by French Romanists, led to obfuscating almost immediately both the exact meaning of family and the indissoluble bond between it and phonetic laws. Thus began the adventurous widening of *families*, leading to *superfamilies*, which, having lost the precise foundation of *families*, still lack a new, cogent constructive principle. In other words, they are now suppositions without a formal basis, as the language groups were before the nineteenth century.

Recalling the exact meaning of fundamental ideas, I want to emphasize that, in sharp contrast to superfamilies, families are still valid linguistic categories. However, their validity does not exceed the scope of organicistic thinking. It exists only within the limits of a partial and simplified concept of language, which deals with the material support of morphemic and lexical units and leaves aside the full complexity of linguistic reality.

The neo-positivistic trend gave rise to other beliefs, far different from positivistic opinions; now linguistics, instead of comparing language to an *organism*, referred it to a *system*.[3]

System is an abstract notion, and as such it emphasizes functionality to the detriment of the material elements of language. Even phonetic elements are stripped of their acoustic-articulatory features and are considered only for their effectiveness in differentiating semantic values. This new horizon results in a deeper image of language, which, however, in turn immediately deteriorates, as the organicistic principle did, and degenerates into the logicism of the various hypothetic-deductive approaches to language. Yet that decay does not affect the validity of the *system* more than the inconsistency of superfamilies lessens the conceptual fitness of the *family*. Both *family*

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fennicae originis grammatice demonstrata, was published in 1799, and W. Jones's *Third Anniversary Discourse* (Asiatic Researches, 1), relating the Indo-European languages to each other, appeared in the interim, in 1786.

[3] On positivistic and neo-positivistic trends in linguistics, see my "F. de Saussure, J. Baudouin de Courtenay, and the Linguistics of their time," in *N. J. Baudouin de Courtenay a lingwistyka światowa* (Mat. z Konf. międzynar., Warszawa, 1979) (Wrocław, 1989).

and *system* remain reference points in linguistic investigation, the problems in which cannot be stated fully without a harmonious combination of these two principles.

This task is only fictitiously achieved by diachronic phonemics, whose formular series, which should represent the archiphonemes in linguistic evolution, are bright abstractions lacking historical substance. It is not even attempted by eminent scholars, from Ernst Lewy to Karl H. Menges, who, in their remarkable studies, have looked at the history of languages in a more complex fashion, though without placing their views into a sound theoretical framework.

At present only neo-historical linguistics is able to integrate the two principles, understood in their linguistic specificity and uprooted from positivistic or neo-positivistic ground, and formulated anew consistently with its own typology.

Neo-historical linguistics distinguishes between two components in language: (1) the phonetic units of morphemes and lexemes, the development of which is dependent on an internal evolution ruled by laws of its own; and (2) functional typology, which evolves through cultural changes, in a non-linear process due to the cultural relationships in the speaking of an inherited or borrowed language. Consequently, the complexity of historical evolution is considered in its entirety and from a unitary point of view. The highly spurious problem of *languages in contact* is put aside, since it is grounded in the unjustified distinction between genetic evolution and evolution by interference.

With these premises, the title of my paper gains in clarity: it will not question the kinship of Slavic with the other Indo-European languages in so far as its morphonemic features are concerned; it intends, rather, to determine how much of the original Indo-European typology (*Grundtyp*) has been left in Slavic.[4]

This leads to a related problem: what does the expression *Indo-European original typology* mean? All the current definitions are unsatisfactory because they either stress a selected order of facts or build assumptions upon mistakes: take, for instance, the theory of laryngeals, which fails to differentiate phonemic units from subphonemic features, thus inadvertently postulating an old state of language comprised of coughing fits, sobs and sighs.

[4] On *Grundtyp* theory see my "Possessivausdruck im Ural-Altaischen," *Euroasiatica* 2, no. 6 (1974); "Za takanarečeneto udvojuvańe na predmetot," *Inst. za maked. jaz.* (Skopje, 1976); *Tipologija na novobălgarskijat glagol* (Naples, 1981).

In my view, we can still perceive three phases in the history of the Indo-European languages: a pre-Indo-European stage, when the Indo-European structure did not exist; a proto-Indo-European stage when the system was taking form; and a final period, when the Indo-European typology had taken shape.[5]

The Indo-European typology essentially consists in a polysyntagmatic structure, in which the linguistic sign is made up of hyposemes or syntagmes, bound together by a syntagm, having a nodal function, and also marking time and diathesis. This same characterization was stated, in a somewhat different way, in a still topical but neglected work by A. Schleicher, *Die Unterscheidung von Nomen und Verbum in der lautlichen Form*.[6] Unlike Indo-European languages, Schleicher infers, other known languages are without *verbs* or, as I put it, they have a monosyntagmatic sign structure in which the name of the action is not a *verb*, i.e., it is neither a carrier of a nodal function nor the principal support of the diathesis.

The relation between syntagms, if they carry a nodal function, is structured differently than if all of them have an identical *sema*-status. In the monosyntagmatic sign, the connection is made by adfixes and suffixes, which link a syntagm to the one before it. I call these connective marks *synthemes*, in order to distinguish them from Indo-European *morphemes*.

Now the question posed at the outset may be worded properly: have the Slavic languages in the course of time preserved the polysyntagmatic structure of the sign or have they adulterated it? And if that occurred, when did it happen?

The theory of laryngeals, distorting a penetrating insight, led to dubious reconstructions of Indo-European phonetics, chiefly for the earliest phase. However it is possible to assert that the phonetic system of Indo-European, as defined above, had as dominant features a peripheral vocalism and a lack of *harmony*, i.e., lack of class conditioning between consecutive articulatory units. Instead Slavic vocalism shows a significant series of central vowels, which is strengthened in the South Slavic area, but only in the East Slavic domain developed into a full system of unstressed vowels, parallel to the system of stressed ones. A *harmonic* law is at work, too, based on palatal opposition, within the syllable. Sanskrit, under the influence of Dravidian, developed a set of assimilative rules operating far beyond a word's end, but it is hardly correct to define them as a *harmony*. Only Iranian, exposed to

[5] About the three phases of Indo-European, see my "The Opposition -on/-a in the Comparative Forms of Greek Adverbs," *Helikon* 17 (1977).

[6] *Abhandl. d. Philol.-Hist. Classe d. königl. Sächs. Gesellschaft d. Wiss.* 4, no. 5 (1865).

the same influences as Slavic, seems, at least as I understand its written form,[7] to have something resembling a harmony, although one ruled by limited and not very mandatory laws.

The loss of Indo-European features is more visible in the sign's structure. The nodal function of verb tends to weaken. Indeed, morphemic differentiations between present and future tenses have disappeared and the past forms have withdrawn, to be replaced by a verbal adjective in *-l* joined to the verb of existency. Church Slavonic better preserves the morphemic marks of past tenses, but, as Wulfila's Gothic, it is strongly influenced by Greek models. Above all, a system of lexical oppositions, built either on different stems or on the same, variously modified, ones, has replaced morphemes in the expression of both the manner and the times of an action. A. Meillet, not realizing the typological distinction between morphemic and lexical connotation, misinterpreted *aspect* and identified it with *Aktionsart*, thereby drowning a system peculiar to Slavic in a generic category suitable for all languages. That misunderstanding is now widespread, in Slavistics and beyond. The tendency of the *verb* to change into the name of the action and to lose the diathesis results from several factors: the lack of passive voice, replaced by impersonal forms; the loss of proper verbal function in some active sentences, such as the so-called *predicative instrumental*, actually a non–Indo-European essive pattern. Non–Indo-European is also the determinative opposition that imposes itself in both adjectival and verbal forms. In Macedonian the opposition between definite and indefinite verbs is made grammatically, because this was established very late, but it can also be found already in Bulgarian as well as in other Slavic idioms. Surely in South Slavic the definite verb is a later appearance, derived from Balkan convergence, which developed upon a non–Indo-European sign pattern; however, it represents an evolution perfectly consistent with the original trend of Slavic languages. Indo-European gender opposition did not disappear, but was doubled by a personal gender, which is correlated with the determinative opposition.[8] Lastly, in number opposition, after certain numerals and indeterminate quantitatives an *anumerical* form, alien to Indo-European, developed.

[7] E.g., graphic sequences such as *-ili-*, *-iri-*, *-ulu-*, *-uru-* probably represent the phonetic values *-l'i-*, *-r'i-*, *-lu-*, $-r^{h}$-.

[8] See my "Genuskategorie im Ural-Altaischen und Uralischen," *Acta Ling. Ac. Scient. Hung.* 24 (1974); and "Numeruskategorie im Indogermanischen, Altaischen und Uralischen," *MSFou* 158 (1977).

Clearly, the Indo-European sign structure has been deeply distorted in the Slavic languages. The reason lies in the historical paradox of the Slavs, as K. H. Menges termed it. Since prehistory the Slavs have remained in a zone that was the early habitat of Indo-Europeans; yet they have long been in contact with the Finns and the nomadic peoples of the steppes, and were influenced by Central Asian languages and cultural changes. The sign structure was modified, and many terms representative of Indo-European culture were either lost or doubled by non–Indo-European loanwords. Images and myths of the tripartite society sank into oblivion. This process later strengthened in South-Slavic idioms under the convergence of the Balkan languages into a non–Indo-European model, but it also persisted in the culture of the East Slavs.

We might conclude that, with reference to the Slavic languages, the term *Indo-European* is well-suited to express the origin of the articulatory components of morpho-phonemes, and of most of the lexical radicals; however, it creates a false image of the history of language, as it disregards the deep alteration of the sign system, to which all of the Slavic languages were subjected in prehistoric time, and which in South Slavic was intensified during the period of Balkan convergence based on a non–Indo-European model, i.e., from the time of the settlement of the Slavs in Southeastern Europe to the turn of our century.

A deeper investigation of these peculiarities of the Slavic languages would allow us better to grasp their structure, which is still obscured by the psychological and rationalistic prejudices of the grammatical tradition echoed in comparative linguistics, and by the logicistic arbitrariness of current hypothetical-deductive linguistics.

With these remarks I would like to suggest that linguistic research can be as helpful as archeology in a better understanding of the early history of the Slavs.

In any case, linguistic evidence attests that the origin of Rus' is a syncretic process, which cannot be explained without taking into account, in addition to the Slavic and Varangian components, the role of Central Asian nomadic peoples, whose influence on the thinking of Slavic tribes was deep enough to mold even the structure of their language.[9]

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[9] See my "Scienza e Storia," *La parola del passato* 223 (1987).

Prosta Čadь and *Prostaja Mova*

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> There are many portions of medieval and of ancient "recorded" history which will always remain more or less *fables convenues*.
>
> J. B. Bury. *A History of the Eastern Empire*, x.

The first half of this essay's title refers to a well-known statement in VM 5, 72, allegedly part of the speech that the Moravian prince Rostislav addressed to the envoys he was sending to Byzantium. Therein, the envoys were instructed to convey these words to Emperor Michael III while asking him to send to Moravia a competent, highly educated person, a "moužь, iže ny ispravitь vьsękou pravьdou." The words singled out in the title here were supposed to characterize the situation in Moravia: "My Slověni prosta čadь i ne imamъ, iže by ny nastavilъ na istinou i razoumъ sъkazalъ." Without such help the Moravians are said to have felt lost among the many missionaries from various countries: "Iz Vlaxъ i iz Grьkъ i iz Němьcь, oučašče ny različь." VC 10, 21 puts a similar self-characterization in the mouth of the Khazar khagan to depict the situation of Khazaria: "My esmy neknižnaa čędь." The words on *prosta čadь* are not repeated literally in the instructions that Prince Rostislav gives to his envoys to Byzantium as related in VC, but the characterization of the situation in Moravia is basically identical: "Ljudemъ našimъ poganьstva sę otvrъgšimъ, i po xristianeskъ sę zakonъ drъžašč imъ, oučitelę ne imamъ takovago, iže by ny vъ svoi jazykъ istouju věrou xristianьskouju skazalъ" (VC 14, 26).

It is known that speeches (and even written letters) in the Cyrillo-Methodian *Vitae* do not stenographically record real utterances. Either they are free expositions of real addresses or even merely literary (narrative) devices meant to enliven the prose by a kind of polyphony, to introduce elements of drama, or to enhance the illusion of fidelity to life. In our particular case there can be no certainty that Rostislav (or for that matter the king of Khazars) actually made the utterances as quoted, or that Constantine and Methodius, or Michael III, heard them. They are hagiographic devices like some other which can be observed in the *Vitae*, such as overemphasizing the religous zeal of the hero, buttressing the status of the saint by exag-

gerating his social contacts (e.g., in VC, the education of Constantine with Michael III, who was in reality about twelve years younger), the victorious debate of Constantine with Patriarch John, Constantine heading the Arab mission of 851, Constantine at the age of twenty-three being a priest, possibly even his meeting with the Khazar king; introducing miraculous events (though quite insignificant in the case of VC—cf. Dvorník 1933, 34, 46, 93; Brückner 1928, 228); using symbolism of numbers; interspersing the text with quotations, often of sizable length, from the Holy Writs a.o.

These features of the hagiographic genre in ninth-century Byzantium are familiar. They deserve to be briefly recalled here because they place VC and VM in the context of the Greek literature of that time. One other trait of Byzantine hagiography of the time, perhaps a little less known among Slavists, is that in a number of cases lives of saints of recent date were produced soon after the death of the person who was the main character of a given *Vita*. For example, the brief *Vita* of Theodore Studite was written by his disciple Naukratius soon after his demise, the *Vita* of Stephanus the Sabbaite was written soon after the latter's death (in 794) by the Monk Leontius, and the *Vita* of Euthymius Bishop of Sardis written by the Monk Metrophanes and others. (A longer list may be found in X. Kodov's article in *Enc*. 384.) This observation fully applies to VC and VM. It is, of course, a well-founded and generally accepted assumption that VC was written relatively soon after Constantine's death and that VM was written immediately after the decease of Methodius. In this respect the two *Vitae* can be put side by side with several ninth-century Byzantine lives of saints.

As seen from the vantage point of our time, the lives of saints in Byzantium were then a peculiar genre which combined what we would now consider obituaries, personal memoirs, and novels (or short stories) and which were designed to be fascinating reading, all within the framework of certain hagiographical stereotypes (some of which are enumerated above). While a keen eye will discover in the *Lives'* main characters some individual features (as befits the genre of memoirs), these characters are sufficiently depersonalized and the motivations of their behavior are sufficiently generalized—as being inspired and led by Providence, while their enemies are shown to be instigated and led by the Devil—to make these *Lives* both instruments of church propaganda and easy reading for middle-class consumers, be they laymen, monks, or priests. Fictitious as they are, speeches of the characters, especially of the main character, suit that pattern perfectly. They are ideological and, thus, edifying; they convey the flavor of reality without necessarily being real; they are filtered through the screen of personal reminiscences; they make the text less monotonous, more dramatic (let us remember that at that time Byzantine literature had virtually no

drama); and finally they make reading more engrossing.

All this is there in VC and VM, but with a difference. That difference arises from the fact that they, although apparently part of the mainstream of Byzantine literature of that time, are written in Slavic, probably in more or less Moravian Slavic (the latter will be discussed below). The reason for this is not given in the two texts. It could have been purely practical. For whom would one write in Greek in Moravia, who there had command of that language, except Methodius himself and a few of his followers who were of Macedonian extraction? The mastery of Latin was hardly widespread among Constantine and Methodius's disciples either, not to speak of the rest of the country's population (*prosta čadь!*). Besides, in a sense, the tenor of the brothers' activity was to emphasize Slavic at the expense of Latin. Writing a kind of summary of their lives in Latin would be tantamount to self-derision and self-denial.

Yet it is possible that there were other motives, beyond the practical. They could have been of an ideological nature. For the materialization of the missionary program envisaged by Constantine and Methodius, a translation of the Aprakos and of the church service in general was a necessity. But the translation of the complete Bible undertaken by Methodius (if we accept the statement of VM 15, 77) was not. Neither was the compilation of both *Vitae*. Brückner (e.g., 1906, 198f.) saw the key to the brothers' activities in their desire to tear Moravia away from Rome and to bring it under the spritual sway of Constantinople. This seems to be contradicted by some facts, whose analysis is not our concern here, including even the probability of the use of the Roman rite (cf. Dvorník 1956, 85, 166; Vašica 1946, 1–54 a.o.).

The phenomenon of strangers involved in a study of a nation and/or its language and ending up by fully identifying themselves with that nation and that language is, contrary to superficial reasoning, a fairly widespread fact. Every culture can boast of such adopted sons, and why should the budding Moravian Slavic state not have found its own advocates? Tired of Byzantine oversophistication, the brothers from Thessalonika could have been like those missionaries who chose to become psychologically men of the *prosta čadь*, the more so because this *čadь* was unaware of the path to their future while the brothers were convinced that they knew that path and were able to guide them. In Byzantium they might have made relatively good careers, but they would always be dependent on statesmen, such as a Bardas, a Theoktistos, or a Photius, and on the monks of Studios or of Olympus. Not in Moravia. The apparently insurmountable difficulties and obstacles, the opposition of the German clergy, the indecision or direct resistance of Rome, the indifference of perhaps part of the Moravian

population—all this strengthened their resolve. Their activities were circumscribed by religion as well as by politics, but inevitably the missionaries expanded their ardor to that prerequisite of religious enlightenment, language. It was around the language that the battle was fought.

Due to all these circumstances, the linguistic program of the brothers necessarily developed a peculiar democratism. Brückner (1928, 173) was right when he spoke of a "den in Byzanz geradezu beispiellosen Enthusiasmus der beiden Brüder-Griechen für die slavische Sache" or, at least, for the local Slavic language, basically that of peasants. He spoke of the linguistic (and not only ecclesiastic) revolution attempted by the brothers as a "von vornherein verdächtige Neuerung..." to have "die Liturgie in der Landes-, d.h. in der Bauernsprache" (ibid.). Of course, Moravia of that time, socially speaking, did not consist of peasants alone, but linguistically a Rostislav or a Svatopluk at that early stage of social differentiation hardly differed very much from his subjects.

It is essential to draw a clear separation between the democratism (if we may venture to apply such an anachronistic term) of Constantine and Methodius in Moravia in matters of language and in those of social structure. Only the first is indisputable. Brückner, as is typical of him, exaggerates grossly when he transfers the general attitude of the brothers into the social sphere, saying that even Gorazd, who was to be the successor of Methodius, was "Freiherr..., kein Adeliger." The *svobodь moužь* of VM 17, 78, obviously, is a loan translation of German *Freiherr* "Baron," and A. Miltenova is right beyond any doubt that Gorazd was "moravec ot znaten rod" (*Enc.* 513). After all, the presence of democratism in the social sense is put in doubt by the constant reference in both *Vitae* to Constantine and Methodius's contacts with emperors, popes, patriarchs, and nobles as a means of enhancing the brothers' prestige, a feature already mentioned above.

The "linguistic democratism" of the brothers was unusual enough in ninth-century Byzantium and even far beyond the political boundaries of the Eastern Empire, in all of Christian Europe. It differed radically from the common practice of missionaries of that time, who willingly translated the most popular prayers into the local vernacular, but no more than that. This was to them a means, not a program. Some of them proceeded further and translated the Gospel. But as far as we know no other missionaries in the ninth century demanded the liturgy in a "peasant idiom." The language for Constantine and Methodius ceased to be a means: indeed, it became a program. This was unprecedented.

To be sure, there were nationalities that celebrated the liturgy in their native languages, and the Byzantines knew of them. In fact, VC 16, 30 even refers to these cases directly, assigning this enumeration to Constantine himself as a means of defending the liturgy in Slavic in Moravia: Armenians, Georgians, Goths, Copts (*Egupt̨ęni*), and Syrians actually practiced the liturgy in their own languages. As to other nationalities evoked in VC (Persians, Abkhazians, Sogdians, Avars, Turks, and Arabs), the existence of the liturgy in their native languages is doubtful or even unfounded.

Of these peoples, the Armenians were particularly well known in Byzantium. There was a common frontier between the two countries, an Armenian was Emperor of Byzantium in the years 813–820 (Leon V the Armenian) and probably yet another one from 867 (Basil I called the Macedonian) was of Armenian descent; of Armenian descent, too, were Emperor Theophilus's son-in-law Alexios, the Logothete at the court of Michael III, Symbatius, the influential general Bardanes (Bury 165, 126, 159, 10), a. o.; Emperor Theophilus invaded Armenia in 837; Nicephorus the Philosopher polemicized with the Armenian church; and Armenian monks were numerous in Byzantine monasteries, including those of Mount Olympus (more details on Armenians in Byzantium are given in Bury 429). Georgians were also fairly well known in Byzantine monasteries.

But these cases were quite separate. The Monophysitism of the Armenians and the Arianism of the Goths could have mattered on the theological level (cf., for example, Constantine of Preslav's translation of a treaty against Arianism), but they were of minor importance in the matters of alphabets and of liturgical languages. These alphabets and these liturgies were introduced long ago: Armenian in the fourth century, Georgian in the fourth and in the early sixth centuries; Ulfila's activity among the Goths also falls into the fourth century. By the mid-ninth century all these occurrences were just facts, not developments. They were accepted as a given; their original rise was practically forgotten. Moreover, the spirit of early Christianity (the Pauline tradition) of which they were belated manifestations had long since sunk into oblivion. Moravian events were recent and therefore challenging.

For ninth-century Byzantium, there were at best two literary and linguistic traditions to reckon with, the Greek and the somewhat inferior Latin; besides these, there was also awareness of a number of obscure barbaric languages—some only spoken, others spoken and liturgical—whose only *raison d'être* was their original growth long ago and far away, under conditions of primitivism and underdevelopment. No matter, then, what historical precedents might have been: for the mentality of ninth-century

Byzantium, the deeds of Constantine and Methodius appeared to be unprecedented and stupefying. That the perception was the same in Rome is shown with utter clarity by the reaction of the popes to that novelty. One need only recall the zigzags in their policy toward it.

The Slavic liturgy as the country's rite existed in Moravia for no more than twenty-two years, after which it was mercilessly extirpated. Even during this short period of time, it enjoyed the hesitant blessing of the popes at best for only eight years. Even if we interpret the popes' letters in a "pro-Slavic" way, we must conclude that the Slavic liturgy in Moravia was allowed in 870 (by Hadrian II), forbidden in 873 (by John VIII), allowed in 880 (by the same pope), and was ultimately and definitively forbidden in 885 (by Stephen V). During the time of rejection, the Slavic liturgy was offered in Moravia on Methodius's own initiative and responsibility. This makes for a total of fourteen years of illegal practice as against the eight with papal sanction! True, in a compromise, the Slavic mass might have supplemented the Latin one rather than replaced it, as is explicitly stated in the account of the funeral service for Methodius: "službou crkvьnouju latinьsky i grьčьsky i slověnьsky sъtrěbiša" (VM 17, 78).

A brief look at the situation with the "democraticized" Greek language in Byzantium around the ninth century is in order. If Constantine and Methodius's activity in Moravia were not rooted in the missionary practices of the time, would it have found encouragement in what was going on within the Greek language as used by and for the Greeks? The opposition of the "simple language" (γλῶσσα ἁπλῆ) or the "people's language" (γλῶσσα δημώδης) to classical Greek ("Attic") was quite acute, and there were attempts to introduce elements of the former into the prose of the time (e.g., in the writings of Theophanes the Confessor, ca. 752–817), which fitted especially well into the "cultural revolution" (to use an anachronistic expression) of iconoclasm. A strong reaction to that trend is evident from the tenth century on. But at hardly any time was "the Attic language" completely abandoned, writings in "the simple language" were never taken very seriously nor held in high esteem, and it is hard to imagine any attempt to make it the idiom of the liturgy (even though there the tradition was strictly speaking not "Attic," but rather based on the works of the early Christian fathers of the church). In the words of Beck (13) : ". . .die Theologie ist der Klassik ebenso verpflichtet wie die spezifisch philologische Schriftstellerei, denn für sie sind die Kirchenväter genauso verbindliche Vorbilder wie für die Philologen die antiken Rhetoren, Dramatiker, Epiker usw." The turn of events in 842—the end of iconoclasm—could have been the beginning of the reinvigoration of conservative trends that were to come to fruition a century and a half later.

The attitude of Constantine (and Methodius) to these problems is unknown. No works written in Greek by him (them) have reached us, except in Slavic translation. An attempt to reconstruct their Greek form out of Slavic has never been attempted. Even if it were to be attempted, it most likely would not enable us to see through the Slavic to the kind of Greek that had been used in them. Consequently, one cannot give any answer to the question of whether Constantine saw any parallel to, and therefore was under any influence of, the "democratic" trends within the Greek language of Constantinople or Thessalonika in his and Methodius's "language policy" as applied to the formation of the Slavic liturgical language.

Through speculation we arrive at the view that he was not. We cannot be sure that the Greek preference for "the simple language" was ever programmatic. Neither do we know of any attempts to make a liturgical language out of it, at least if we stay in and around the ninth century, without going back to the situation of early Christianity and the problems of the early endeavors of writing or translating the Gospels. Thus the connection between "democratism" in Slavic linguistic attitudes and the choices of the two brothers, on the one hand, and "democratism" as an undercurrent in the history of Byzantine Greek, on the other, is unproved. If it existed it could only have been very loose and general.

A hard test for democratic choices in forming the first written language of and for the Slavs—that language now called Old Church Slavonic—was given by Constantine and Methodius's transference from the Macedonian Slavic familiar to them since childhood to Moravian. Even though discrepancies among the Slavic languages were then much smaller than in later times, they did exist, were essential, and were sufficient to identify a person as speaking "our language" or speaking a language that may have been basically understandable but was nevertheless strange. If Constantine were to apply his Macedonian Slavic in the Moravian church, this language, by its use from the ambo, easily could have been grasped as a special sacral language as opposed to the "normal" language of the population. Obviously, this would have undermined its democratic character.

This reading of events was assumed by Brückner in 1913; and he even saw in it the reason, or one of the reasons, for the final defeat of the Slavic liturgy in Moravia. As he put it, "konnten sich... die Mährer für das salonische Slavisch nicht besonders erwärmen" (112). In fact, all those who accept the label "starobălgarski" for the language of Cyrillo-Methodian translations made for, and used in, Moravia follow in the footsteps of Brückner, and they should also accept his view of the pernicious consequences of this behavior by the brothers.

Fortunately, we have sufficient material to prove that this reading is not accurate. Part of this material is supplied by Brückner himself, when he speaks of the Germanic and not Greek origin of many church terms used in Old Church Slavonic texts (1906, 197) or when he cites indisputable Moravianisms in the two *Vitae*: *vsud*, *kupetra*, *misa* 'mass', *neprijazn'*, *popove*, *napast'*, *nepštevati*, *muditi*, *papež*, *mulva* (1913, 16), some of them correctly, some wrongly (on *mlъva* I will dwell below). More examples from VC and VM can be added, such as *zaskopiv-* 'insiduous' (VC 9, 13), *malžen-* 'husband' (VC 11, 22); *godin-* 'hour' (VC 15, 28), *strižьnik-* 'cleric' (VM 10, 75), *setьn-* 'last' (VM 11, 76), probably, in spite of its presence in Old Bulgarian, *pospěx-* 'success' (VM 15, 77), etc. The text of both *Vitae*, of which one, VM, was most probably written in Moravia, has never been systematically studied in comparison with other Old Church Slavonic texts for the presence of Moravianisms.

We know that the manuscripts of VC and VM we have today are of a much later time than the originals. The oldest copy of VM we possess was written down more than two hundred years after Methodius, while the distance for VC is about half a millennium. The oldest copies we have were made far from Moravia; they come from the Ukraine and Russia, respectively. Most likely the original texts were copied more than once and, beyond doubt, they emerged on East Slavic territory after first being copied in Bulgaria or Macedonia. Copying in these countries also meant editing, and one of the guiding principles for that editing was purging the texts of Moravian features and their far-reaching adaptation to Southeastern usage. Time and again they underwent a thorough and often merciless language revision. This editing applied to canonical texts, and perhaps even more so to such non-canonical ones as the two with which we are dealing here. Yet, many words in them still betray their original Moravian character. One can presume that this character was even more obvious in the originals.

The two texts that concern us here, VC and VM, clearly allow the conclusion that the Slavic non-liturgical and liturgical written language in Moravia in the period 863–885 was not just transferred native Macedonian of the Thessalonika region, which Constantine and Methodius had known in their youth. Brückner underestimated the capabilities of the brothers as missionaries and their readiness to follow "die Bauernsprache" of the country they served in. The brothers were more "linguistically democratic" than he was ready to admit. Speaking metonymically, the Moravians were not forced by a stubborn Methodius to say *noštь* instead of their *nocь* (to use Brückner's example); Methodius himself switched to *nocь*. He was never loath to heed his spiritual children, his *prosta čadь* (VM 5, 72) or *neknižnaa čędь* (VC 10, 21). These characterizations of either the

Moravian or the Khazar flock were by no means derogatory, as opposed to the attitude toward more sophisticated German clerical adversaries, who were *groub(aja) čadь* (VM 9, 75). I shall return below to the semantics of these phrases, especially that of the word *čadь*.

Constantine and Methodius's attitude toward the "simple people" extended to their language. The attention given to language in VC and VM is extraordinary for their epoch. This fact becomes obvious in a comparison with the Kievan Primary Chronicle. In the latter the very word *jazyk* rendering *ethnos* of the Greek Old Testament typically has the undifferentiated meaning 'nationality'~'language', and the first shade of meaning positively prevails: "I se sutь inii jazycě, iže danь dajut Rusi Čjudь, Vesь..." (Introduction, *PSRL* 2, 8). In the immediate continuation of this sentence, "...Korsь, Neroma, Libь si sutь svoi jazykъ imušče," Sreznevskij s.v. translates *jazyk* as 'language, dialect', but the continuation "svoi jazykъ imušče ot kolěna Afetova" belies this interpretation. The chonicler hardly cared for the language of *kolěno Afetovo* or for the problems of the origin of various Fennic languages; rather he used the word here with its usual oscillating meaning 'nationality (tribe)'~'its language'. There is only one entry in the chronicle, under the year 6406 (898), where the meaning 'language' is clear and undeniable, and it is based on VC, in fact, virtually retells it. Here we find: "...ne razuměemъ bo... Grěčьkomu jazyku"; "s[y]n[o]ve razumivi jazьku Slovenьsku"; "slyšaša veličьja B[ož]ija svoimъ jazykom"; "preloži vsę kьnigy ispolnь ot Grěcьka jazyka vъ Slověněskъ" (*PSRL* 2, 18ff.). But even here examples are found of the meaning closer to 'nationality': "ne dostoitь nikotoromu že jazyku iměti bukovъ svoixъ razъvě Jevrěi i Grěkъ i Latiny" (ibid. 19).

If we return now to the actual texts of VC and VM as they have come down to us, we cannot but be struck by the amount of concern given to linguistic problems. After all, the entire concept of the "trilingual heresy" is an outcome of that concern, as is, in fact, absorption in the language problem. Was it because for men of Greek language and thought the notions of γλῶσσα and of ἔθνος were much more clearly delineated and separated than for those thinking in Slavic? Or did Constantine and Methodius's concern for saving souls by means of language simply lie on their hearts more than matters of rising nations and political formations (with which the Kievan chronicler was so preoccupied)?

Not that *jazyk* in the meaning of ἔθνος does not occur in the two *Vitae*. It is undeniably represented, often in Biblical reminiscences: "oučitelę sicego, iže prosvěti jazykъ našь" (VC 1, 1); "naoučite vsę jazyky, krestęšče ja" (16, 30); "vъ sěmeni tvojemъ bl[a]goslovleni boudoutъ vьsi jazyci" (VM 1, 68); "jazyka radi našego... nikъtože nikoliže popeklъ"

(2, 70); ''ne dostoitь nikotoromouže jazykou iměti boukovъ svoixъ'' (6, 72); ''vъsxvalętь ga vьsi jazyci'' (8, 74). Characteristically, VC 14, 27 juxtaposes both meanings of the word in one sentence: ''vy pričtetesę velicěxъ jazycěxъ (τὰ ἔθνη), iže slavętь boga svoimъ jazykomъ (γλῶσσα).'' Equally characteristic is the juxtaposition of *jazyk* as γλῶσσα with the word *plemę*, thus excluding the meaning 'ἔθνος' from the former: ''vy sę ne stydite tri jazyky tokmo mnęšče, a pročimъ vsěmъ *jazykomъ* i *plemenomъ* slěpymъ velęšče byti'' (VC 29, 30). The author of the *Vita* clearly felt uneasy with the ambiguity of the Slavic word *jazyk*. Sometimes, to make the meaning clearer, he took recourse to some other words: *beséda* (often with the additional connotation of 'text') and *rěčь*.

But altogether the frequency of the meaning 'language' is high. It would be overtaxing the reader to quote all such occurrences. It suffices to list pages on which they appear: in VC 26, 27 (2x), 28 (2x), 29 (in the compound *trięzyčn-*), 30, 31 (3x), 32 (2x), 33 (3x), 35; in VM 72, 74 (2x), especially frequently in the phrase *glagolati jazyky* (patterned on and often transferred from St. Paul). A striking peculiarity of the *Vitae* is the high frequency of phrases in which the word *jazykъ* 'language' is preceded by a possessive pronoun *svoi*, *vašь*, etc., as if to underline the inalienability of languages from peoples. All this does not exhaust the references to languages. They may also be given without using specific nouns in that meaning, as in ''sloužьbou crkvьnouju latinьsky i grьčьsky i slověnьsky sъtrěbiša'' (VM 17, 78), or in ''Selounęne vьsi čisto slověnьsky besědoujutь'' (VM 5, 72).

Against the background of this preoccupation—not to say obsession—with language and language problems, it becomes understandable why remarks and discourses on linguistic topics in the *Vitae* are often put in the mouths of emperors, princes, and popes: it is as if this preoccupation were contagious and affected everyone who dealt with Constantine and Methodius. The above remark on the purity of Slavic in Thessalonika is uttered by no lesser a personage than Emperor Michael III, a young man raised in Constantinople and, it is said by chroniclers, more interested in the frivolities of court life, ribaldry, and squandering public monies (Bury 162) than in the language of Thessalonika and the purity of the barbarian tribal languages of that region! In a like manner, the pope (Hadrian II) speaks of Methodius as a man of high virtues who ''sъkazaja kъnigy vъ jazykъ vašь'' (VM 8, 73). It is no wonder, then, that Prince Rostislav also has a sentence about the Moravian-Slavic language in his plea to the Byzantine emperor, words that caused much doubt about their authenticity: ''oučitelę ne imamъ takovago, iže by ny vъ svoi jazykъ istouju věrou xristianьskouju skazalъ'' (VC 14, 26), words that are echoed in Constantine's first reply to

that plea: "ašče imoutь boukvi vъ jazykъ svoi" (ibid., 27). This *jazykъ svoi* is indeed the key phrase in both *Vitae*. It appears in the author's text and in the speeches of characters independently of any historical veracity. It may not reflect the reality of the utterances of participating characters, but it certainly reflects how Cyrillo-Methodians viewed the fundamental goal of their lives. It is in that particular sense that they are veracious.

Now, in light of this and of the previous discussion here of the "linguistic democratism" of Constantine and Methodius, we can return to the phrases in VC and VM that speak of *prosta* or *nekniżnaa čadь*, which is opposed, on the one hand, to *grouba čadь*, and on the other, to *oumnaę čadь i kniżna* (VC 6, 8). A semantic analysis of the words in these phrases can take us a little deeper in our understanding of what the linguistic program of the brothers was and, by the same token, of what was—at least ideally, programmatically, if not fully realistically—the oldest, i.e., Moravian-designed Old Church Slavonic, of which we have no immediate texts.

The meaning of the adjective *prosta* in the *Vitae* is fairly well circumscribed by the four contexts quoted above. It is clearly synonymous with *nekniżnaa* and antonymous to *oumnaę i kniżna*. (*Grouba* takes us to another semantic discussion, which can be left aside here without consideration. *Grouba* can combine with both *prosta* and *nekniżnaa*, on the one hand, and with *oumnaę i kniżna*, on the other.)

The semantic spectrum of *prost-* in Old Church Slavonic (on the basis of the corresponding entry in *SJS*, with some minor modifications) is as follows: (1) uncomplicated; (2) sincere; (3) usual; (4) uneducated, of lower classes; (5) straight; (6) free (of something). Sreznevskij s. v. breaks down the meaning of the word into smaller units, but they may be placed into the same six categories. Of the modern Slavic languages that fall within our topic, which primarily concerns Old Church Slavonic, none preserves all the above meanings. Meanings (2) and (5) seem basically to be lost (except in Ukrainian) although if the etymology of the word suggested by Vasmer, s.v., is correct, this should be the original meaning. Meaning (6) also shows great losses: it is obsolete or phraseologically limited in Slovak and Czech and lost in Bulgarian, Ukrainian, and Russian. Meanings (1) and (2) are also represented in Greek ἁπλοῦς and in Latin *simplex*, but meaning (4) seems to be a Slavic innovation; the Greek counterpart of *člověkъ prostъ* is ἰδιώτης. If applied to our texts, it is exactly this meaning that prevails, with marginal nuances of (1) and (2) in VM (and indirectly, through synonyms, also in VC). It is in this meaning that the word was borrowed from Slavic into some adjacent languages. Lithuanian *prãstas* possesses this meaning alongside the others (Fraenkel, s.v.); cf. also Lithuanian *prastuolis*

'plebeian'. In Hungarian this is the only meaning: *paraszt* has been narrowed to the meaning ''peasant,'' i.e., uneducated person of low social standing.

These are rather trivial conclusions, but it is worthwhile noting that the interplay of meanings (4), (1), and (2) ideally agrees with our previous statement about the brothers' ''linguistic democratism.''

A more significant result is provided by a look into the status of the word *čadь*. Etymologists as a rule discuss in detail the OCS word *čędo* 'child', but give only brief references to *čadь* (e.g., Vasmer 3, 298; Trubačev 43). There is no doubt that *čędь* is derived from *čędo*, a typical collective noun in -*ь*. Although as a rule the derivational basis of such nouns is an adjective or a verb (Ukrainian *molod'* 'young people': *molodyj* 'young', Russian *klad'* 'load': *kladu* 'I put'), few are derived from substantives. Lohmann (207f.) cites Russian *kaleč'*, *grid'*, Serbo-Croatian *goved*, from *kaleka* 'cripple', *gridin* 'man-at-arms', *govedo* 'cattle', respectively. But problems are raised by the geographical distribution of the word, and its semantic development deserves a word or two.

In Old Church Slavonic the word *čędo* is common, but the collective *čędь* is extremely rare. If we choose to deal exclusively with the canonical texts, there are only two occurrences in the entire corpus. But in Church Slavonic of the time of Kievan Rus' the word occurs in a great many instances, as can even be seen from the data presented in Sreznevskij (3, 1469f.). Sreznevskij's material attests to the high frequency of the word in Old Ukrainian texts, especially in chronicles compiled in Kiev, as well as in Old Russian chronicles (Novgorod, Pskov). In Old Czech the root *čad-* ~ **čed-* occurred very rarely. To judge by Gebauer (1), the collective noun did not occur at all and even the masculine and feminine nouns *čad* ~ *čád* and *čada* ~ *čáda* in the meaning, respectively, of 'boy' and 'girl' were exceptional (cf. also Machek 92). In the modern Slavic standard languages *čado* ~ *čedo* are infrequent and mostly are perceived—rightly or wrongly—as Church Slavonicisms. They are comparatively more common in Macedonian and Bulgarian, but even there the more neutral term is *dete*. As for the collective noun, it is virtually non-existent in all those languages that can testify to the status of the word in VC and VM: Czech, Slovak, Bulgarian, Macedonian, and, indirectly, Russian and Ukrainian.

In summary, the collective *čadь*, which in most areas was used very sparingly, appears lavishly in the two *Vitae* under consideration and in the East Slavic chronicles (I have referred here to three, but the word is also prominent in a number of other chronicles, as shown in Kočin 390, index). Our immediate problem here is, understandably, *čadь* in VC and VM. Until dialectal material for the languages involved has been collected, no

definitive answer can be given to the question of why the word was so familiar in these texts and virtually nowhere else, outside of the East Slavic area. A tentative hypothesis is attempted in the following paragraphs.

The meaning of *čadь* in VC and VM is 'people'. This is not the etymological meaning, however, which was 'children'. The original meaning is still visible in the entry for 6696 (1188) of the Laurentian Chronicle: "Grom strašenъ zarazi dvoe *čadi*," with variant *detei* in the Radziwil and Academy copies (*PSRL* 1, 406, 407). The application of words originally referring to children to adults is not rare. It is, as a rule, (always?) emotional and affective. A semantic parallel can be found in modern Russian *rebjata* which basically means 'children', but which was often applied to grown-ups in a special emotional tone, e.g., when making an appeal for an effort or a daring deed—for instance, encouraging soldiers to assault an enemy fortress, calling workers to a collective first-rate performance—as well as in any non-formal call to a collective action, be it even, say, dancing or singing. (In fact another parallel could be supplied by the English *boys*!) Characteristically, the appeal is, as a rule, a collective one; one would not say $^{+}$*rebenok*!, exhorting one adult to the same action.

To discern emotional levels in the speech of the Moravians of the ninth century, to ascribe to their language the distinctions of non-formal versus more-formal speech, may seem too bold. Were they not, after all, just a *prosta čadь*, people on a low level of sophistication? Not so really. The distinction between more-formal and less-formal levels of speech is a universal phenomenon. What changes is the scope of social applications, but not the distinction of levels within the language.

Let us note in passing that the non-formal, affective "specialization" of *čadь* could have been facilitated by the foreign origin of the root *čęd-* (to stick to its Germanic etymology), as opposed to the native root *dět-*, with basically the same meaning. For the emotional vicissitudes of the root, but in an opposite direction (not down but up), we can note the semantic evolution of that very root in the Czech adjective *čacký* (=*čadský*), from the meaning 'children's' to that of 'valorous, valiant' (now obsolete). Incidentally, there could have been the same shade of meaning in the Cyrillo-Methodian *čadь*, which would be, however, difficult to prove positively.

The development of *čad'* in the East Slavic chronicles lies beyond the scope of this study. But it can be mentioned that there, too, possibly the affective connotations of *čad'* are reflected in the very fact of its concentrated use in chronicles, but not at all in documents. Kočin included the word in his dictionary of terms in "Old Russian," but apparently it was not

a term. If it had been, we would come across the word in charters, deeds, etc.

A remark must be made at this juncture about the use of the word *čędь* in Old Church Slavonic texts other than VC and VM as referred to above. Did the word have emotional overtones in these texts, as supposedly it had in originally Moravian speech?

The (damaged) fragment in Rila reads: "I X[rist]ou zovǫštju pr[o] r[o]ky. . . za mnoga malo čędi prixoditъ a diěvolъ zovetъ gǫslьmi i plęsьci pěs[nь]mi nepriězninami. . ." (Il'inskij 8). In this context of the opposition of God and Church to lay merriment, the *čędь* clearly does not behave properly. It is quite likely that the choice of the word *čędь* and not, say, *narodъ* was not accidental and, indeed, was supposed to convey a negative evaluation of people behaving unbecomingly. If this is true, the assessment here is negative, and the attitude is one of censure, a connotation which is hardly found in VC and VM. But the affectivity of the word is present in both sources.

The second and last occurrence of *čędь* in a canonical Old Church Slavonic text is found in the Codex Suprasliensis in the Acts of St. Pionius (Supr. 134, 1): "ouvěděšę strěgǫštii tьmnicǫ jako prinosimaago otъ věrьnyxъ ne vъzimajǫtъ pionina čędь" (Sever'janov 134/68b). The use of the word here does not reveal any emotional charge. This is not surprising because in this instance the word does not have the usual meaning of 'people' but rather means 'followers', literally 'those surrounding', which is the translation of Greek οἱ περί.

This brief survey of the semantic spectrum of *prosta čadь* and related words and phrases closes with the reminder that in the *Vitae* under consideration, *čadь* is not the only word for 'people'. In the description of the funeral of Methodius (VM 17, 78), a word of expressly non-formal character would be out of place. Accordingly, the author writes: "ljudii že beščislьnъ *narodъ* sъbьravъsę, provažaaxou [Methodius's body] sъ svěščami, plačjuščesę. . . ." Did the Moravian followers of Constantine and Methodius learn from their teachers the rules of appropriate linguistic behavior? Or was it the other way round, with the teachers learning from their flock?

Of course, it stands to reason that neither Constantine nor Methodius, who lived in Moravia much longer, were able to rid themselves once and for all of all elements of the Macedonian Slavic that had been familiar to them before their departure for Moravia, but were foreign in the new land. In that context the remark in VM (5, 72) that "selounęne vьsi čisto slověnьsky besědoujutь," awkward if uttered by the emperor Michael, was very appropriate when addressed to a Moravian audience, as a sort of self-

defense against those Moravians who might have been critical of those peculiarities in the language of their teachers that were alien outside of the Thessalonika region (if here *čisto* means "purely, unadulteratedly"). It is an extremely difficult task, perhaps one not at all feasible, to reconstruct the vocabulary of Constantine's and Methodius's Slavic as used in Moravia in its entirety with all its Macedonian admixture. That would be like trying to solve one equation with many unknown quantities.

What matters is recognition of the fact that this Slavic was Moravian in principle and that most likely Moravian components predominated in it. This is the situation revealed in the best preserved specimens of this language, provided the later layers, be they Bulgarian or East Slavic or Serbian, have been removed. (This formulation revises in part my view of 1956 that Old Church Slavonic in Moravia had a "Moravian admixture." In fact, the data of my older study led to a nearly identical conclusion as the present one. See Shevelov 1971, 101, 109.)

As shown above, Constantine and Methodius, with their program of both a missionary and a liturgical language based on the native vernacular, were unique in the ninth century. What they could expect was either isolation or hostility. They met with both. The hostile attitude of the German clergy in and around Moravia is generally known, and needs no elaboration. It is, in fact, the main topic in the final chapters of both *Vitae*.

What the brothers met with in Rome is also fairly well known. In spite of their interest in spreading Christianity among the Slavs and in curbing the German clergy there, the popes were stunned by the linguistic program of the brothers. Hence the inconsistencies of papal policies, which at times permitted the Slavic liturgy, and at other times forbade it, with the final decision going against it. It was probably this instability and, more often than not, lack of support that, among other factors, forced Methodius to travel to Byzantium after his journeys to Rome.

Finally, as also stated above, despite the vital importance of Slavic contacts with the empire, Byzantium's reaction was, at best, silence. Learning languages was out of fashion in Constantinople. Historians of Byzantine culture have shown that one of its most brilliant intellectuals, Photius, twice a patriarch and twice deprived of the see, never condescended to learning even Latin, which obviously was too barbaric for him. There were of course bilingual people in Byzantium, but their second language as a rule was due to their personal ties with this or that minority in the empire or outside of it; what they wanted in most cases was just to forget that fact and to be absorbed in the melting pot of Greek. The less they were reminded of their second language, the happier they were.

Constantine and Methodius left virtually no trace in the Byzantine sources that have come down to us. Were it not for Slavic and Roman sources, we would not know of their existence. No Byzantine high-brow was interested in these two fanatical missionaries to remote countries that to a Greek had no culture at all. The only seeming exception, Metrophanes, heard of Constantine from Anastasius, a Roman. What we read in the two *Vitae* about the brothers' close contacts with emperors and patriarchs must be taken very cautiously. The traditional assertion of friendship between Constantine and Photius is based only on the statement of Anastasius that Constantine had been Photius's "fortissimus amicus" (Grivec and Tomšič, 66), which loses its power of conviction if placed in the context of the time and of the whole text of Anastasius's writing. Anastasius wrote at the time of the deposition of Photius, who was accused, among other things, of preaching the presence of two souls in man. Decidedly hostile to Photius, Anastasius referred to Constantine's opinion only to show that even followers of Photius criticized him for that heresy. Under such circumstances, the opinion of a casual acquaintance could easily be represented as that of a close friend, to show that even his best friends had left Photius's camp. A telling fact is that in all the writings by Photius, Constantine is nowhere mentioned. As for Constantine's service as a librarian, in all likelihood it took place not under Photius, but under the latter's archenemy, Ignatius (cf. Dvorník 55f.)!

The brothers' passion for barbarian languages, the peculiar *xoždenie v narod*, their strange brand of "populism" *avant la lettre* could not but have created an atmosphere of alienation around Constantine and Methodius everywhere—in Rome, in Moravia (and probably not only with the German clergy there, but also with *prosta čadь*, for after all there was an abyss in cultural level between it and the brothers), and first and foremost in their native Byzantium. Only between the brothers and the relatively small circle of their close disciples, on the one hand, and between Anastasius and the brothers, on the other, could a kind of understanding have existed. But Anastasius was a diplomat more than anything else, and his compliments to Constantine and his contacting Constantine with Gaudericus may have been motivated by political considerations he thought favorable to the Roman See.

One circumstance may, possibly, belie the idea of the brothers' isolation, and even alienation, at least during their years in Moravia: strangely enough, this circumstance follows from the assumption that they wrote poetry in Slavic. Since Sobolevskij (1888, 1–35), it has been known that Old Church Slavonic texts, including the oldest ones, contain some verse insertions. Sobolevskij was careful not to assign them to Constantine or

Methodius. This was done by Trubetzkoj (1934, 52f.), who suggested that Constantine wrote the seven-line poem in praise of St. Gregory of Nazianz incorporated in his *Vita* (3, 3). In 1970 Čyževs'kyj (31) suggested that at least one other poem had been written by Methodius—the Testament of St. Cyril, incorporated in VM (8, 73; not chapter 11, as stated by Čyževs'kyj).

Afterwards, in articles by Jakobson (most of them collected in his *Selected Writings* 6, 191–346) and others, the number of poems ascribed to the brothers has been extended beyond the limits of verisimilitude, to include the Proglas, an alphabetical poem, the Canon in praise of St. Demetrius, and a few others. (Cf. some timid but reasonable reservations and objections in Petkanova 97ff.) Some puzzling questions arise if one seriously considers accepting the suggested list of poems. Some have to do with the use of verses in Old Church Slavonic in general, others concern the authorship of Constantine and Methodius specifically. Here are some of those questions that pertain to this study.

Why is the fifteen-syllable verse widespread in Byzantium of the time to come virtually not represented in the Old Church Slavonic poems? Why do the Slavic poets of the time write in the so-called "political system" of versification, whereas the most typical church poetry was in the so-called "rhythmic system"? Why, in writing in Slavic, which at that time still had a distinction between short and long vowels (lost long before in Greek), did they not use the third system of versification practiced in Byzantium, the so-called classical type? Although quite artificial in contemporary Greek and used seldom, it probably would have fit Slavic. And the most important question: Why did Constantine and Methodius write in Slavic at all if their mother tongue was Greek? Was this merely an exercise, as if they were members of an *Opojaz* a thousand years before the real one? Was it an experimental imitation of a Byzantine fashion, the ninth and the tenth centuries being the time when "political" poetry flourished?

If all these problems are disregarded, if one's eyes are shut to all the discrepancies and all the strained interpretations are accepted, the fact that Constantine and Methodius wrote a number of Slavic poems would be of great importance for the problems we have suggested, namely that of their presumed loneliness and alienation. Slavic poems, if they were to have readers at all, should, of course, have been created for Slavs only. (Greek poems could have been written solely for the brothers' pleasure.) But certainly the *prosta čadь* were unable to grasp them as verse. Did Constantine and Methodius succeed in rearing a group of intellectuals from among their disciples and followers (who could, in turn, write poetry of their own) from both the Byzantine territories, primarily Macedonia, and Moravia? If so, the alienation they experienced in Byzantium and Rome should have been

overcome in Moravia. Thus the question of versification proves important for an assessment of the brothers' position among the Moravian Slavs.

All these are open questions with no reliable answers. Questions are useful in research, but for now, applying a prudent approach, it is best to abstain from drawing conclusions based on the hypothesis of an alleged, unprecedented eruption of poetic creativity in Moravia in the midst of the *prosta čadь*. It is far preferable to stick to the thesis that Constantine and Methodius were unique and therefore lonely in their activities throughout their lives in Moravia.

If the thesis of their loneliness is correct, what could possibly have been the sources of their views, views that we are deliberately (and, admittedly, polemically) calling "linguistic democratism" and that could even be labelled a *sui generis* populism—in any case, the views that underlay their mode of life?

We are very much under the spell of the two *Vitae*, which, according to the rules of the hagiographic genre, tend to represent Constantine and Methodius as saints and their mission as purely idealistic. That view has subsequently been fostered by all the Slavic national churches and was finally accepted by both the Catholic and Orthodox churches. It was eagerly adopted by the patriotic/nationalistic ideologies of the Slavic cultural and political revivals of the nineteenth century. But let us soberly place the Moravian mission in the political context of Europe in the ninth century. Could it not have been part of a very refined political scheme, so characteristic of Byzantium?

Ninth-century Byzantium, for centuries the one and only Christian empire, the continuator of ancient Rome, felt threatened by a competitor: in the year 800 Charlemagne was crowned by the pope as the head of the Roman Empire, newly emerged but based on old traditions. The proliferation of emperors did not augur well for Constantinople. As late as 871, Basil I of Byzantium reproached Lewis (Ludwig) II for "usurping" the title of emperor (Dvorník 111). The new empire buttressed its claim to being the continuation of ancient Rome by, among other things, using Latin (which, incidentally, until the fourth century was treated by the church as a barbarian language, as Slavic now was). As long as the Roman Empire was centered in remote Frankish regions and was in permanent conflict with the Slavs, it was still distant and consequently not directly dangerous. But what if the Slavs, who in the past had menaced Byzantium and at best stood along its frontier, should adapt the Greek or Latin language and join forces with the Franks or produce a new empire with yet another emperor (a scheme which a little later, in 925, briefly materialized in part when Simeon of Bulgaria proclaimed himself Caesar, i.e., pretender as the third emperor

in Europe)? By spreading Christianity in the Slavic language in both the church and state of Moravia, Byzantium could have intended to isolate the Slavs from any superior culture and eradicate political aspirations even before they were formed.

It is plausible that such ideas crossed the mind of Theoktistos, Bardas, Photius, or some other statesman. It is possible that when the statesmen supported the Moravian mission, they had considered such possibilities. We will never know if Constantine and Methodius realized what was behind their mission, but we cannot entirely exclude such a political motivation. The two *Vitae* play down their activity as statesmen, but Constantine clearly was in the diplomatic service and Methodius, in the state administration. The Saracen and the Khazar missions were, beyond doubt, dispatched not for theological debates, but for matters of state. Even in the narration on the Moravian mission, in which ecclesiastical moments receive particular emphasis, there is a reference to establishing right/law in Moravia ("v*ьsękou pravьdou*"; cf. the legal connotations of this word in the early Slavic legal texts).

The Byzantine symbiosis of church and state made possible the coexistence of political scheming and the purest religious fervor. We have no reason to doubt the sincerity of the religious motivation that spurred the Moravian activity of the brothers, nor their attachment to their Moravian flock. They could well have felt that what they were doing benefited both Byzantium and the Moravian Slavs. But let us leave this problem to historians. Whatever the degree of their awareness of Byzantine political plans might have been, the fact is that in Moravia, Constantine and Methodius acted primarily as teachers, and, in the tradition of Christian teaching, they found full justification for their behavior.

In their *Vitae*, the two are often called teachers. In the very title of VC, Constantine is called "prъv- nastavnik- i oučitel- slověnьskou jazykou" (i.e., 'people'). In chapter one we read again "oučitel-. . . iže prosvěti jazykъ našь." In chapter two he is "oučitelь našь." In chapter three he is called "prosvětitelь i oučitelь." When Prince Rostislav asks for a man from Byzantium, he twice uses the word *učitelь* to designate him (14, 26). Upon his arrival in Moravia, he finds "oučeniki" and he "oučit-" them (15, 28). In the same vein Methodius is called "oučitel-" in the very title of his *Vita* and the pope so refers to him (8, 73); this term also appears in the final chapter, where his life is summarized (17, 78). And indeed signs of a desire to impart knowledge characterize the two men throughout the Moravian period of their lives.

When speaking of instructiveness as a leading characteristic and way of thinking of the two brothers, we must keep one more detail in mind. Being teachers was a very high mission to them because Jesus Christ was a teacher. He is addressed as such throughout the whole text of the Gospels, by both followers and enemies. To give just one example: "And behold, one came up to him, saying, 'Teacher, what good deed must I do, to have eternal life?'" (Greek διδάσκαλε; Matt. 19: 16). There is, of course, no identification with Jesus Christ in the *Vitae*, but the idea of going in his footsteps is alluded to. The iconographic tradition, beginning with the mural in St. Clement Church in Rome, usually represents St. Cyril-Constantine with a book, which reflects "teacherliness" as the most important attribute of the saint.

The image of the saint as teacher is not new. It also occurs in other *Vitae* of saints. However, it is presented in our two *Vitae* perhaps more insistently and more emphatically than is common.

The ideological roots of what was unique in the missionary activities of Constantine and Methodius, as seen from the two *Vitae* and from historical sources other than the *Vitae*, cannot be found within their own epoch. They must be traced to earlier times, specifically to early Christianity and still more narrowly to St. Paul (died A.D. 65). VC testifies to this quite overtly by including in its text almost all of chapter 14 of Paul's 1 Corinthians, verses 5–40. Other ties with Pauline doctrine, in connection with the image of "teacherliness" are discussed by Picchio (1982).

As is known, St. Paul's great achievement was to expand Christianity beyond the boundaries of Palestine to the peoples of the entire Roman Empire. Quite naturally, the use of all languages was an important component in these endeavors, and the thesis of the equality of all languages was a guiding principle. St. Paul did not explicitly demand the liturgy in all languages, but nothing in his writings explicitly forbids such an extension of his views. His advice "Let all things be done for edification" (1 Cor. 14: 26; translated in VC as: "vsę že kъ sъdzidaniju da byvajutь"—16, 33) may be interpreted in Constantine's spirit, although the next verse may be interpreted in the sense of the "trilingual heresy": "If any speak in a tongue, let there be only two or at most three" (1 Cor. 14: 27; in VC 16, 33 translated by the not very comprehensible phrase, "Ašče li kto jazykomъ glagoletь, po dvěma ili dzělo po tremъ"), provided St. Paul meant here the number of languages and not of persons.

Whether the brothers were actually inspired by St. Paul to the point of identifying with him or were deliberately interpreting him to justify their linguistic program with its political implications, what is indisputable is that sources and/or parallels, if any, should be sought outside of the empire at

that stage of its history. Whatever their political assignment in Moravia, if any, there was no place for Constantine and Methodius's ''linguistic democratism'' and for their peculiar brand of linguistic ''populism'' within Byzantium. The language they elaborated was verily designed for the *prosta čadь*, to the extent that religious concepts admitted it.

The Macedonian-Bulgarian period in the history of Church Slavonic lies beyond the scope of this study, which aims at establishing continuity or contrast between the linguistic attitude of Constantine and Methodius, on the one hand, and the situation, status, and stylistic function(s) of Church Slavonic in the Ukraine several centuries later, on the other. It is, however, worthwhile to recall some of the problems concerning the situation in and around Ohrid and Pliska-Preslav in the ninth and early tenth centuries, problems which concern the patrimony of the Moravian period.

Virtually nothing is known about a prior missionary Slavic language, if any was ever in use, before the official Christianization of Bulgaria in 864. A liturgical Slavic before that time seems to be out of the question. We are entirely in the dark about any kind of Slavic in the Bulgarian church or in the very process of the Christianization of the people before the year 886 (the year the clergy expelled from Moravia arrived) and 893 (when Prince Vladimir was overthrown, the council of Preslav was held, and Clement was elevated to bishop's rank in Ohrid).

It is actually only after these years that one can at least conjecturally speak of Old Church Slavonic in Macedonia and Bulgaria. What is indisputable is the de-Moravization that the language of the church underwent then (see above; cf. Shevelov 1971, 109), a procedure in agreement with the brothers' program of adjusting their language to that of the local *prosta čadь*, which was now Macedonian and Bulgarian, no longer Moravian. But particular events and details here, too, remain obscure. For example, the writings of St. Clement have never been thoroughly studied to establish if they contain any Moravianisms. After all, Clement was in Moravia for years and, no doubt, used the Methodian version of the church language there, even though he was originally a Macedonian who could only have welcomed a reversion to his native language. Yet some Moravianisms could have been retained in his writings. Nonetheless, Slovak and Czech scholars have never ventured into these problems (Macedonia is too far away!), and Bulgarian scholars have preferred to concentrate on the Bulgarian features of Old Church Slavonic.

If, in the case of Moravian elements in Old Church Slavonic, little is known of Macedonia and Bulgaria but the general trend to eliminate them (one cannot accept the view that all translations of the Moravian period had

been lost in 886 and were restored entirely from memory; see Dobrev 146, 150), even that much is not known about the second crucial point in the "linguistic program" of Constantine and Methodius, namely, the fate of their "linguistic democratism" after 893. Was it shared and continued by Clement of Ohrid, by Naum and other pioneers of the Slavic liturgy in Macedonia and Bulgaria? If so, can it be pinned down on the basis of some specific facts, like the phrase *prosta čadь* in the Moravian texts? Theoretically one might expect that the "democratic trend" lingered among the first generation of Macedonians, but was given up in Preslav circles at the time of Simeon I. But that speculation must be investigated in terms of specific facts. Theophylactus of Ohrid wrote about the didactic sermons of Clement that they "do not contain anything profound and very wise, but are understandable even to the simplest [from the *prosta čadь*? G. S.] Bulgarian" (Dinekov applies the term "democratic" to them; 121). *Mutatis mutandis*, this observation must also apply to their linguistic pattern, which can hardly be said about the deliberately sophisticated Preslavian, John the Exarch. But these general characterizations should be demonstrated on the basis of linguistic facts. Only then can we speak about the transference of Cyrillo-Methodian linguistic traditions (not the surface pattern of the language) from Moravia to Ohrid and about their apparent extinction in Preslav. Even so, all writers of the time paid lip service to the founding teachers (*pervoučiteli*), praise which could have been quite sincere, if not always in harmony with their own practice.

If, in spite of continuing veneration, the actual tradition of Constantine and Methodius still maintained in Ohrid (with the necessary external adaptation to geographical and political circumstances) was revised and allowed to decline in Preslav, this is not to be blamed on the intellectuals of the Bulgarian capital. It was the result of a natural and unavoidable development. That Simeon needed to create a refined and esoteric culture was evident in his imitation of the Byzantine court—an attempt to compete with Constantinople. But subjective wishes played a subordinate role in the processes that led to the "aristocratization" (that is, de-democratization) of the Old Church Slavonic of the time. Actually, both simply manifested the fact that the language selected for the church service had necessarily to undergo some petrification: it could never follow all the varieties of the living dialects and jargons, and to some extent it was necessarily hampered in its development. The *svoi* language of the *prosta čadь* would willy-nilly betray them and would be relegated even by this *čadь* to areas remote from their own everyday life. The mannerisms of a John the Exarch or of Tsar Simeon are but more striking manifestations of a normal and ever repeating historical process. Perpetuation of the "simple" sacral language is utopian.

The forms of these developments change with time and place, but their essence is perennial.

The dramatic events in the subsequent history of Bulgaria and Macedonia—their conquest by Byzantium, with concomitant suppression of the national church and, consequently, of local education—slowed down these processes. Still, at the time of Patriarch Euthymius (ca. 1327–ca. 1401), under the Second Bulgarian realm, the acme of that language development had been reached. Euthymius's linguistic program explicitly and firmly called for complete petrification of the Church Slavonic language (as later many Western academies tried to do for their standard languages, only not always so openly and defiantly). The motivation for that demand was, however, very special. As put by Mathiesen (58), "this theory claimed that the connection between a *significans* and a *significatum* is not arbitrary and conventional, but necessary and inherent in the *significans.*" In other words, says Mathiesen (60): "Church Slavonic ceased to be just one more ecclesiastical (or even literary) language..., and became in large part a sort of 'icon' representing Orthodox theology." In accepting these formulations, I will speak in this case of an iconistic approach, an iconistic motivation, an iconistic language theory, or, in one word, of iconicism.

In practice, iconicism meant a complete rejection of the vernacular in the church language. The vernacular was subject to changes and reflected no superior truth; it was inherently unable to reflect it. Church Slavonic was proclaimed unchangeable. There could be no transition between the two. In a complete (although unconscious) rejection of Cyrillo-Methodian principles, the Euthymian program created an abyss between the two languages which could and should never be crossed. The vernacular was profane, Church Slavonic was hieratic. Much later, in the preface to the 1619 Kievan edition of *Antholohion*, Church Slavonic was called "bohoslovnўy jazўk" (Titov 22)! If a new Constantine had appeared at that time, the Euthymians would have considered him a madman or a heretic. The full circle was now closed. The *Prosta čadь* was set back where it allegedly belonged: to stand silently by in church, grasping at best the form of the church service, never its meaning. Here the Orthodox church arrived at the point to which the Catholic church had come much earlier in using Latin as the ecclesiastical language. If Euthymius were obliged to resolve the conflict of the ninth century between Methodius and Pope Stephen V, he would have taken the part of Stephen. In a sense this was a victory of the ideology of Rome over that of Byzantium, within the Byzantine Orthodox church. (Mathiesen also comes to the conception of Church Slavonic as "the 'Latin' of the Slavs." While agreeing in general, I do have some

reservations, at least for the Ukraine, which I shall introduce below.)

One might expect a reaction to the circle's being closed. It did come, but not with the same strength or in the same form in various Slavic nations. Here I will now speak not of all these nations, but rather only of the Ukrainian, as befits the character of our congress. Since the facts are somewhat better known for the sixteenth as well as for the early seventeenth century than they are for the ninth century, I will deal rather selectively with the later period.

Voices became audible from the mid-sixteenth century, just a few decades after the Reformation (but without any reference to it), saying that Church Slavonic had become incomprehensible and therefore admittance of the *prostyj jazyk* (*prosta[ja] mova*) into the written (ecclesiastic) language was desirable. Against the background of the complete supremacy of Euthymianism—i.e., iconicism—these voices may seem revolutionary. Actually, they were quite timid. No one demanded that church services be conducted in the *prostyj jazyk.* There were some attempts to translate the Gospel, but no complete translation was made. Only parts of, say, the Peresopnycja or the Litky Gospels underwent a degree of vernacularization. Ivan of Vyšnja, as is well known, advised: "Evanhelyja i Apostola v cerkvi na liturhii prostým jazýkom ne vývoročajte. Po liturhii ž dlja zrozumenja ljudskoho poprostu tolkujte i vykladajte. Knyhy cerkovnýe vsě i ustavý slovenskym jazýkom drukujte" (Vyšens'kyj 23). The word *vyvoročajte* has two meanings: 'turn on the other side' and 'twist'. The ambiguity could well have been deliberate. About thirty years earlier, in 1568–1569, Xodkevyč wanted to publish a didactic Gospel in the "simple language," but "ljudy m[u]drýe v tom pysmě oučenýe" advised him "yže prekladanijemъ z davnýxъ poslovycъ na novýe pomýlka čynytsja nemalaja" (Žytec'kyj 3). Xodkevyč followed that advice. It was given and taken from the position of iconicism. True, later the *prostyj jazyk* made its way into the didactic Gospels, in which the commentary prevails over the real text of the Gospel. But it never penetrated into the actual text of the Gospel.

Projected on notions of the ninth century, this was not the position of Constantine and Methodius. But by that time the linguistic program of Constantine and Methodius had been completely forgotten. The "wise men" of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries no longer remembered the brothers as introducers of the vernacular into church use. Rather, they were the creators of an elevated and artificial ecclesiastic language. To fight for vernacularization of the written language was, to these generations, to betray the ideals of the founders of the Slavic liturgy.

Yet, in their limited way and without realizing it, the language reformers who kept the *prostyj jazyk* in favor were to some extent followers of Constantine and Methodius. Their only argument for the *prostyj jazyk*—"zrozumenje ljudskoje"—was used within narrow boundaries, but essentially it was a Cyrillo-Methodian one, although the typological structure of the language desired was quite different. Constantine and Methodius wanted an omnifunctional one-layer language. Men of about 1600 saw the literary language as multilayered. Their *zrozumenje* applied not to the language as a whole, but to its one layer. The question was just how widely that layer should be represented in ecclesiatic practice.

There was one more substantial difference. The only language Constantine and Methodius cared about was the ecclesiatic language. At that time little of a written secular language existed, in fact, only legal language, which then did not claim to be distinguished in make-up from the spoken language and, by the same token, from the written language. Around 1600, however, not only were there two types of written language, but an opposition also existed between the two high style varieties of the elevated written language, the ecclesiatic and the secular. The specific components of the latter were Church Slavonic only to a limited degree; indeed, they were much more Polish. This is especially obvious in the language of poetry. A concentration of Polonisms in, for instance, the title of the poem "Lamentъ domu knjažat ostrozskyx nad zešlym s toho světa jasne osveconým knjažatem. . . ostrozskym vojevodoju volýn'skym" (Rothe 118) by far exceeds the boundaries of what was then the normal Ukrainian language. It constitutes a special stylistic device.

Thus, the written language of the time was basically trilayered; consisting of the *prostyj jazyk* used within certain limits in both ecclesiastic practice and in secular matters, a Church-Slavonicized ecclesiastic variety of the language, and a heavily Polonized high style secular variety. This is, of course, an ideal, streamlined picture. In reality, the three varieties were rarely expressed in pure form, apart from each other. In Great Moravia linguistic social differentiation hardly existed. This was the paradise lost long before the sixteenth century. Interestingly enough, there were discussions about the boundaries of the elevated Church-Slavonicized variety of the language, but I am not aware of any clashes of opinion concerning the use of the elevated profane variety absorbing Polonisms. The reason for the difference was that Church Slavonic was a dead language, whereas Polish was not. Polish components also penetrated into the spoken *prostyj jazyk*, while Church Slavonic ones did not.

In our analysis of the linguistic situation of the ninth century, we have benefited from the semantic examination of the very phrase *prosta čadь*. It is worthwhile to apply this approach also to the terms current in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: *prostyj jazyk* and *prosta(ja) mova*.

The semantic amplitude of *prostyj* in this phrase is basically identical with that for the Cyrillo-Methodian period, but the main meanings now activated were (1) and (4), i.e., 'uncomplicated' and 'uneducated, of the lower classes'. What was new was the appearance, widespread and apparently most common, of the word *prostyj* with the noun *jazyk*. This is due, on the one hand, to the disappearance of the word *čadь*, and, on the other hand, to the evolution of the meaning of the the word *jazyk*. The meaning of "nation" was now relegated to archaisms virtually alien to the active vocabulary. Therefore the older phrase *prosta čadь* supplemented by *svoi jazyk* was by now simplified into just *prostyj jazyk*.

In the writings of Ivan of Vyšnja, the words *prostyj* and *prostota* appear with high frequency and belong to key words. In accumulation they create an interplay of the meanings 'simplex', 'uneducated', 'of low social status', 'monastic', 'righteous'. These meanings are interchangeable and easily float into one another. Most drastically, *prostyj* may slip into *hlupyj* 'stupid', primarily in the meaning of 'uneducated' ("my, hlupaja Rus'," "hlupyj Rusyn" 178f.; "My že budem. . . po Jevanhelyju, prosty, hlupŷ y nezlobyvŷ" 134), which leads to the identification of the "I" of Ivan's writings with no one less than Jesus Christ, called by the Greek word for "teacher": "Moj jest daskal prostak, ale ot vsěx mudrějšyj, kotorŷj bezknyžnŷx upremudrjajet; moj daskal prostak, kotoryj rŷbolovcy v čelověkolovcy pretvorjaet; moj daskal, kotoryj prostotoju fylosofŷ posměvajet," etc. (Vyšens'kyj 10). This is a semantic interplay aimed at a peculiar association with the beatitudes, especially with Matt. 5:31: "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." It became a commonplace in writings of around 1600, e.g., in the anthology of the Volja-Zahorova Monastery before 1602: "Ne fylosofŷ, ale rŷbolovcŷ, Nevěžy, prostŷy y ne krasnomovcŷ" (Rothe 53).

Occasionally Ivan seems to point specifically to peasants ("prostoje oděne nosyt. . . xlop prostŷj"—Vyšens'kyj 25), but his "prostyj jazyk" is by no means "rustica lingua" (Picchio 1984, 21). It is supposed to also represent the city dwellers, clergy, and intellectuals of the time, in short all Ukrainians of Orthodox denomination. In a sense it is the national language as represented by the all-Ukrainian vernacular. It is the same language that Meletij Smotryc'kyj had in mind in his *Grammar*, when he spoke of the obligatory translation of Church Slavonic texts to be made by students: "Čytanŷ budutъ zvŷklŷmъ školъ sposobom Slavenskiy Lekciy y na Ruskij

jazýkъ perekladaný'' (Smotryc'kyj 3). In the same vein Constantine and Methodius's *prosta čadь* included not only peasants, but also princes.

Thus, the linguistic program of Ukrainian intellectuals around 1600 preserved some traces of similarity with the legacy of Constantine and Methodius in principle, although the linguistic situation was quite different. Their original Church Slavonic no longer had ties with the vernacular, trilinguality (Ukrainian, Church Slavonic, Polish) dictated peculiar stylistic configurations, and the stylistic devices of, say, an Ivan of Vyšnja had little in common with the style of the Moravian *Vitae*. The vernacular character of Church Slavonic in the ninth century was entirely lost, and the vernacular was essentially put outside of church doors; yet in a limited and restricted way, the idea that went back to the traditions of Constantine and Methodius was resurrected (without awareness of that connection), in defiance of the centuries of petrification and iconicization of Church Slavonic.

Ivan of Vyšnja belonged to the more conservative wing of intellectuals of that time. Even when speaking of the ''simple language'' he used the word *jazyk*. At that time, however, this word had a strong competitor, another word which was about to replace it: *mova*.

The word (*mlъva*) is well attested in Old Church Slavonic (including VC 3, 3; 7, 10; and 13, 26; and VM 3, 71. Cf. Jagič 362). The only set of meanings it had in this language was 'noise', 'uproar', 'clamor', 'trouble', 'disorder', 'confusion' (with the much rarer metonymically developed meaning 'crowd'). This set of meanings virtually never occurs in later periods in any Slavic language. The geographical distribution of the word today is as follows. The word is entirely lost in the southwest (Slovene, Serbo-Croatian, Macedonian). Bulgarian preserves the word in the meaning of 'rumor', 'common talk', 'fame'. That meaning also occurs in Russian and Ukrainian, and did occur in Polish through the sixteenth century. This constitutes what can be called the eastern group of languages. Finally, there is a large group of languages where the word took as its main meaning 'language', 'speech' (= eloquium). This northwestern-central group encompasses Czech, Slovak, Polish, Belorussian, and Ukrainian.

The semantic development 'uproar' > 'rumor' > 'speech' > 'language' is not uncommon. However, there are some complications in the geographical distribution and the semantic development of the word. The lack of the word in South Slavic, except in Bulgarian, and its marginality in Bulgarian lead to the assumption that in Old Church Slavonic the word could have been a Moravianism. Brückner (1913, 16) maintains that it was. If so, it must have been of those rare Moravianisms which found broad acceptance outside of Moravia. It occurs, always in the meaning of 'uproar' or 'disorder' in such undoubtedly non-Moravian texts as the Codices

Zographensis, Marianus, Clozianus, and Suprasliensis, in the Psalter in various manuscripts, in the *Apostol* in various manuscripts, and in some small Old Church Slavonic fragments. It is well represented in Church Slavonic texts of the Kievan period in the East Slavic regions (where, however, it is almost unknown in chronicles).

Another difficulty is semantic. If the word was of Moravian origin, why is it still found in so many languages, yet in every case with a changed meaning: nowhere 'uproar' but so often 'eloquium' and/or 'language'?

I am unable to answer the question why this presumably Moravian word was not purged in non-Moravian Church Slavonic texts in any other way than tentatively. *Habent sua fata* not only *libelli* but also *verba*. The presence of the word in Moravian in its original meaning of 'uproar', etc., is sufficiently confirmed by its appearance in such texts as Methodius's Nomocanon and in the Moravian-Czech *Besědy* of Gregory the Great (*SJS*, s.v.). The hypothetical suggestion could be made that scribes in Macedonia and Bulgaria accepted that Moravian word because they felt that their native equivalents were too affective and/or vulgar (which for the notion of 'uproar', etc., is by no means a rare case), whereas the word *mlъva*, alien to them, seemed sufficiently dignified.

This does not imply that the word had no affectivity in Moravia; only that that nuance was little known south of the Danube. On the contrary, it may be surmised that affectivity was inherent in the word in Moravia. But, as the case of *čadь* has presumably shown, the compilers of VC and VM (and the translators of the Gospels, of the Psalter, etc.) did not shun such expressions, but acted in the spirit of their "linguistic democratism."

If this hypothesis is accepted, the further history of the word *mlъva* can be suggested as progressing from its de-affectivization. This process made the semantic development towards 'talk', 'rumor', 'speech', and finally, 'language' possible. In this meaning the word was borrowed by the Poles and, from them, by the Ukrainians and Belorussians. Like many other Bohemianisms, it stopped on the border of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania with Muscovy.

When the word migrated eastwards, it met older terms for the same notion, Polish *język*, Ukrainian and Belorussian *jazyk*. As a new word freshly borrowed from the West, *mlъva*>*mova* acquired a new affectivity, this time not due to its meaning but due to the term's novelty and "foreignness." At this point we come back to the situation in the Ukraine discussed above. As has been shown, Ivan of Vyšnja avoided the word. After all, within the framework of his acceptance of colloquialisms, he was conservative. But the word was already there, and we find it many decades before Ivan's writings. To limit ourselves to two examples: in 1568–1569 the

foreword to the Didactic Gospel refers to the translation as being "na prostuju mólvu" (as quoted by Žytec'kyj 2); by the 1580s the word *mova* had advanced so far that it was used in a high style poem along with Church Slavonicisms:

Jak čystoje zláto, Hospodnўy slova,
sylnějšaja ohnja ot ust jeho móva
(Kolosova 75).

It is in agreement with the "linguistic democratism" that marked so many phenomena in the history of the Ukrainian language that the word *mova* eventually crowded out the word *jazyk* 'language' entirely. Less "linguistically democratic" Polish preserved both words. Belorussian, naturally, followed the same path as Ukrainian. Czech chose the path similar to Polish, with more semantic differentiation between *mluva* and *jazyk*. But after all, in Czech *mluva* did not have the allure of a fashionable borrowing.

The reconstruction of the original Old Church Slavonic as it was created by Constantine and Methodius in and for Moravia requires a painstaking analysis of details. Here an attempt has been made on the basis of an in-depth examination of two lexical items, to reveal the principles of Constantine and Methodius's linguistic program. The thesis advanced is that this principle was in fact, to use a conditional, *ad hoc* term, "linguistic democratism." This programmatic principle, still viable to some extent under the relatively homogeneous sociolinguistic conditions that prevailed in ninth-century Moravia, during the centuries to come, when the social structure of the Slavic countries became more complicated, had to fail and did fail. Moreover, keeping a "democratic" principle in the history of any standardized (literary) language proved impossible. By the fourteenth century, Church Slavonic had turned into the exact opposite of what it had been originally conceived to be. From that time one has to pursue two separate paths in its history: on the one hand, its history as of a linguistic form, which has a sort of continuity from the ninth century until today; and, on the other hand, its history as of an organizing principle of a literary language in its relation to the vernacular(s). That tradition was extinct by the fifteenth century (speaking now of the Ukraine). Its restoration was partially attempted in the decades around 1600, but it failed again by the mid-seventeenth century.

A very cursory glance at later developments would show that as a result of the incorporation of a part of the Ukraine into the Russian Empire from 1709 to 1782, when the "upper" levels of the standard Church-Slavonizing language were suppressed, a vista reopened to the resumption, on a new

basis, of the traditions of the "linguo-democratic" program of Constantine and Methodius. Twice Ukrainian intellectuals tried (without being aware of it) to resurrect the democratic program of the founders of the first Slavic alphabet and of the first Slavic standard language: in the pre-Romantic era about 1800, and during the time of true populism about 1875. In their language program Kotljarevs'kyj and Kvitka-Osnovjanenko, on the one hand, and Nečuj-Levyc'kyj and Panas Myrnyj, on the other, were closer in spirit to Constantine and Methodius than, say, was Ševčenko in the interim or the Symbolists were at a later date. The populist attitude of the time implied a total rejection of the linguistic material going back to Constantine and Methodius's standard. These attempts also failed. From about 1915 on, with the growth of Symbolism, Neo-Classicism, and other modernistic trends, the Ukrainian standard language has steadily and steadfastly moved towards including more and more components of the external form of Constantine and Methodius's language standard and more and more away from the spirit of their linguistic revolution.

I have attempted to present some new insights into a well-trodden circle of problems. In too many instances, Cyrillo-Methodian studies, which began with the hagiographic VC and VM as their foundation, are now more hagiographic than these *Vitae*. Only, at the present time the tenor of research is, as a rule, not so much religious as it is some biased nationalistic variant of Pan-Slavism.

In many cases I have tried to be as skeptical in my discussions as Brückner was about eighty years ago, without repeating his errors. I wanted to introduce my presentation with a motto from his writings on Constantine and Methodius; I did not dare. It could easily be grasped as a blasphemy by eulogizers. For many decades Brückner has been anathema in Cyrillo-Methodian publications. I introduce a quotation (by no means the most provocative) from this renowned iconoclast now, in my conclusion: "Einmal konnte ich... dieser Frage nur ab und zu Aufmerksamkeit zuwenden, und dann widerstrebte mir, da ich keinerlei neue Quellen gefunden habe, die Breittretung desselben, bis zum Überdrusse behandelten Gegenstandes" (1906, 229).*

New York, June–September 1987

* The intention of this study is to raise certain problems, not to exhaust them. In dealing with VC and VM I limited myself to the basic texts (as reprinted in Lavrov, 1–36 and 67–78). In referring to Slavic languages I did not go beyond the standard languages. Data of dialects were left aside though occasionally they may bring some interesting additional facts. I refer for example to the discovery in the seventeenth-century Slovak dialect of Krupina of an Old Moravian word *neprièznъ* 'devil' otherwise unknown outside some Old Church Slavonic texts and not represented in Standard Slovak (Stanislav 254ff.).

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PSRL—Akademija nauk SSSR, Institut istorii. *Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej,* I: *Lavrent'evskaja letopis'.* II: *Ipat'evskaja letopis'.* Moscow (Izdatel'stvo vostočnoj literatury) 1962.

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VC—Vita Constantini. Quoted from Lavrov. Numerals after quotations refer to the chapter and the page in Lavrov.

VM—Vita Methodii. Quoted from Lavrov. Numerals after quotations refer to the chapter and the page in Lavrov.

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Die nahöstliche botanische und zoologische Terminologie in den neueren ukrainischen Bibelübersetzungen

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Moderne ukrainische Bibelübersetzungen konnten wegen Behinderungen durch die russische Zensur erst Ende des 19. und im 20. Jh. im Ausland (Wien, London, Rom) erscheinen. Es sind drei komplette Bibelausgaben:

1) die von Pan'ko Kuliš (aus dem Černihiv-Gebiet gebürtig) 1887/1903, zusammen mit Ivan Puljuj und Ivan Nečuj-Levyc'kyj, welche die von einem Feuerbrand vernichteten Teile der Kuliš-Übersetzung ergänzten; diese Ausgabe stützte sich im wesentlichen auf die »Septuaginta« (=»LXX«), die kirchenslavische »synodale« Bibel sowie auf russische (1876), polnische und deutsche Übersetzungen, wobei für das Alte Testament auch der hebräische Text zu Rate gezogen wurde.

2) die von Ivan Ohijenko, der aus dem Kiev-Gebiet stammte und an seiner Übersetzung (London 1962) seit den 1930er Jahren arbeitete.

3) die von Ivan Xomenko-Pljuta, einem gebürtigen Ostpodolier, der ebenfalls seit den 1940er Jahren an der Übersetzung arbeitete und sie 1963 in Rom herausgab. Diese Übersetzung wurde vor der Drucklegung noch von drei ukrainischen Schriftstellern—Vasyl' Barka, Myxajlo Orest-Zerov und vor allem Ihor Kostec'kyj—sprachlich-stilistisch durchgesehen.

Die Übersetzungen von Ohijenko und Xomenko griffen im Falle des Alten Testaments viel öfter als Kuliš auf das hebräische Original zurück.

Eine sprachstilistische Analyse dieser Übersetzungen sowie weiterer Teile des AT und NT bietet unser Beitrag (Horbatsch 1988).

Die Nomenklatur der levantinisch-ägyptischen Tier-und Pflanzenwelt ist im hebräischen und griechischen Teil der Bibel (im Alten und Neuen Testament) sehr reichhaltig vertreten. So insbesondere die botanische Terminologie (um 110 identifizierbare von ca. 230 Pflanzennamen)—im Buch Isaias, die Nutzpflanzennamen im Pentateuch, ähnlich wie der Blumenbereich im Hohelied Salomos.

Die botanische Nomenklatur der Bibel identifizieren die amerikanischen Botaniker Harold N. und Alma L. Moldenke: *Plants of the Bible*, (Waltham, Mass., 1952).

Die nahöstliche Tierwelt wird insbesondere im Leviticus und Deuteronomium (anläßlich der Einteilung der Tiere in rituell reine beziehungsweise unreine) sowie im Buch Hiob benannt.

Die französische Ausgabe *Dictionnaire encyclopédique de la Bible* (Paris 1960), Spalten 641–47, des holländischen Werkes identifiziert rund 160 alttestamentliche Tiernamen (über 75 Säugetiere, ca. 40 Vogelarten und je ca. 20 Reptilien und Insekten). Wenn man bedenkt, daß unter diesen Tiernamen differenzierte Bezeichnungen für verschiedenaltrige Varianten wie Mutter-, Jung- und männliche Tiere (hauptsächlich unter den domestizierten) vorkommen, wird es nicht verwundern, daß die tatsächliche Anzahl der biblischen Tierarten (ohne die Insekten) im *Biblisch-historischen Handwörterbuch. Landeskunde, Geschichte, Religion, Kultur, Literatur*, herausgegeben von Bo Reiche und Leonhard Rost (Göttingen, 1966), Artikel »Tier«, Bd. III, Sp. 1984-88, auf rund 50 reduziert wird.

Einzelne biblische Tiernamen der griechischen Septuaginta-Übersetzung behandelt nebenbei auch das Werk von Otto Keller *Die antike Tierwelt*, Bde. I–II (1900–13, Nachdruck; zitiert weiterhin O. Keller).

Die hebräischen und griechischen Pflanzen- und Tiernamen werden auch in der tschechischen Bibelkonkordanz identifiziert: M. Bič und J. B. Souček, *Biblická konkordance*, I–III (Praha, 1961–67).

Von den vielen hebräisch-aramäischen Synonyma bei Tiernamen (in einem geringeren Maß bei botanischen Namen) hatte bereits die griechische Septuaginta-Übersetzung (»LXX« des 2.–1. Jhs. vor Chr.) mehreres nur mit einer Bezeichnung wiedergegeben und manches falsch interpretiert, wie z.B. das hebr. *behemôth*: gr. θηρία »große Tiere«, Hiob XL, 15 (16–19), später als »Einhorn«, woraus bei Luther »Nashorn«, jedoch laut O. Keller (Bd. I, S. 406) »Nilpferd«, Hippopotamos heißen müßte; diese Verwirrung hat einen Niederschlag auch in ukr. Übersetzungen gefunden:

Hiob XL, 15 (16–19):

LXX: θηρία . . . χόρτον ἴσα βουσὶν ἐσθίουσιν
L: Behemoth er frißt Gras wie ein Ochse
če.: slon trávu jí jako vůl
ru.: бегемот он есть траву, как вол
K: бегемот, значить скотина, а тут означає мабуть слоня
O: бегемот, це нільський крокодил,—траву, як худоба велика, він їсть
X: бегемот . . . він їсть траву, як віл.

Ähnliches geschah mit dem hebr. *qîqâjôn* »Rizinuspflanze«, Jonas IV, 6–7, was die »LXX« mit κολοκύνθη »Flaschenkürbis«, Vulgata mit *hedera* »Efeu« wiedergab und entsprechendes Durcheinander auch bei den slavischen Übersetzern hervorrief; die Vorsichtigeren zogen hier—wie in anderen Zweifelsfällen—eine verallgemeinerte Bezeichnung »Pflanze« (растение—ростину) vor:

Jonas IV, 6–7:

LXX: κολοκύνθη
V.: hedera
L: Rizinus
en.: gourd
fr.: ricin
po.: banię
ru.: растение
O/P.: ты́квѣ – -ву
K: ростину
O: рици́нового куща́
X: тикву.

Die hebräischen Textvarianten, verglichen mit der griechischen »LXX«—Übersetzung, sind am Beispiel des *Tobias*buches, II, 10, ersichtlich, wo das hebr. *zippôr* »kleiner Vogel, Sperling« als das griech. στρουθίον in der Ostrih-Bibel als *vrabij* und bei Xomenko als *horobeć* »Sperling« wiedergegeben wurde. Die Vulgata (und Luther) zogen jedoch vor, hier eine »Schwalbe«, »hirundo« zu sehen. Weder bei Kuliš noch bei Ohijenko ist hier ein Vergleich möglich, da dieses deuterokanonische Buch ihre Bibelübersetzungen nicht enthalten. In den populären ukr. kirchlichen Tobiasnacherzählungen spricht man,—wie in der Vulgata und bei Luther,—von einem »Schwalbennest«, was den ukr. Realien besser entsprach.

Tobias II, 10:

LXX: στρουθία. . .ἀφώδευσαν τὰ στρουθία θερμόν. . .εἰς ὀφθαλμούς μου. . .
V. 11: (et obdormisset) ex nido hirundinum dormienti illi calida stercora insiderent super oculos ejus. . .
L. 11: . . .schmeißte eine Schwalbe aus ihrem Nest das fiel ihm heiß in die Augen. . .
OB /P. 10:. . .не ви́дѣхъ яко врâбїя на стѣнѣ суть. . .испусти́ша врабїя те́плое на очесà моѧ̀.
X. 10: . . .горобці на мурі,—і їхнє лайно, ще тепле, впало мені на очі. . .

Die kirchenslavische Bibelübersetzung von Ostrih 1580/81 stützte sich auf die handschriftliche Gennadius-Bibel 1499, berücksichtigte aber die vorigen Übersetzungsleistungen: die čechischen 1488/1508 (welche besonders für die Prager weißrussischen Übersetzungen von Francysk Skaryna, 1517–1519, von Bedeutung war), die polnischen (von denen für die späteren ukr. Übersetzungen besonders die von Jakub Wujek 1599 wichtig war) sowie die Vulgata, deren (später korrigierte) lateinische Übersetzung

des hl. Hieronymus aus dem 4. Jh. die damalige rabbinische Biblia Hebraica bildete.

Die Ostrih-Bibel (OB) wurde,—was die Rechtschreibung anbetrifft,—emendiert in 1663 in Moskau nachgedruckt und in der weiter ausgebesserten Fassung der s.g. Elisabethinischen Bibel in 1751 als der ostkirchliche (»synodale«) *Textus receptus* annerkant und auch in der Ukraine (in Počajiv 1798 und in Peremyšl' 1858–65) sowie in Budapest 1804 neuaufgelegt.

Dieser Text wurde in 1876 (mit gewissen Korrekturen nach der hebr. Vorlage im AT und der griech. Vorlage im NT) ins Russische übersetzt.

Die kirchenslav. Ostrih-Bibel hat bei exotischen Namen die griechischen Lehnwörter belassen:

(мѵгали, хамелеонъ, халавотисъ, Lev. XI, 30; мѵрси́на, Is. XLI, 19; теревінθъ, Is. VI, 13; єродій, струθъ, порфѵронъ, пелеканъ, Lev. XI, 14–19; нардъ, смѵрна, алой, Cant. IV, 4); anderes wurde unrichtig mit den in der Ukraine und in Osteuropa heimischen Pflazennamen wiedergegeben (сосна, Is. XLIV, 14). Bei manchen Pflanzennamen konnte bereits die griech. Wiedergabe der hebr. Bezeichnung (so *galgal*—τροχός, Ps. 82/83, 14) mißverstanden worden sein.

	Ps. LXXXII (83), 14:
LXX:	τροχόν, καλάμην
V:	pulvis montium, turbo
L:	Wirbel, Stoppeln
en.:	wheel, stubble
fr.:	tourbillon, chaume
po.:	koło, źdźbło
ru.:	пыль, солома
OB/P:	коло, трость
K:	порох, терміттє
O:	порох, солома
X:	*перекотиполе*, соломина.

Bei den späteren Emendationen der Ostrih-Bibel wurden »Synonyma« (bezw. andere Lesarten!) an entsprechenden Stellen am Rande vermerkt, die weiterhin in den Text eingeführt wurden und das ursprüngliche Wort ersetzten.

Als ein Beispiel für die spätere kirchenslav. Nomenklaturkorrektur im Judices-Buch VIII, 7, sei das Ersetzen des unverständlichen *pobyl'* (hebr. *barkênim*) »Hecke« der OB durch *volčec* »Art Distel« in der Peremyšl'-Bibelausgabe anzuführen (was auf die Korrektur der Elisabethinischen Bibel zurückgeht):

Judic. VIII, 7:

LXX: ἐν ταῖς ἀκάνθαις τῆς ἐρήμου και ἐν ταῖς βαρκηνῖμ
V: cum spinis tribulisque deserti
L: Dornen aus der Wüste und mit Hecken
en.: thorns of the wilderness, briers
fr.: épines du désert, chardons
po.: cierniem z tej puszczy i ostem
ru.: терновиком пустинным и молотильными зубчатыми досками
OB/P: тернїемъ въ пустыни и *побылью*
(P): тернїемъ пустынннымъ и *волчцами*
K: дикою терниною та бороною
O: пустинними тернями та колючками
X: глодами, що в пустині, ще й будяками.

Die Namen der exotischen Blumen und Gewürze der »LXX«, wie sie im Hohelied Salomos aufgezählt werden, sind in den neuen ukr. Bibelübersetzungen von Kuliš, Ohijenko und Xomenko (wie auch in der Ostrih-Bibel) belassen worden. Die Unterschiede bei Gewürzenamen zwischen Kuliš/Xomenko und Ohijenko wie etwa bei *cynamon-korycja* »Zimt« sind durch die Orientierung der ukr. Schriftsprache im 19. Jh. in der Ostukraine auf die Abstoßbewegung »Weg vom Russischen«! und seit den 1930er Jahre in Kiew auf eine ähnliche Abstoßbewegung »Weg vom Polnischen«! und auf eine erzwungene oder freiwillige Angleichung an den russischen Wortgebrauch zu erklären.

Cant. IV, 14:

LXX: νάρδος, κρόκος, κάλαμος, κυννάμωμον μετὰ πάντων ξύλων τοῦ λιβάνου, σμύρνα ἀλὼθ μετὰ πάντων πρώτων μύρων
V: nardus, crocus, fistula, cinnamomum cum universis lignis Libani murra, aloe cum onmibus unguentis
L: Narde, Safran, Kalmus, Zimt mit allerlei Bäumen des Weihrauchs, Myrrhen und Aloe mit allen besten Würzen
en.: spikenard, saffron, calamus, cinnamon, with all trees of frankincense, myrrh, aloes with all the chief spices
fr.: nard, safran, canne odorante, cinnamome, avec toutes sortes d'arbres d'encens, myrrhe, aloès avec tous les plus excellente aromates
OB/P: нард', шафранъ, трост', кїннамóнъ съ всѣми древáми лївáнскими, смvрна, алой съ всѣми первыми мѵрами
ru.: нард, шафран, аир, корица со всякими благовонными деревами, мирра, алой со всякими лучшими ароматами
po.: szpikanardu, szafranu, kasyi, cynamonu ze wszystkiemi drzewami

kadzidło przynoszącemi! myrry, aloesu, ze wszystkiemi osobliwemi rzeczami wonnemi

K: з шафраном там нард, *цинамон* там із нардом; мирра там і алой з усіма пахощами

O: нард і шафран, пахуча тростина і *кориця* з усіма деревами ла́дану, мирра й алое зо всіма найзапашнішими пахощами

X: нард і шафран, пахуча троща й *цинамон*, усі дерева кадильні. Мірра, алое й усі бальзами щонайліпші.

Der Unterschied zwischen »Rohr« und »Schilf«, den besonders die pontische Südukraine gut kennt, wurde bei dem Podolier Xomenko nicht genau eingehalten und er ersetzte *calamus* »Rohr« durch die einem podolischen Bauern viel geläufigere »Distel« *oset*:

Is. XIX, 6:

LXX:	καλάμου κ. παπύρου
V:	calamus et iuncus
L:	Rohr u. Schilf
en.:	reeds and flags
fr.:	roseaux et joncs
po.:	trzcina i sitowie
ru.:	камыш и тросгь
OB/P:	во вся́комъ лу́зѣ тро́стнѣмъ и си́тнѣмъ
K:	очерет-порiз
O:	комиш та очерет
X:	*осет* й очерет.

Der Weinbau und seine Terminologie ist erst in den letzten Jahrzehnten dem südlichen Streifen der Ukraine besser bekannt. Im 19./20. Jh. wurde er in einem viel engeren Umfang (außer der Krim und dem südlichen Transkarpatien) betrieben. Daher sind die entsprechenden Termini *labruscae* »Herlinge« nur als *dyki jahody* »wilde Beeren« bezw. *kysli hrona* »sauere Trauben« bei allen drei Übersetzern sehr allgemein wiedergegeben:

Is. V, 2–4:

LXX:	ἄμπελον, σταφυλήν—ἀκάνθας
V:	uvas, labruscas
L:	edle Reben, Trauben—*Herlinge*
en.:	choicest vine, grapes—wild grapes
fr.:	des ceps exquis, raisins—grappes sauvages
po.:	macicami wybornemi, grona—płonne wino
ru.:	отборные виноградные лозы, грозды—дикие ягоды
OB/P:	ло́зу избра́нну, гро́здїе—те́рнїе
K:	добірну виноградню лозу, грони—*дикі ягоди*

O: виноградом добірним, виноград—*дикі ягоди*
X: лозу добірну, грона—*кислі грона.*

Übersetzungsschwierigkeiten bereiteten den ukr. Übersetzern die Namen für nahöstliche Waldbäume und Sträuche; die zahlreichen Dornbuscharten wurden durch das allgemeine *ternyna* (in der kslav. OB—noch *ternie, dračie*) ersetzt, oder man hielt sich (in Isajah LV, 13) an die Vulgata (und die russ. Wiedergabe) mit ihrer *urtica/kropiva*:

Is. LV, 13:

LXX: ἀντὶ τῆς στοιβῆς κυπάρισσος, ἀντὶ δὲ τῆς κονύζης μυρσίνη
V: pro saliunca abies, pro urtica myrtus
L: Tannen für Hecken, Myrten für Dornen
en.: thorn, fir tree, brier myrtle tree
fr.: au lieu du buisson cyprès, au lieu de l'épine—le myrte
po.: miasto ciernia jedlina, miasto pokrzywy mirt
ru.: вместо терновика кипарис, вместо крапивы мирт
OB/P: вмѣсто дра́чїя купарі́съ, вмѣсто крапи́вы мѵрсі́на
K: замість тернини—кипарис, замість кропиви—мирт
O: на місце тернини кипарис, замість кропиви мирт
X: замість тернини . . . кипарис, замість кропиви—мирт.

Ein weitgehend »freies« Ersetzen der Namen für exotische Waldbäume kommt an einigen Stellen im Isajah-Buch, XLIV, 14, vor:

Is. XLIV, 14:

LXX: ἔκοψε ξύλου ἐκ τοῦ δρυμοῦ. . .καὶ ὑετὸς ἐμήκυνεν
V: cedros, ilicem, quercum—pinum
L: unter den Bäumen im Walde, Zedern, Buchen, Eichen—eine Zeder
en.: cedars, cypress, oak—trees of the forest; ash
fr.: cèdres, rouvre, chêne—arbres de la forêt, frêne
OB/P: древо въ дубравѣ, сосну и дождь возрости
ru.: кедры, сосну, дуб—между деревьями в лесу—ясень
po.: cedrów, cyprys, dąb—między drzewem leśnem—jawór
K: кедри, дуба, сосну—в дуброві—ясеня
O: кедри, *граба* й дуба. . . між лісними дере́вами, *я́сен*
X: кедр, кипарис, дуб. . . між деревами в лісі . . . *сосну.*

1) Ohijenko führt darin *hrab* »die Weißbuche« anstelle einer »Zypresse« ein;

2) Xomenko zieht anstelle der Esche (*jasen/jaseń* »fraxinus« bei Kuliš und Ohijenko) entsprechend der Vulgata *sosna* »Kiefer« *pinus* vor.

Mutwillige Änderungen der Baumarten findet man an einer anderen Stelle des Isajah-Buches, XLI, 19: anstelle des lateinischen *ulmus* »Ulme« und *buxus* »Buchsbaum« treten bei den ukr. Übersetzern die heimischen *jávir* »Bergahorn, Fraxinus campestris« und *buk* »Buche, fagus« auf. Xomenko geht dabei noch weiter, indem er lat. *myrtus* »Myrte« durch *áfyna* »Heidelbeere« ersetzt, wobei diese ukr. Bezeichnung nur in den Karpatenmundarten bekannt ist (anderswo heißt sie *čornýc'a*/ *borívka*!). Möglicherweise sollte dadurch eine ukr. »Exotikum«-Entsprechung geboten werden.

Is. XLI, 19:

LXX: κέδρον κ. πύξον κ. μυρσύνην κ. κυπάρισσον κ. λεύκην

V: cedrum et spinam et myrtum et lignum olivae. . .abietem, ulmum et buxum

L: Zedern, Akazien, Myrten u. Kiefern. . .Tannen, Buchen u. Buchsbaum

en.: shittahtree, myrtle, oil tree. . .fir tree, pine, box tree

fr.: le cèdre, l'acacia, le myrte, l'olivier. . .le cyprès, l'orme, le buis

OB/P: кедръ и смерчіе, и мѵрсíну и кѵпарíсъ и топóлю

ru.: кедр, ситтим, мирту, маслину. . . кипарис, явор и бук

po.: cedrów, wybornych cedrów, sosien i oliwnych drzew. . .jedliną, wiązem i bukszpanem

K: кедром, сосною, оливою й миртом, . . . явором, буком та кипарисом

O: кедра, акацію, мирта, маслину, . . . кипариса, *явора, бука*

X: кедром, акацією, *афиною* та оливкою. . . . кипариса, *явора* та *сосну*.

Im Falle der landwirtschaftlichen Nutzpflanzen hat Xomenko wiederum auf eine willkürliche Art die *Hirse*, *milium*, *próso* des »LXX«—und Vulgata-Textes (so auch bei Kuliš und Ohijenko) durch eine andere,—in der Ukraine zwar allgemein bekannte,—Kulturpflanze *hréčka* »Buchweizen« ersetzt, was jedoch kaum den nahöstlichen Realien entsprechen würde:

Is. XXVIII, 25:

LXX: μικρόν μελάνθιον ἤ κύμινον. . . . πυρόν κ. κριθήν κ. κέγχρον, κ. ζέαν

V: gith et cymimum, triticum, hordeum, milium, viciam

L: Wicken, Kümmel, Weizen, Gerste, Spelt

en.: fitches, cummin, principal wheat, barley, rye

fr.: l'anet, le cumin, froment, l'orge, l'épeautre

po.: wyki, kminu, pszenicy wybornej, jęczmienia przedniego, orkiszu

ru.: чернуху, тмин, пшеницу рядами, ячмень, полбу
OB/P: чернýхи и кvми́на, пшени́цу и ячмéнь, *прóсо*
K: чорнуху, кмин, пшеницю, ячмінь, *просо*
O: чорнуху, кмин, пшеницю, *просо* й ячмінь, жито
X: чорнуху, кмин, пшеницю, ячмінь, *гречку*.

Einer Ukrainisierung der Bibelrealien begegnet man in der Übersetzung des Hiob-Buches, XXX, 4, wo von Hungernden gesagt wird, daß sie Gras und Baumrinde sowie Wacholderwurzeln verzehrten:

Hiob XXX, 4:

LXX: ἅλιμα ἦν αὐτῶν τὰ σῖτα. . .οἳ καὶ ῥίζας ξύλων ἐμασσῶντο ὑπὸ λιμοῦ μεγάλου
V: et mandebant herbas et arborum cortices et radix iuniperorum erat cibus eorum
L: Nesseln ausraufen um die Büsche, Ginsterwurzel ist ihre Speise
en.: who cut up mallows by the bushes and juniper roots for their meat
fr.: ils cueillent l'herbe sauvage près des buissons, et la racine des genêts est leur nourriture
OB/P: бы́лїе óстро оглажáюще, и́м же оутрóбное брáшно бы́лїе
ru.: щиплют зелень подле кустов, и ягоды можжевельника—хлеб их
po.: którzy sobie rwali chwasty po chróstach, a korzonki jałowcowe były pokarmem ich
K: щиплють *лободу попід коргами*, ягоди ялівцю—хліб їх
O: рвали вони *лободý на кущах*, ялівцéве ж коріння було їхнім хлібом
X: *мальвію* й листя на кущах збирали, коріння з *дроку*—це хліб їхній
Dz: вищипували траву й коріння дерев, а хліб їхній—коріння ялівцю.

In der Ukraine galt die Melde/*lobodá* als Nahrungsmittel in Hungerjahren sowie die »semmelähnliche« Malvenfrucht (*kaláčyky* übrigens auch regionaler Name für *mál'va* »Malve«!) für die Kinder als Leckerei (vgl. ukr. Volkslied: косíть хлóпці, лободу/ забувайте за біду, i.e., »Mähet, Burschen, Melde, / Vergeßt die Not«, Romaniv bei L'viv).

Dementsprechend findet man bei Kuliš »sie pflückten *Melde* unter den Sträuchern« (bei Ohijenko sinnwidrig »von den Sträuchern«!) und bei Xomenko »sie pflückten *Malven* und Laub von den Sträuchern«.

Die nicht gerade glückliche Tendenz zur Ukrainisierung des biblischen Textes griff bei Kuliš (und Nečuj-Levyc'kyj) auch auf andere Gebiete über—vor allem auf das der Onomastik:

1) so bei der Einführung der ukr. Patronymika (*Isajija Amosenko*, Levyc'kyj—*Isajija, syn Amosiv*, Ohijenko, *I., syn Amosa*, Xomenko, 2. Chron. XIX, 20; *Mylka Haranivna*, Kuliš, *Milka, dočka Harána*, Ohijenko, Xomenko, Genesis XI, 29);

2) bei dem postpositven Gebrauch der Bestimmungsapposition bei einem geographischen Namen (vom Typ *Syon-horu*, Kuliš, Xomenko, aber: *hóru Sion*, Ohijenko, Haggai I, 21; *Arnon-rička*, Kuliš, *Arnon-potoku*, Xomenko, *arnonśkoho potoku*, Ohijenko, Jehoschua XIII, 9);

3) bei der Wiedergabe der militärischen Terminologie in den Makkabäer-Büchern mit Ausdrücken der Kosakenchroniken des 17.–18. Jhs. (in der Übersetzung von Xomenko: *komónni* »Reiterei«, 1. Mak. XV, 11, *serdjuký* »Art Gardetruppe«, 1. Mak. XIII, 40).

Alle drei angeführten Wiedergabemuster (ausgenommen die Possessivadjektive) werden in der modernen literarischen Stilistik als unzulässig abgelehnt.

Eine analoge Problematik weist auch die Übersetzung der zoologischen Nomenklatur auf: größere Tiere und Vögel, soweit deren Vorkommen heimisch war, werden mit geläufigen ukr. Bezeichnungen wiedergegeben, vgl. Levit. XI, 4–30.

Lev. XI:

LXX: 4. κάμηλον, 5. δασύποδα, 6. χοιρογρύλλιον, 7. ὗν, 13. ἀετόν, γρύπα, ἁλιαίετον, 14. γύπα, ἰκτῖνα, 15. στρουθόν, γλαῦκα, λάρον, 16. κόρακα, ἱέρακα, 17. νυκτικόρακα, καταρράκτην, ἶβιν, 18. πορφυρίωνα, πελεκᾶνα, κύκνον, 19. ἐρωδιόν, χαραδριόν, ἔποπα, νυκτερίδα, 22. βροῦχον, ἀττάκην, ὀφιομάχην, ἀκρίδα, 29. γαλῆ, μῦς, κροκόδειλος ὁ χερσαῖος.

V: 4. camelus, 5. chyrogryllius, 6. lepus, 7. sus, 13. aquilam, grypem, alietum, 14. milvum, vulturem, 15. corvini generis, 16. strutionem, noctuam, larum, accipitrem, 17. bubonem, mergulum, ibin, 18. cycnum, onocrotalum, porphirionem, 19. erodionem, charadrionem, opupam, vespertilionem, 22. brucus: attacus, ophiomachus, lucusta, 29. mustela, mus, crocodillus.

L: 4. Kamel, 5. Kaninchen, 6. Hase, 7. Schwein, 13. Adler, Habicht, Fischaar, 14, Geier, Weih, 15. Raben, 16. Strauß, Nachteule, Kuckuck, Sperber, 17. Käuzlein, Schwan, Uhu, 18. Fledermaus, Rohrdommel, 19. Storch, Reiher, Häher, Wiedehopf, Schwalbe, 22. Heuschrecken: Arbe, Solam, Hargol, Hagab, 29. Wiesel, Maus, Kröte.

en.: 4. camel, 5. coney, 6. hare, 7. swine, 13. eagle, ossifrage, ospray, 14. vulture, kite, 15. raven, 16. owl, nighthawk, cuckoo, hawk, 17. little owl, cormorant, great owl, 18. swan, pelican, gier-eagle, 19. stork,

heron, lapwing, bat, 22. locust, bald locust, beetle, grasshopper, 29. weasel, mouse, tortoise, 30. ferret, chameleon, lizard, snail, mole.

fr.: 4. chameau, 5. lapin, 6. lièvre, 7. porc, 13. aigle, orfraie, vautour, 14. milan, faucon, 15. corbeau, 16. autruche, coucou, mouette, épervier, 17. chouette, plongeon, hibou, 18. cygne, pélican, cormoran, 19. cigogne, héron, huppe, chauvesouris, 22. sauterelle, solam, hargol, hagab, 29. taupe, souris, lézard, 30. musaraigne, grenouille, tortue, limace, caméléon.

po.: 4. wielbłąd, 5. królik, 6. zając, 7. świnia, 13. orła, gryfa, morskiego orła, 14. sępa, kani, 15. kruka, 16. strusia, sowy, wodnej kani, jastrębia, 17. puchacza, norka, lelki, 18. łabędzia, bąka, bociana, 19. czapli, sojki, dudka, nietoperza, 22. szarańczą, koniki, skoczki, chrząszcze, 29. łasica, mysz, żaba, 30. jeż, jaszczórka, tchórz, ślimak, kret.

ru.: 4. верблюда, 5. тушканчика, 6. зайца, 7. свиньи, 13. орла, грифа, морского орла, 14. коршуна, сокола, 15. вóрона, 16. страуса, совы, чайки, ястреба, 17. филина, рыболова, ибиса, 18. лебедя, пеликана, сипа, 19. цапли, зуя, удода, нетопыря, 22. саранчу, солам, харгол, хагаб, 29. крот, мышь, ящерица, 30. анака, хамелеон, летаа, хамет, тиншемет.

K: 4. верблюда, 5. крілика, 6. зайця, 7. свиню, 13. орел, коршак, морський орел, 14. пугач, сокіл, 15. ворон, 16. стровус, чайка, яструб, 17. сова, рибалка, ібис, 18. лебедь, пеликан, сич, 19. бузьок, чапля, вудвод, нетопир, 22. сарану, коники, скакуни, хрущі, 29. кріт, миш, ящірка.

O: 4. верблюда, 5. тушканчика, 6. зайця, 7. свині, 13. орла, грифа, морського орла, 14. коршака, сокола, 15. крука, 16. струся, сови, яструба, 17. пугача, рибалки, ібіса, 18. лебедя, пелікана, сича, 19. бусла, чаплі, одуда, нетопира, 22. сарану, сол'ам, харґол, хаґав, 29. кріт, миша, ящірка.

X: 4. верблюда, 5. борсука, 6. зайця, 7. свині, 13. орел, шуліка, морський орел, 14. кібець, сокіл, 15. ворони, 16. струсь, пугач, морська чайка, яструб, 17. сова, баклан, рибалка, 18. сич, пелікан, єгипетський стерв'як, 19. чорногуз, чапля, одуд, кажан, 22. сарану, цвіркунів, стрибунців, скакунів, 29. ласиця, щур, ящірок.

OB/P: 4. вел'блю́да, 5. хїрогрѵ́ля, 6. за́яца, 7. свиніѝ, 13. орла̀, грѵ́фа, морска́го орла̀, 14. нея́сыти, іктíна, 15. стрý θа, совы̀, сухола́пля, 16. вра́на, я́стреба, 17. вра́на нóщнаго, ли́лика, íвіна, 18. порфѵ́рїона, пелека́на, лéбедя, 19. єродíа, хараθріóна, вдóда, нóщнаго нетопыря̀, 22. вруха, аттáка, офїомáха, акрíду, 29. лáсица, мы́шъ, кроколи́лъ земны́й.

Den hebr. *šâphân*, griech. der »LXX« χοιρογρύλλιον, Vulg. *chyrogryllius*, bei Luther »Kaninchen« (laut O. Keller, op. cit. I, 209: Hyrax Syriacus, anderswo: Sap. XXX, 26, Deut. XIV, 7, Ps. CIV, 18, δασυποῦς »Klippschliefer, -dachs«), was die Ostrih-Bibel vorsichtshalber mit dem Gräzismus хїрогрѵлъ wiedergibt, hat Ohijenko (wie auch die russische Übersetzung) mit *tuškánčyk* »kleiner Steppenhase«, Xomenko mit *borsúk* »Dachs« und Kuliš mit *krílyk* »Kaninchen« wiedergegeben (XI, 5–6).

Bei der Aufzählung der rituell reinen/eßbaren Heuschreckenarten (Levit. XI, 22), wo die alttestamentlichen Realien abstoßend auf einen osteupäischen Leser wirken könnten, hat Ohijenko (wie die Ostrih-Bibel und die russ. synodale Übersetzung) Hebraismen belassen, Kuliš aber und Xomenko hatten hier—entsprechend der poln. Bibel—Synonyma für Heuschrecken, Grashüpfer, Maikäfer und Grille eingeführt (Kuliš: *saraná*, *kónyky*, *skakuný*, *xrušči*, Xomenko: *saraná*, *cvirkuný*, *strybunc'í*, *skakuný*).

	Lev. XI, 22:
LXX:	βροῦχον, ἀττάκην, ὀφιομάχην, ακρίδα
V:	*brucus: attacus, ophiomachus, lucusta*
L:	*Heuschrecken: Arbe, Solam, Hargol, Hagab*
OB/P:	***вруха, аттака, офїомаха, акріду***
K:	***сарану, коники, скакуни, хрущі***
O:	***сарану, сол'ам, харґол, хаґав***
X:	***сарану, цвіркунів, стрибунців, скакунів***
ru.:	***саранчу, солам, харгол, хагаб***
po.:	*szarańczą, koniki, skoczki, chrząszcze*
en.:	*locust, bald locust, beetle, grasshopper*
fr.:	*sauterelle, solam, hargol, hagab.*

Ähnlich steht es bei rituell unreinen Eidechsenarten:

	Lev. XI, 30:
LXX:	μυγαλῆ, χαμαιλέων, καλαβώτης, σαύρα, ἀσπάλαξ
V:	*mygale, cameleon, stelio, lacerta, talpa*
L:	*Igel, Molch, Eidechse, Blindschleiche, Maulwurf*
en.:	*ferret, chameleon, lizard, snail, mole*
fr.:	*musaraigne, grenouille, tortue, limace, caméléon*
OB:	***мѵгали, хамелеонъ, халавотисъ, ящеръ***
po.:	*jeż, jaszczórka, tchórz, ślimak, kret*
ru.:	***анака, хамелеон, летаа, хомет, тиншемет***
K:	***анака, коах, летах, хомет, хамелон***
O:	***ховрах, щур, слимак, їжак, тхір***
X:	***анака, коах, летаа, хомет, тіншамет***

—entsprechend den hebr. Namen: *'anāqah*, *qoah*, *letā'āh*, *ḥomet*, *tinšāmeṭ*.

Dort, wo die Ostrih-Bibel bei exotischen Vogelarten (Lev. XI, 13–15, 17–18) Gräzismen der »LXX« behält, werden sie in den ukr. Übersetzungen (nach der Art Luthers, der poln. und russ. Bibel) z.T. mit heimischen Vogelarten identifiziert. Die unterschiedlichen Namen (*búźok/ busél/ čornohúz* »Storch«, *koršák/ šulíka/ kibéć* »Sperber«, *vúdvod/ ódud* »Wiedehopf«, *netopýr/ kažán* »Fledermaus«) beruhen auf der Durchführung der standartisierten Nomenklatur bei Xomenko und auf dialektalen Bezeichnungen bei Kuliš und Ohijenko.

An manchen Stellen geht der Unterschied in den Übersetzungen auf die verschiedenen Textvarianten zurück; so z. B. in Michäa I, 8, wo die »LXX« von »Sirenentöchtern«, die Vulgata aber (wie Luther) von »Straußen« (*struthiones*) spricht. Die Ostrih-Bibel hält sich dabei an die »LXX«, die drei ukr. Übersetzer aber an den Vulgata-Text:

Mich. I. 8:

LXX:	κοπετὸν ὡς δρακόντων, πένθος ὡς θυγατέρων σειρήνων
V:	planctum velut draconum et luctum quasi *struthionum*
L:	Klagen wie die Schakale, trauern wie die *Strauße*
en.:	wailing like the dragons, mourning as the owls
fr.:	lamentation comme les chacals, cri de deuil comme les autruches
po.:	lament jako smoki, narzekanie jako młode strusięta
ru.:	выть как шакалы, плакать как страусы
OB/P:	плачь аки змїевъ, рыда́нїе аки *дщерей сїри́нскихъ*
K:	вити як шакал, як струсі пищати
O:	заводити буду немов ті шакали, і буду тужити як струсі
X:	немов шакали, буду вити і скиглити, неначе струсі.

Zum Teil ähnlich sieht es im Hiob-Buch (XXXIX, 13) aus, wo die Urtexte auseinandergehen und wo einerseits vom »Pfau« und »Strauß«, andererseits vom »Storch« die Rede ist:

Hiob XXXIX, 13:

LXX:	ἀσίδα κ. νέσσα
V:	strutionum, herodii, accipitris
L:	Straußes, Storch
en.:	peacocks, ostrich
fr:	autruche, cigogne
po.:	pawiowi, bocianowi i strusiowi
ru.:	павлину, страусу
K:	*павові, струсеві*
O:	*стру́севе, леле́ки*
X:	*струся.*

Die exotischen Reptilien—Skorpione und mythische »feurige Schlangen« (so bei Luther)—Deut. VIII, 15—bereiteten unseren Übersetzern Schwierigkeiten vor: *serpens flatu adurens* der Vulgata (Luthers »feurige Schlangen«) wurde als die »Höllenschlange Saraf« von Kuliš, als »Schlange« (*vuž*) und »Saraf« von Ohijenko bezw. als »Natter« (*had'úka*) und »Giftschlange« (*jidovýtyj vuž*) von Xomenko wiedergegeben:

Deut. VIII, 15:

LXX:	ὄφις δάκνων, σκορπίος
V:	*serpens flatu adurens*, scorpio
L:	*feurige Schlangen*, Skorpione
en.:	fiery serpents, scorpions
fr.:	serpents brûlants, scorpions
po.:	węże jadowite, niedźwiadki
ru.:	змеи василиски, скорпионы
OB/P:	ѕмїи оугрызающыя, скорпіи
K:	*пекельні гадюки-сарафи*, шкорпіони
O:	*вуж, сара́ф*, скорпіон
X:	*гадюки, їдовиті вужі*, скорпіони.

Alle drei Übersetzer—jeder auf seine Art—versuchten mit den mythischen Wesen des Isajah-Buches (XXXIV, 14) fertig zu werden: бѣси со онокента́вры der Ostrih-Bibel, *dracones* der Vulgata (»Feldteufel, Kobold« bei Luther) werden zu »gehörnten Geistern, Nachtgespenst« (*roháti dúxy, ničná mará*) bei Kuliš, zu einem »Feldgeist« und »Lilit, dem Nachtdämon der Begierde« (*pol'ovýk, lilit—ničnýj démon požadlývosty*) bei Ohijenko und zum »behaarten Wesen« und »Nachtgespenst« (*voloxačí, ničná mará*) bei Xomenko. Auch hier steckt ein Stück der Angleichung der Dämonologie des AT an die ukr. volkstümlichen Vorstellungen.

Is. XXXIV, 13:

LXX:	ἀκάνθινα ξύλα...ὀχυρώματα, ἔπαυλις σειρήνων κ. αὐλὴ στρουθῶν
V:	spinae, urticae, paliurus, cubile *draconum* et pascua struthionum
L:	Dornen, Nesseln, Disteln, Schakale u. Strauße, 14. Wüstentiere u. wilde Hunde, *Feldteufel*, *Kobold*, 15. Natter, Weihen
en.:	thorns, nettles, brambles, dragons, owls, 14. wild beasts of the desert, wild beasts of the island, screech owl, 15. great owl, vultures
fr.:	épines, orties, ronces, aux chacals, autruches, 14. les bêtes du desert, les chiens sauvages, les boucs, le spectre des nuits, 15. le serpent, les vautours
po.:	ciernie, pokrzywy, oset, smoków, strusiów, 14. dzikie zwierzęta z

koczkodanami, pokusa jedna—drugiej, jędza, 15. sęp, kania

ru.: колючими растениями, крапивою, репейником, шакалов, страусов, 14. звери пустыни с дикими кошками, *лешие*, *ночное привидение*, 15. *летучий змей*, коршуны

OB/P: терновая древеса, селенія *сіріномъ*, сєлища струθіономъ, 14. *бѣси со онокентáвры*, 15. єжь, єлєни

K: тернівками, кропивою та будяками, *шакалі*, струсі, 14. коти дикі із шакалями, *рогаті духи*, *нічна мара*, 15. *крилата гадюка*, яструби

O: тернина, кропива й будяччя, шакалів, струсів, 14. дикі звірі пустинні з гієнами, *польовик*, *ліліт* (*нічний демон пожадливости*), 15. *скакуча гадюка*, яструби

X: тернина, кропива й будяки, шакалів, струсів, 14. дикі коти та гієни, *волохачі*, *нічна мара*, 15. *гад*, гадюченят, яструби . . . і з самицею своєю.

Schwierigkeiten hatte die ägyptische Plage der Stechmücken (*sciniphes*, κυνόμυια) den Übersetzern bereitet: nach Luther zuerst als »Läuse« (1950: Stechmücken!) übersetzt, wurde die Insektenplage von Kuliš als »Schnacken« (*komarí*), von Ohijenko als »Fliegenschwärme« (*rojí mux*) und von Xomenko als »Hundsfliegen« (*péši múxy*, eine Lehnübersetzung des griechischen Wortes der »LXX«!) bezeichnet:

Exod. VIII, 16:

LXX: κυνόμυιαν

V: *sciniphes*

L: *Läuse*plage (1950: *Stechmücken*)

en.: lice

fr.: de poux

po.: wszy

ru.: мошками

K: *комарі*

O: *рої мух* (аров: мішанина звірів чи мух; традиція: череди різних звірят)

X: *песі мухи.*

Unsere Analyse der ukr. Wiedergabe der biblischen botanischen und zoologischen Nomenklatur zeigt, mit welchen Problemen die ukr. Schriftsprache des ausgehenden 19. und der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jhs. zu kämpfen hatte, um einen adäquaten Anschluß an das Urquellkulturgut der europäischen Völker und Sprachen zu erreichen. Auf diese Leistungen zurückschauend darf man feststellen, daß ihr dieser Anschluß (abgesehen von kleinen Schnitzern) vollwertig gelungen ist.

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po.: *Biblia Święta*, t.j. całe Pismo Święte Starego i Nowego Testamentu (London, 1945).

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IDEOLOGICAL ASPECTS

L'integration du monde slave dans le cadre de la communauté orthodoxe (IX^{e}–XII^{e} siècles): Notes préliminaires

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L'unité initiale des Slaves, fondée sur la communauté de la langue avec des différences minimes entre les langues locales, représente une des données essentielles qui conditionnnent les liens naturels des tribus et des peuples slaves, installés en Europe.[1] Au Moyen Age ces rapports mutuels entre les Slaves méridionaux, orientaux et occidentaux sont déterminés par la politique des puissances qui à cette époque gouvernent l'Europe—l'Empire byzantin, la Curie romaine et les organisations étatiques de l'Europe occidentale.[2]

Le diapason chronologique de nos intérêts s'étend du IX^{e} au XII^{e} siècle—une période qui voit les peuples slaves se convertir au christianisme et ébaucher la formation progressive (en fonction des influences qu'ils subissent) de leurs propres modèles d'identité politique et culturelle. Dans le sud (pour les Bulgares et les Serbes) et à l'est (pour la Rus') c'est la chrétienté d'Orient qui exerce une influence décisive sur l'orientation culturelle, tandis qu'à l'ouest (pour les Polonais, les Tchèques, les Slovaques,

[1] R. Jakobson, « Osnova slavjanskogo sravnitel'nogo literaturovedenija » dans *Raboty po poetike* (Moskva, 1987), pp. 24, 48.

[2] A. I. Sobolevskij, « Materialy i issledovanija v oblasti slavjanskoj filologii i arxeologii », *Izvestija ORJAS*, LXXXVIII, 3 (SPg., 1910), voir pp. 162–77; F. Dvornik, *Les Slaves, Byzance et Rome au IX^{e} siècle* (Paris, 1926); idem, *Byzance, les Slaves et les Francs, Russie et les chrétiens* (Paris, 1949); N. Deržavin, *Plemennye i kul'turnye svjazi bolgarskogo i russkogo naroda* (Moskva, 1944); I. Dujčev, « Il problema delle lingue nazionali nel medioevo e gli Slavi », *Ricerche slavistiche*, VIII (1960), pp. 39–60; I. Ševčenko, « Three Paradoxes of the Cyrillo-methodian Mission », *Slavic Review*, XXIII (1964), pp. 226–32; A. Dostal, « Les relations entre Byzance et les Slaves aux XI^{e} et XII^{e} siècles du point de vue culturel », *Proceedings of the XIIth Int. Congress of Byzantine Studies, Oxford, 5–10 September, 1966* (Oxford, 1967); R. Browning, *Byzantium and Bulgaria: A Comparative Study across the Early Medieval Frontiers* (London, 1975).

les Croates et les Slovènes), ce rôle est rempli par la chrétienté d'Occident.[3] Ces principales sphères d'influence en Europe divisent le monde slave au point de vue tant politique que culturel et cela dès la première période de son évolution. Ici, je laisse de côté les possibilités de contacts culturels ou de phénomènes littéraires similaires entre les Slaves occidentaux, méridionaux et orientaux. Ces problèmes pourraient être l'objet d'une recherche comparative et typologique dans le domaine de la littérature liturgique, l'hagiographie, de l'hymnologie, des belles-lettres, de la chronographie, des apocryphes at aussi dans celui de l'art, de l'architecture, etc. Mais cela sort du problème posé dans les notes préliminaires de ce texte qui porte surtout sur les Slaves orthodoxes—*Slavia orthodoxa*.[4]

Ayant reçu le christianisme de Byzance, les Slaves méridionaux et orientaux déterminent la direction et le caractère futurs, d'une part, de la réception de la culture-prototype, de l'autre, des rapports mutuels proprement slaves. Le modèle, au sens sémiotique du terme est une reconstruction abstraite, un invariant, appartenant à un type culturel donné. En ce sens, pour les Slaves, Byzance est le premier adepte du modèle chrétien d'Orient; il crée les prototypes; car le prototype est déjà une réalisation concrète (une variante) du modèle invariant. De Byzance les Slaves prennent des prototypes qui leur servent à réaliser une adaptation au modèle chrétien d'Orient, autrement dit à faire une réception partielle (sélective) et créatice. En ce sens Byzance ne recouvre point la totalité du monde chrétien d'Orient, bien que le modèle chrétien d'Orient s'y réalise de la manière la plus complète. Suivre cette réception des prototypes de Byzance, qui se caractérise dans les premiers siècles après la

[3] Sur l'étape la plus ancienne de l'unité slave, IX^e^–X^e^ siècles, voir R. Marti, « Slavia orthodoxa als literatur- und sprachhistorischer Begriff », *Studia slavico-byzantina et mediaevalia europensia: In memoriam Ivan Dujčev* (Sofia, 1988) (sous presse). Cf. R. Picchio, *Questione della lingua e Slavia Cyrillomethodiana: Studi della lingua presso gli Slavi* (Roma, 1972), pp. 7–120, en particulier son article: « "Pravoslavno slavjanstvo" i "Rimsko slavjanstvo" », *Starobălgarskata tradicija i pravoslavnoto slavjanstvo* (Sofia, sous presse), dans lequel il propose au lieu de *Slavia Cyrillomethodiana–Protoslavia orthodoxa*; cf. A. Avenarius, « Xristianstvo na Rusi v IX v. », *Beiträge zur byzantinischen Geschichte im 9–11 Jahrh.*, (Praha, 1978), pp. 301–315.

[4] J'emploie l'expression *Slavia orthodoxa*, dans le sens avec lequel Ricardo Picchio introduite dès 1958—communauté linguistique et religieuse des Slaves méridionaux et orientaux. Cf. R. Picchio, « La "Istorija slavjanobolgarskaja" sullo sfondo linguistico-culturale della Slavia ortodossa », *Ricerche slavistiche*, VI (1958), pp. 103–118; idem, *Storia della literatura russa antica* (Milano, 1959); idem, « The Function of Biblical Thematic Clues in the Literary Code of "Slavia orthodoxa" », *Slavica hierosolymitana*, I, 1977, pp. 1–31; idem, « Compilation and Composition: Two Levels of Authorship in the Orthodox Slavic Tradition », *Cyrillomethodianum*, V (Thessaloniki, 1981), pp. 1–4. Une bibliographie détaillée sur la question, voir A. Naumov, « "Veselije i venecъ radosti", czyli o niektórych koncepcjach Ricarda Picchia », *Studia slavica mediaevalia et humanistica: Ricardo Picchio dicata*, II (Roma, 1986), pp. 527–38.

christianisation (IX^{e}–XII^{e} siècles) par son ambivalence et, plus tard avec l'acculturation, est une tâche extrêmement difficile. Toute tentative de limiter le processus amène aussi bien des difficultés d'ordre méthodologique et conceptuel que des discussions continues qui en somme se regroupent autour du caractère de la réception byzantine chez les Slaves et des traits distinctifs de la communauté byzantino-slave.[5] Ces difficultés, viennent

[5] I. Snegarov, *Duxovno-kulturni vrăzki meždu Bălgarija i Rusija prez srednite vekove (X–XV v.)* (Sofia, 1950); R. Picchio, « A proposito della Slavia ortodossa e della comunità liguistica slava ecclesiastica », *Ricerche slavistiche*, IX (1963), pp. 105–127; idem, « Mjastoto na starobălgarskata literatura v kulturata na srednovekovna Evropa », *Literaturna misăl*, 35 (1981), kn. 8, pp. 19–36; V. Mošin, « O periodizaciji rusko-južnoslavenskix književnix veza », *Slovo*, 11–12 (Zagreb, 1962); idem, « O periodizaciji russko-južnoslavjanskix kulturnix svjazej X–XV vv. », *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoj literatury* (cité *infra TODRL*), XIX (1963), pp. 28–106; I. Dujčev, *Vrăzki mezdu čexi, slovaci i bălgari prez srednovekovieto* (Sofia, 1963), pp. 7–41; idem, « Izvraštavane na vizantijsko-slavjanskite kulturni otnošenija », *Istoričeski pregled*, 1964, kn. 1, pp. 108–109; idem, « Centry vizantino-slavjanskogo obščenija i sotrudničestva », *TODRL*, XIX (1963), pp. 107–109; idem, « Po njakoi problemi na staro-slavjanskata i starobălgarskata literatura », *Literaturna misăl*, 1969, kn. 1, pp. 8–23; idem, « La Bulgaria medioevale fra Bizanzio e Roma », *Relazioni culturali della Bulgaria an Bizanzio e con l'Italia* (Ravenna), XLVI (1968), pp. 67–97; idem, « Slavia Orthodoxa », *Collected Studies in the History of the Slavic Middle Ages* (London, 1970), idem, *Medioevo bizantino-slavo, saggi di storia letteraria*, vol. I–III, (Roma, 1965–1971); idem, « Riflessi della religiosità italo-greca nel mondo slavo ortodosso », *Italia sacra. Studi e documenti di storia ecclesiastica*, XX (1973), pp. 181–212; A. I. Robinson, « Literatura Kievskoj Rusi sredi evropejskix srednevekovyx literatur (tipologija, original'nost', metod) », *Slavjanskie literatury, VI Mežd. s''ezd slavistov*, (Moskva, 1968); D. S. Lixačev, « Staroslavjanskite literaturi kato sistema. Uvodni beležki », *Literaturna misăl*, 1969, kn. 1, pp. 3–38; idem, « Razmisli za originalnoto svoeobrazie i evropejskoto značenie na starobălgarskata literatura », *Literaturna misăl*, 1970, kn. 2, pp. 73–85; P. Dinekov, « Starobălgarskata literatura—naša gordost i trevoga », *Literaturna misăl*, 1970, kn. 2, pp. 51–72; B. St. Angelov, « Za njakoi obšti čerti v razvitieto na staro-slavjanskite literaturi », *Literaturna misăl*, 1971, kn. 3, pp. 51–61; L. Graševa, « Slavjanskite literaturi v novo osvetlenie », *Literaturna misăl*, 1971, kn. 3, pp. 62–71; D. Obolensky, « The Heritage of Cyril and Methodius in Russia », *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XIX (1965), pp. 47–65; idem, *The Byzantine Commonwealth, Eastern Europe, 500–1453 A.D.*, (London, 1974), pp. 280–83; S. Franklin, « The Reception of Byzantine Culture by the Slavs », *17th Intern. Byz. Congress, Major Papers, Washington, D. C, Aug. 1986* (New York, 1986), pp. 383–97; F. Thomson, « Quotations of Patristic and Byzantine Works by Early Russian Authors as an Indication of the Cultural Level of Kievan Russia », *Slavia Gandensia*, 10 (1983), pp. 65–102; idem, « Old Slavonic Translation: Advantages and Disadvantages of Slavonic as a Literary Language », *Le Langage et l'Homme*, 21 (1986), 2 Mai 1986, pp. 110–16 (une bibliographie détaillée sur la question); cf. D. Angelov, *Rusi i bălgari v istorijata* (Sofia, 1945); M. N. Tixomirov, « Istoričeskie svjazi russkogo naroda s južnymi slavjanami s drevnejšix vremen do poloviny XVII v. », *Slavjanskij sbornik* (Moskva, 1947), pp. 125–201; V. N. Tatiščev, *Istorija rossijskaja*, vol. I (Moskva-Leningrad, 1962); V. Mošin, « Poslanie russkogo mitropolita Leona ob opresnokax v Oxridskoj rukopisi », *Byzantinoslavica*, 1, 1963, pp. 89–97; G. Ostrogorskij, « Moravska misija i Vizantija », *Vizantija i sloveni*, IV (Beograd, 1970), pp. 59–78; B. St. Angelov, *Iz istorijata na rusko-bălgarskite literaturni vrăzki* (Sofia, 1972); P. Mutafčiev, « Russko-bolgarskie otnošenija pri Svjatoslave », *Izbrani proizvedenija* (Sofia, 1973), pp. 233–56; H. Birnbaum, *On Medieval and Renaissance Slavic Writing* (The Hague-Paris, 1974), pp. 10–40; M. V. Ščepkina, *K voprosu o prosveščenii Rusi, Pliska-Preslav*, vol. I

aussi de l'inachèvement au IX[e] siècle de la délimitation des zones ethnoculturelles pour les Serbes et la Rus'; ceci suppose un dynamisme des processus liés aux migrations, une instabilité des formations étatiques et, par conséquent, des formations culturelles. Il n'y a pas toujours une coïncidence chronologique entre l'identité politique et les institutions culturelles. En général, l'identité culturelle suit l'identité politique et étatique. Cela est particulièrement vrai pour les Slaves occidentaux qui ont adopté leur modèle chrétien d'Occident. Malgré les tentatives de Rome pour imposer en Europe orientale la souveraință du pape, l'idée de *Civitas terrena* et *Civitas Dei* (saint Augustin) est particulièrement forte.[6] D'autant plus que pendant cette période initiale, il n'y a pas de différences particulières entre les principes étatiques des différents slaves (à l'exception de la Bulgarie). Le pouvoir du prince est une évolution particulière de l'idée du chef tribal et il est commun à tous les Slaves méridionaux et occidentaux. Mais revenons aux Slaves méridionaux et orientaux qui nous intéressent particulièrement. L'absence d'une étape statique continue dans les organisations étatiques pendant cette période initiale, surtout pour les Serbes et la Rus', rend difficile aussi l'établissement de leurs normes artistiques. Cette difficulté concerne aussi la Bulgarie, qui tout en étant le premier État converti au christianisme, n'a pas disposé du temps historique nécessaire pour établir des traditions culturelles chrétiennes auxquelles on pourrait appliquer la notion de norme artistique. Donc, on se heurte au problème de la différence dans le degré de maturité culturelle des peuples slaves, ce qui, après la christianisation, suppose un niveau différent d'assimilation de la nouvelle culture byzantine, c'est-à-dire des différences dans la réception.

(Sofia, 1970); A. I. Rogov, « Kulturnye svjazi Kievskoj Rusi s balkanskimi stranami », *Slavjanskie kul'tury i Balkany*, vol. I (1978); idem, « Russko-bolgarskie kul'turnye svjazi v konce XII–XIII v. », *Jazyk i pis'mennost' srednebolgarskogo perioda* (Moskva, 1982), pp. 20–26; E. Mixajlov, « Bălgaro-ruskite kulturni vzaimootnišenija ot kraja na X do 30-te godini na XIII v. v ruskata i bălgarskata istoriografija », *Godišnik na Sofijskija universitet, Istoričeski fakultet*, 60, 1967, pp. 193–258; idem, « Kievska Rusija i Bălgarija prez X v. », *Rusko-bălgarski vrăzki prez vekovete* (Sofia, 1986), pp. 62–70; I. Toth, « Istoričeskie predposylki vozniknovenija i razprostranenija drevnebolgarskoj pis'mennosti na Rusi », *Dissertationes slavicae, Sector linguistica*, 16 (1984), pp. 149–99; I. Ševčenko, *Byzantine Roots of Ukrainian Christianity* (Cambridge, Mass., 1984); H. Birnbaum, « The Balkan Slav Component of Medieval Russian Culture », *California Slavic Studies*, 12 (1984), pp. 3–30; idem, « Old Rus' and the Orthodox Balkans, Differences in Kind, Extent, and Significance of the Early and Later Cultural Impact », *Cyrillomethodianum*, 8–9 (1984–1985), pp. 1–15.

6 G. Bakalov, *Srednovekovnijat bălgarski vladetel: Titulatura i insignii* (Sofia, 1985), pp. 1–5.

La christianisation des Slaves apportant, en plus de la doctrine théologique, des types d'identité de l'homme qui diffèrent radicalement de ceux que l'idéologie païenne avait proposé, impose un nouveau langage de communication—l'écriture slave et l'art chrétien. La littérature slave commence sa vie par des traductions, et l'art chrétien (malgré le fait que les Slaves et les Protobulgares, les Serbes et plus tard la Rus' trouvent en s'installant une population, déjà christianisée en partie)—par un nouveau langage artistique. Le problème de la maturité culturelle détermine en même temps le caractère de l'ambivalence, l'asymétrie du rapport entre Byzance et les Slaves, la corrélation entre le terme émetteur et le terme récepteur dans cette structure, autrement dit, la réception. Pour les Slaves méridionaux surgit en plus le problème des influences, qui est toujours d'une importance particulière dans leur cas, étant donné les circonstances géographiques et politiques qui engendrent un processus permanent d'échanges culturels. En ce sens, la recherche d'une « authenticité » et d'une « originalité » fausse un jugement sûr, surtout lorsqu'il s'agit de périodes de changement des modèles politiques et religieux, de modification des structures sociales et de rupture des traditions culturelles. De cette manière, créer des « modèles propres » d'identité ethnique pendant une période de changement des modéles, c'est préciser les transformations locales dans le cadre du modéle chrétien d'Orient contemporain et rechercher les traits distinctifs des différents peuples slaves au sein de la communauté slavo-byzantine.[7] Ainsi la nouvelle unification des Slaves méridionaux et des Slaves orientaux (rendue possible après qu'ils eurent adopté le modèle chrétien d'Orient) et leur intégration particuliére à la base de la réception de ce modèle pourraient être éclaircies, d'une part, en tenant compte de l'ambivalence de la corrélation Byzance—Slaves aux IX^{e}–XII^{e} siècles et, de l'autre, en se situant uniquement dans le cadre de la communauté orthodoxe slavo-byzantine, laissant de côté la possibilité d'une *réception slave unifiée. Ici nous parlons d'une nouvelle unification* des Slaves sous l'égide de l'orthodoxie, ayant en vue leur communauté linguistique initiale et leur coexistence jusqu'aux V^{e}–VI^{e} siècles au sein d'une communauté ethno-culturelle plus ou moins intégrale, c'est-à-dire que, dans ce cas, il s'agit d'une réintégration des Slaves sur la base de la doctrine orthodoxe. Consciente du caractère restreint de chaque terme, ici-même de l'intégration (au sens de réintégration), je voudrais préciser que, dans ces notes préliminaires, je n'aborderai qu'une petite partie du processus complexe de l'unification des Slaves, en me basant sur certains exemples

[7] K. Onasch, « Medieval Russian Culture », *California Slavic Studies*, 12 (1984), pp. 175–205.

empruntés aux domaines de la littérature hagiographique et de l'art—la formation du culte chez les Slaves. Mais, je m'appuie sur les conceptions de l'esthétique de la réception, en me rendant bien compte que l'intégration ne pourrait être définie ni uniquement comme réception, ni uniquement comme assimilation de groupes ethniques, d'autant que parfois nous rencontrons une réception de mouvements réciproques. Le processus est essentiellement complexe; pour les Slaves, il est réceptif pendant une période plus ancienne et réciproque plus tard. C'est justement à cause de sa complexité que nous allons examiner surtout la tradition de Cyrille et Méthode, avec son idéologie marquée de l'apostolat qui facilite l'intégration des Slaves au cours de la périod initiale (IX^{e}–XII^{e} siècles) et leur entrée au sein du modèle chrétien d'Orient et, plus précisément, au sein de l'orthodoxie byzantine. L'esthétique de la réception est une tentative de dépassement des recherches diachroniques et synchroniques. Elle se propose de faire une sorte de synthèse théorique qui permet d'examiner les oeuvres-prototypes en fonction directe de leur communication. De cette manière, chaque modification du paradigme littéraire (prototype) dépend de l'interprétation, de la retransmission, c'est-à-dire de l'actualisation du prototype.

Selon l'esthétique de la réception, l'oeuvre n'existe qu'à travers l'acte de la communication littéraire et dans la relation oeuvre-conscience réceptive. Autrement dit, il faut prendre conscience du caractère intersubjectif (herméneutique) du processus de construction de la signification. Les adeptes de l'aile herméneutique de l'esthétique de la réception construisent la signification de l'oeuvre dans le moment présent et dans le futur, autrement dit, ils l'envisagent en tant que créatrice de tradition. Pour les Slaves et Byzance, ce que H. R. Jauss appelle une réception productive (*productive Rezeption*)—un contact entre le texte et un autre auteur revêt une importance particulière.[8] Dans notre cas, le texte (le prototype byzantin) entre dans une certaine relation avec le récepteur (le lettré slave). L'adaptant aux conditions respectives, le lettré slave interprète d'une manière créatrice la signification de l'original, l'ajuste à la « nécessité intérieure », aux conditions dans lesquelles il vit. De cette façon, l'original byzantin ne cesse pas d'être un original, tout en se transformant en une nouvelle oeuvre qui acquiert de nouvelles significations.[9] L'importance d'une oeuvre,

[8] H. R. Jauss, *Receptiongeschichte als Provokation* (München, 1972); idem, *Pour une esthétique de la reception* (Paris, 1978).

[9] B. Ničev, *Osnovi na sravnitelnoto literaturoznanie* (Sofia, 1986), pp. 109–124 (une bibliographie détaillée sur la question); cf. G. Podskalsky, *Christentum und theologische Literatur in der Kiever Rus' (988–1237)* (München, 1982), avec une bibliographie détaillée sur l'adaptation productive de la culture byzantine; cf. A. Djurova, « Kăm văprosa za model-

considérée en fonction de l'ampleur, des paramètres de son appréhension, c'est-à-dire de la réception, plutôt qu'en fonction de son étendue et de son originalité, représente une formule fonctionnelle beaucoup plus commode à appliquer dans la sphère de l'idéologie politique et de l'organisation ecclésiastique; cependant, on pourrait l'employer aussi dans le domaine de l'art à la place de formules telles que « transplantation culturelle », « osmose culturelle », « diffusion culturelle », acculturation, etc.

Dans l'art, c'est le rapport avec le motif et l'invariant du motif qui détermine le caractère de la réception. Cela correspond à la notion du signe, de l'idéal normatif, du canon.[10] L'emprunt peut se faire au niveau d'un signe donné (un idéal-canon normatif) d'un ensemble de signes (le signe n'étant pas toujours adopté avec la signification qu'il a dans la tradition culturelle du modèle et du prototype il est, par conséquent, transformé), et en tenant compte des modifications possibles dans la hiérarchie des signes qu'impose un nouveau milieu. Sous un aspect sémiologique, on pourrait suivre les caractéristiques catégorielles dans la composition, la plasticité, le dynamisme des processus, ainsi que dans leur cadre. Le style est une manifestation de la normativité, une expression de l'idéal normatif. Le choix même de la normativité indique déjà une formation de modèles propres d'identité. Avec la christianisation les Slaves adoptent un nouveau langage de la communication, une nouvelle convention qui a sa propre

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obrazeć, adept-reć ipient », *Vtori bălgaro-grăcki simpozium, 4–6 april, Sofia, 1988, Godišnik na Centăra Ivan Dujčev*, sous presse, avec une bibliographie détaillée sur l'esthétique récéptive; A. Poppe, *The Rise of Christian Russia* (London, 1982), et surtout R. Pope, « O xaraktere i stepeni vlijanija vizantijskoj literatury na original'nyje literatury južnyx i vostočnyx slavjan », *American Contributions to the Seventh Int. Congress of Slavists*, vol. II (The Hague, 1973), pp. 469–93, où il compare la transformation hagiographique chez les Slaves en vue de la tradition byzantine; I. Ševčenko, « Remarks on the Diffusion of Byzantine Scientific and Pseudo-Scientific Literature among the Orthodox Slavs », *Slavonic and East European Review*, 59 (1981), pp. 323–25; H. G. Beck, « Von der Liebe zu den Byzantinern », *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 7, 1983 (1984), p. 33, en particulier en ce qui concerne la transmission de la culture byzantine; D. S. Lixačev, « The Type and Character of Byzantine Influence on Old Russian Literature », *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, 13 (1967), pp.16–32; idem, *Razvitije russkoj literatury X–XVII vekov* (Leningrad, 1973), pp. 20–23; D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth* (London, 1971), pp. 272–361, surtout p. 331; idem, « Late Byzantine Culture and the Slavs: A Study in Acculturation », XV^e Congrès int. d'Études byzantines, Rapports et co-rapports, (Athènes, 1976), pp. 3–26; idem, *The Byzantine Heritage of Eastern Europe* (London, 1982); A. N. Robinson, *Literatura drevnej Rusi v literaturnom processe srednevekovja XI–XIII vv. Očerki literaturno-istoričeskoj tipologii* (Moskva, 1980); H. Birnbaum, « Mikrokul'tury drevnej Rusi i ix meždunarodnyje svjazi », *American Contributions to the Ninth Int. Congress of Slavists*, II (Columbus, Ohio, 1983), pp. 53–68.

10 J. M. Lotman, « Xudožestvennye kanony kak problema stilja », *Voprosy èstetiki*, 6 (Moskva, 1964); idem, « Kanoničeskoe iskusstvo kak informacionnyj paradoks », *Problemy kanona v drevnem i srednevekovom iskusstve Azii i Afriki* (Moskva, 1973), pp. 16–23; A. Losev, « O ponjatii xudožestvennogo kanona », ibid., pp. 6–15.

sémiotique.[11] Ils adoptent l'essentiel du système byzantin d'information et le langage de l'art, apparu comme une information dogmatique dans sa variante post-iconoclaste.

Dans un article de 1965, Dimitri Obolensky, s'appuyant sur les sources, avait donné une définition imagée de l'acte de christianisation des Slaves—la réception de l'écriture supprime la confusion des langues (la tour de Babel) par le don de la langue à la Pentecôte. Ainsi le torrent divin à cause de l'alphabet envoyé aux peuples slaves, est le fondement principal de leur intégration. L'importance capitale de l'alphabet slave, créé par les frères Cyrille et Méthode, exerce une influence sur la fonction idéologique de leur oeuvre qui devient une sorte de centre sémantique des littératures slaves.[12] L'écriture slave (*gramota slovenskaja*), c'est la force de l'unité slave—objet de multiples recherches scientifiques. Le vieux-bulgare qui avait servi de base à la langue littéraire des Serbes et des Slaves orientaux, après avoir subi différentes rédactions, pendant cette période initiale, avait rendu compréhensibles les monuments littéraires des trois littératures et avait facilité leur passage de l'une à l'autre.[13] On peut noter aussi des ressemblances dans les genres littéraires, ainsi que dans les styles dont la formation s'appuie sur le prototype byzantin. Cette communauté se manifeste surtout au cours d'une période plus récente (XII^{e}–XIV^{e} siècles, au Mont-Athos) et au XV^{e} siècle avec la migration des lettrés bulgares et serbes en Roumanie, Valachie, Rus' du nord-est et Lituanie.

En réalité, l'apparition des livres et de la littérature slaves pourrait être considérée comme une seconde Pentecôte, c'est une unité à laquelle Cyrille

[11] D. Doroževskij, *Elementy leksikologii i semiotiki* (Moskva, 1973); M. Kagan, « Principy postroenija istoriko-kul'turnoj tipologii », *Izvestija Severokavkazkogo NU Vysšej školy, Seria obščestvennyx nauk*, 3 (1976); E. Meletinskij, *Poètika mifa* (Moskva, 1976); M. Baxtin, *Èstetika slovesnogo tvorčestva*, (Moskva, 1979); B. Bernstejn, *Tradićija i kanon. Dva paradoksa, kriterii i suždenij v iskusstvoznanii* (Moskva, 1986), pp. 176–214; W. Hendrics, *Essays on Semiolinguistics and Verbal Art* (Menton, 1973); Picchio, « Function of Biblical Thematic Clues »; B. Uspenskij, *Filologičeskie rozyskanija v oblasti slavjanskix drevnostej* (Moskva, 1984), p. 4; A. Naumow, *Biblia w strukturze artystyczenj utworów cerkiewnosłowjańskich* (Kraków, 1983); idem, « Zmjana modelu kultury a kwestia ciągłości rozwojowej (na materiale literatur słowianskich) », *Zeszyty Naukowe KUL* 27 (1984), 4 (108), pp. 13–38. Onasch, *Medieval Russian Culture*, pp. 175–205.

[12] Obolensky, « Heritage », pp. 54–56; P. A. Lavrov, « Materialy po istorii vozniknovenija drevnejšej slavjanskoj pis'mennosti », *Trudy slavjanskoj komissii AN SSSR* (Leningrad, 1930), p. 197; Picchio, « Questione della lingua », pp. 7–120.

[13] R. Jakobson, « The Kernel of Comparative Slavic Literature », *Harvard Slavic Studies*, vol. I (1953), pp. 37–41; D. S. Lixačev, *Poètika drevnerusskoj literatury* (Moskva, 1967), p. 8; P. Dinekov, « Obštnost i različija v razvitieto na starite slavjanski literaturi », *Slavjanska filologija*, 4 (Sofia, 1968), pp. 49–61; Jakobson, « Osnova », p.50.

et Méthode donnent une nouvelle signification.[14] La parole devient source de la raison et de la communion de l'homme avec Dieu. Par le don de la Parole, Babel est anéantie par la Pentecôte. Dans les oeuvres poétiques et prosaïques consacrées aux frères Cyrille et Méthode, la langue slave est saisie comme un don du Saint-Esprit, dont profiteraient les peuples nouvellement christianisés.[15] L'égalité des langues devant le Saint-Esprit est soulignée aussi dans la *Vie de Méthode*. Dans son épître à Rostislav, Svjatopolk et Kotzel, le pape Hadrien II reconnaît la langue slave comme égale au latin, du point du vue liturgique, ayant en vue le don du Saint-Esprit à la Pentecôte. Les premiers hymnographes et les élèves des frères de Thessalonique chantent la langue slave comme un don du Saint-Esprit, tandis que Constantin de Preslav introduit dans sa poésie la notion de don qui apparaît dans les traductions les plus anciennes des Actes des Apôtres, où l'on parle des dons du Saint-Esprit.[16] Le fait que dans la liturgie de la Pentecôte pénètre la thème de la lumière, que Dieu accord par les disciples, est très intéressant aussi.[17] Les frères de Thessalonique sont les représentants typiques des idées et des conceptions de l'Église chrétienne d'Orient—glorifier Dieu dans sa langue natale à la suite du don par le Christ du Saint-Esprit. Cela s'exprime dans la richesse de la liturgie de la Pentecôte d'une manière à la fois dogmatique et artistique. Au temps de Cyrille et Méthode et de leurs disciples la fête acquiert une forme achevée. Ainsi la défense de la langue et de l'écriture slaves devient-elle la principale caractéristique des oeuvres les plus anciennes des premiers apôtres slaves et de la littérature slave jusqu'au XII^e^ siècle. Cette clé thématique fonde l'autodétermination linguistique et ethnique qui unifie les Slaves jusqu'au XII^e^ siècle. Selon le témoignage du moine de Tchernorisetz Xrabăr, les anciens lettrés slaves se rendaient bien compte des conséquences de la confusion des langues, ils connaissaient la punition envoyée aux bătisseurs de la tour de Babel, tandis que dans la perspective

14 Obolensky, « Heritage », pp. 55–56; cf. P. Dinekov, *Starobălgarski stranici: Antologia* (Sofia, 1965), p. 56; D. Obolensky, « The Cyrillo-Methodian Mission: The Scriptorial Foundations », *St. Vladimir Theological Quarterly*, 30, 2 (1986), pp. 101–116.

15 B. St. Angelov, H. Kodov, *Kliment Oxridski: Săbrani săčinenija*, vol. III, *Prostranni žitija na Kiril i Metodij* (Sofia, 1973), p. 104. Cf. M. Skaballanovič, *Xristijanskie prazdniki: vsestoronnoe osveščenie každogo iz velikix prazdnikov so vsem ego bogosluženiem*, 5, *Pjatdesjatnica* (Kiev, 1916); L. Mirkovič, *Heortologija ili istorijski razvitak i bogosluženje praznika Pravoslavne istočne crkve* (Beograd, 1961), pp. 227–38.

16 A. Teodorov-Balan, *Kiril i Metodij*, II (Sofia, 1934); J. Ivanov, *Bălgarski starini iz Makedonija* (Sofia, 1931), p. 339.

17 D. Trifunovič, « Stara srpska književnost, IV: Vavilonska kula i sxvatanje jezika u staroj srpskoj književnosti », *Književna istorija*, XIV (1982), pp. 621–42; idem, « Darăt na Svetija Dux i slavjanskite ezici », *Kirilometodievski studii*, 4 (1987), pp. 76–80.

néotestamentaire, l'usage de langues différentes est un don du Saint-Esprit qui unifie de nouveau les peuples croyants. C'est de la Pentecôte que provient la langue liturgique slave la plus ancienne, fondement de l'entente chrétienne.[18] De cette manière, l'écriture sacrée donnée aux Slaves est une base de l'intégration de leur culture chrétienne, c'est elle qui fonde de la communauté de leur héritage culturel. Cependant, le contenu des littératures slaves est beaucoup plus riche, car il y a des ouvrages qui ne connaissent pas de migration au sein du monde slave, sans être toujours de caractère régional. Cela rend leur réception particulièrement originale, originalité que nous remarquons dès la période la plus ancienne (X^e^–XIII^e^ siècles). Dans la présente étude nous allons nous appuyer uniquement sur des exemples pris dans la littérature hagiographique, sur l'image des saints dans la littérature et l'art des Slaves méridionaux et orientaux, sur ceux qui entrent dans le calendrier de l'Église comme saints, c'est-à-dire deviennent un objet de culte après la formation de l'entité ethno-politique respective. Ici, je laisserai de côté l'existence de biographies laïques, par exemple celles des souverains et je n'utiliserai que les matériaux concernant des personnes, enregistrées dans le calendrier de l'Église, ce qui suppose l'existence de sources écrites: Vie, office et memoire.

De quelles aspirations spirituelles et de quel destin historique les personnages de la littérature hagiographique slave sont-ils le reflet? Quelle est la relation oeuvre-récepteur, dépendant de l'acte de la communication littéraire? Habituellement les Vies et les légendes se concentrent sur la conscience de l'ethnie et reflètent des particularités qui lui sont spécifiques. Quelles est leur fonction pragmatique, puisqu'elles cachent toujours un commanditaire? Nous n'allons pas nous occuper des principes du genre hagiographique qui ont suscité une littérature abondante.[19] Ce qui est

[18] Trifunovič, « Darăt », p. 80.

[19] A. Murav'ev, *Žitija svjatyx russkoj cerkvi* (Moskva) I–XII (1855–1858); Arx. Leonid, *Svjataja Rus'* (Moskva, 1897); E. E. Golubinskij, *Istorija russkoj cerkvi*, I (Moskva, 1901); idem, *Istorija kanonizaciji svjatyx v russkoj cerkvi* (Moskva, 1903; rep. Israel, 1969); H. Delehaye, *Sanctus, Essai sur le culte des saints dans l'antique*, Société des Bolandistes (Bruxelles, 1927); F. Halkin, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, I–III (Bruxelles, 1957); L. Müller, *Die altrussischen hagiographischen Erzählungen und liturgischen Dichtungen über die Heiligen Boris und Gleb* (München, 1967); A. Poppe, *Histoire des saints et de la sainteté chrétienne*, V (Paris, 1986); V. Ključevskij, *Drevnerusskie žitija svjatyx kak istoričeskij istočnik* (Moskva, 1871); Arx. Sergij, *Polnyj mjesjaceslov Vostoka*, I (Vladimir, 1901); D. Šestakov, *Issledovanija v oblasti grečeskix narodnyx skazanij o svjatyx* (Warszawa, 1910); N. Loparev, « Vizantijskije žitija svjatyx VIII–IX vv. », *Vizantijskij vremennik*, XVII, XVIII, XIX, 1911, 1913, 1915; A. Rudakov, *Očerki vizantijskoj kul'tury po dannym grečeskoj agiografii* (Moskva, 1917); H. Delehaye, *Les légendes hagiographiques* (Bruxelles, 1905); idem, *Les Passions des martyrs et les genres littéraires* (Bruxelles, 1921); I. Eremin, « O xudožestvennoj specifike drevnerusskoj literatury », *Russkaja literatura*, 1 (1958), pp. 75–82;

important pour nous, c'est l'idéal normatif qu'implique ce genre et qui laisse voir les particularités spécifiques du milieu où il apparaît, c'est aussi sa dépendance du prototype byzantin. Quels idéaux ont fait naître l'image-norme des Slaves et que compense-t'elle? Que visent les trois niveaux de la Vie d'un siant—l'affabulation, la composition et le niveau stylistique? En quoi consistent le but et la nature de l'acte de souffrance chez les martyrs? Pour quelle raison, les ermites ont-ils fait un pas vers la vie anachorétique? Qu'est-ce qui a poussé les ecclésiastiques à se faire missionnaires? Quelle est la cause des actes que les saints princes et les saints rois ont accomplis au profit de l'Église? Que compensent les miracles dont ils sont les auteurs—guérison, salut de la Patrie, conservation de la foi?!, etc. Quel est le contact entre le prototype byzantin et le lettré slave?

Héritières de l'hagiographie antique et de certains sujets empruntés au roman hellénistique, les premières Vies des « Pères de l'Église » possèdent un statut de caractère classique qui dessine les paramètres de l'interprétation artistique. Autrement dit, l'invariant est constant, étant fondé sur la typologie biblique. La pluralité des ethnies au sein de l'Empire byzantin, sa vaste étendu géographique où habitent des peuples d'origine très variée (depuis les Siciliens et les Calabrais, occupant la Sicile et la Calabre du sud, les habitants des terres nord-africaines et en passant par la Syrie jusqu'au régions méridionales de l'Ukraine actuelle et de la Ciscaucasie), tout cela explique le mouvement caractéristique dans l'hagiographie en ce qui concerne l'idéal normatif du saint et les aspects complexes de sa réception, ainsi que la place variable qu'occupe le genre hagiographique dans la hiérarchie des genres—depuis le cas d'exclusion de la Vie du domaine de la « haute » vulture élitique jusqu'à la rédaction métaphrastienne des Vies au X^e siècle. Ce dynamisme du genre hagiographique explique en même temps la réception du répertoire hagiographique qui commence souvent par des Vies « basses », remplacées rapidement par des Vies « hautes », c'est-à-dire, rédigées.[20] Le canon s'impose dans la production hagiographique dès le IX^e siècle et atteint son point culminant au X^e siècle. Syméon le Métaphraste développe le schéma du sujet en lui donnant une substance littéraire constante, il le construit au moyen de situations traditionnelles choisies qui véhiculent le symbolisme du prototype

G. P. Fedotov, *Svjatye drevnej Rusi X–XVII st.* (Paris, 1931; rep. New York, 1959); D. S. Lixačev, *Čelovek v literature drevnej Rusi* (Moskva, 1968; II ed., 1970); S. Poljakova, « Vizantijskie legendy kak literaturnoe javlenie », *Vizantijskie legendy* (Moskva-Leningrad, 1972); K. Stančev, *Poètika na starobălgarskata literatura* (Sofia, 1982); K. Ivanova, *Stara bălgarska literatura*, vol. IV: *Žitiepisni tvorbi* (Sofia, 1986), pp. 5–34.

20 Ivanova, *Stara bălgarska literatura*, p. 11.

biblique.[21] (Au XIII^e^–XIV^e^ siècles à Byzance et chez les Slaves, le genre hagiographique épuise ses possibilités, sans modifier le canon.)

L'hagiographie slave, qui commence à se développer dès le IX^e^ siècle, se manifeste surtout dans la productivité des traductions de la littérature hagiographique byzantine. On traduit des Vies isolées et des recueils entiers d'ouvrages hagiographiques, rangés selon l'ordre du calendrier ecclésiastique. Les Vies détaillées et les Martyres, inclus par exemple, dans le *Codex suprasliensis* (X^e^ siècle) ne représentent qu'un faible vestige de l'activité de traduction des écrivains bulgares pendant le Siècle d'or de Siméon (893–927) et témoignent de leur démarche sélective. La littérature hagiographique traduite comprend des ouvrages de « haute » et de « bas » niveau et elle s'accompagne de la création d'une tradition hagiographique originale dont le corpus, composé de saints-héros montre que sa réception n'est pas fortuite. Elle est orientée, parce que, à cette époque, entre la Bulgarie et Byzance il n'a pas de correspondance quant à l'idéal normatif essentiel. Plus tard, on observe le même phénomène chez les Serbes et dans la Rus'. Qu'est-ce que j'ai en vue? Des faits très connus—le début de la littérature slave originale est marqué par des ouvrages consacrés à Constantin-Cyrille et à Méthode—à la différence de Byzance, ce thème reste le plus actuel au Moyen Age pour les Slaves méridionaux et orientaux. De plus, ces ouvrages égalent les meilleurs prototypes de l'hagiographie constantinopolitaine, créés à l'époque de l'iconoclasme. Ils s'opposent à l'hagiographie byzantine de leur époque par l'interprétation des idées chrétiennees dans un esprit de défense de leurs acquis culturels. De cette manière la mission des frères Cyrille et Méthode n'a pas uniquement pour but de propager la foi, de combattre le dogme du trilinguisme, mais surtout d'éclairer les Slaves. La clé thématique biblique dépend du type de héros hagiographique. Ainsi Cyrille et Méthode sont du type apostolique, une typologie qui se dégage lors de l'analyse de la structure et de la sémantique de l'oeuvre.[22] Dieu les a envoyés chez les Slaves pour qu'ils illuminent leur chemin vers le Salut et leur oeuvre évangélisatrice se poursuit dans la lutte contre les ennemis de l'écriture et de la littérature slaves. Les premiers écrivains slaves mettent Cyrille sur un pied d'égalité avec un disciple du Christ, un apôtre. Clément d'Oxrid l'appelle un « nouvel apôtre ». On doit noter la gradation du péché que l'on observe dans leurs Vies. Le plus grand péché c'est le dogme du trilinguisme. De cette façon, la fable et la composition de leurs Vies mettent au premier plan leur lutte, très actuelle, en

[21] V. G. Vasilevskij, *Sinodal'nij kodeks Metafrasta* (SPg., 1899), p. 44.

[22] K. Stančev, « Prostrannoto žitie na Metodij—problemi na strukturata i semantikata », *Kirilo-Metodievski studii*, 4 (1987), pp. 81–85.

faveur de la langue slave, une tendance qui, à cette époque, comme nous l'avons déjà souligné, n'est plus actuelle pour Byzance. L'ancienne littérature bulgare créé de nouveaux prototypes thématiques et formels, elle est ainsi une littérature de prototypes, de paradigmes.[23] N'est pas davantage actuel pour Byzance le fond sur lequel s'appuie, à ses débuts, l'hagiographie slave, mais il répond à une étape plus ancienne de l'affirmation, ainsi que de l'évolution du christianisme dans l'Empire byzantin, dont témoigne la réactualisation de la mémoire des martyrs, morts pour la foi et habitant les terres slaves au IV^e^ siècle—comme par exemple la mémoire des quinze martyrs de Strumica, celle de saint Érasme d'Oxrid, de saint Achille dont nous parlerons plus loin d'une manière détaillée.

A cette époque (IX^e^–XI^e^ siècles), on canonise aussi des souverains bulgares—le prince Boris Mixaïl et le roi Petăr.[24] Mais le culte des souverains, répandu plus tard dans la littérature serbe et slave orientale, n'est pas productif dans la littérature bulgare, pas plus qu'à Byzance.[25] Cela tient aux différences entre les modèles politiques des états slaves. Les différences entre le modèle byzantin du pouvoir et l'institution princière, que nous avons déjà signalées, rendent possible l'apparition de Vies de souverains chez les Serbes et les Russes, au contraire de Byzance et de la Bulgarie où l'on rencontre rarement ce type de Vies. C'est une des raisons pour lesquelles elles ne subsistent que comme un phénomène sporadique et ne font pas partie des cycles hagiographiques (en Bulgarie, elles finissent par disparaître).

Dès la période la plus ancienne de l'hagiographie bulgare, on connaît le type de Vie érémitique, fondée sur la vie et l'oeuvre du premier ermite bulgare, saint Jean de Rila.[26] Aux XI^e^–XII^e^ siècles, les monastères demeurent les principaux centres littéraire des Balkans, dans lesquels on maintient le

[23] R. Picchio, « Mjastoto na starata bălgarska literatura v kulturata na srednovekovna Evropa », *Literaturna misăl*, 8 (1981), pp. 19–36.

[24] N. Dragova, « Fragment ot starobălgarskoto žitie na sveti knjaz Boris v balkanskite srednovekovni tvorbi », *Literaturoznanie i folkloristika. V čest na akad. Petăr Dinekov* (Sofia, 1983), pp. 89–92; V. Gjuzelev, *Knjaz Boris I. Bălgaria prez vtorata polovina na IX v.* (Sofia, 1969), p. 531; *Kirilo-Metodievska enciklopedia* (cité *infra KME*), vol. I: *A–Z* (Sofia, 1985), pp. 222–33.

[25] Les panégyriques, créés du vivant des souverains, ne signifient pas encore que l'on leur vouait un culte (par exemple le panégyrique de Syméon dans le *Florilège de Svjatoslav* de 1076 ou bien celui d'Ivan Alexandre dans le *Psautier* de 1337, dit *Pesniveć* d'Ivan Alexandre). Il nous est difficile d'accepter l'opinion de Nadežda Dragova qui suppose qu'à la base de la *Vie des martyrs* de Tiberiopoles se trouve une *Vie détaillée du prince Boris*, aujourd'hui perdue; N. Dragova, « Starobălgarskite izvori na žitieto na petnadesette tiveriopolski măčenici ot Teofilakt Oxridski », *Studia balcanica*, II, *Proučvanija po slučaj Vtorija meždunaroden kongres po balkanistika* (Sofia, 1970), pp. 105–131.

[26] I. Dujčev, *Rilskijat sveteć* (Sofia, 1947).

culte des saints des Slaves du sud. Dans le monastère de Rila on ne cesse pas de vouer un culte à saint Jean. On honore les noms de trois autres ermites: Gavril de Lesnovo, Proxor de Pšina et Joachim d'Osogovo. Il est probable que pendant cette période, on leur avait consacré des Vies, mais les textes parvenus jusqu'à nos jours datent d'une époque plus récente. Les Vies des ermites ont un point commun—leur orientation patriotique, qui continue la tradition, née à l'époque de saint Clément d'Oxrid, mais diffère de la tradition de l'hagiographie érémitique byzantine sur laquelle s'appuyaient les écrivains slaves. Quoiqu'elle fut pauvre, la littérature hagiographique des Slaves méridionaux au cours de la domination byzantine (1018–1185) est extrêmement intéressante en tant que réception (par sa puissante orientation patriotique) et en tant qu'évolution (par l'union particulière des traditions byzantine et slaves dans ce domaine). Pendant cette période, les centres culturels où l'on conserve l'oeuvre de Cyrille et Méthode se taisent. L'absence d'un pouvoir politique central prive les Slaves méridionaux de riches monastères et de *scriptoria*, il n'y a pas de centre où pourraient apparaître des gens dignes d'être sanctifiés et qui serait en état de suggérer la canonisation de certaines personnalités afin de les inclure dans le calendrier culturel des Bulgares et des Serbes. Mais c'est à ce moment qu'a lieu l'unification du genre hagiographique dans le cadre de la communauté byzantino-slave. Les écrivains byzantins reprennent des thèmes slaves, esquissés déjà à l'époque du premier État bulgare. L'archevêque d'Oxrid, Théophilacte, crée *La Vie détaillée de saint Clément d'Oxrid* et fait entrer dans son texte des renseignements puisés dans des ouvrages slaves plus anciens. En effet, la Vie rédigée par Théophilacte d'Oxrid utilise directement l'héritage de Clément et de Naum et, à travers celui-ci, les renseignements concernant Cyrille et Méthode.[27] Sur ce problème, on a écrit maintes fois. Plusieurs moments de la *Vie de Naum* permettent de ne pas la traiter comme un second ouvrage du biographe anonyme de Clément et de Naum, mais comme une partie d'une oeuvre plus vaste, consacrée à Clément et à Naum, mais dans laquelle prédominait le thème de Clément. Il est possible que la *Vie de Naum* soit une partie de l'ancienne *Vie de Clément*, rédigée en vieux-bulgare et perdue, adaptée à un texte commémoratif consacré à Naum. Une analyse comparative entre la *Vie de Naum* et *La Vie détaillée* grecque écrite par Théophilacte sur la question des disciples de Cyrille et Méthode montre qu'entre les deux textes il y a une dépendance, incomplète il est vrai. Certains moments sont abrégés, d'autres sont développés d'une manière rhétorique, d'autres enfin

[27] Ivanov, *Bălgarski starini*, p. 309; B. Mirčeva, S. Barlieva, « Predvaritelen spisăk na kirilo-metodievskite izvori », *Kirilo-Metodievski studii*, 4 (1987), pp. 486–515.

sont supprimés dans la fable.[28] Dans une copie de Vatopède de la *Vie détaillée de Cyrille* on peut voir que les paragraphes 57 et 59 sont parfaitement logiques et que le paragraphe 58, qui diffère de la narration des deux autres, présente les signes d'une citation directe de l'ancienne *Vie* bulgare de Clément.[29] A titre d'argument, citons un exemple de la Copie de Vatopède de la *Vie détaillée de Cyrille*, publiée récemment par Nixoritis. Dans cette copie, ce passage est différencié des autres par une marque graphique, un signe dans la marge (fol. 390 a s͠n). On retrouve ce signe à plusieurs endroits dans le manuscrit à côte de passages où quelque chose est cité.

Après Théophilacte d'Oxrid, son successeur à la tête de l'Archevêché d'Oxrid, Dimitrios Chomatianos écrit une *Vie brève du thaumaturge Clément d'Oxrid.* Georges Skilitza compose une *Vie de saint Jean de Rila.* Tout cela montre encore une fois que, d'une part, une tradition slave dans le domaine de l'hagiographie existe dans le cadre de la communauté culturelle byzantino-slave, et de l'autre, que cette tradition est soutenue aussi par les écrivains byzantins.[30]

Les moines-erémites apparaissent fortement influencés par Byzance, ce dont témoignent les Vies des premiers anachorètes slaves méridionaux—Jean de Rila, Gavril de Lesnovo, Proxor de Pšina et Joachim d'Osogovo. Avec les Vies de Cyrille et Méthode, de Clément et de Naum, elles constituent, tout comme les saints byzantins, le fondement du panthéon slave.[31]

28 K. Stančev, G. Popov, *Kliment Oxridski: Život i tvorčestvo* (Sofia, 1988).

29 K. Nixoritis, « Neizvestni prepisi ot službata i ot Prostrannoto žitie na Kliment Oxridski », *Kirilo-Metodievski studii*, 3 (1986), pp. 66–71.

30 V. Antik, *Lokalni hagiografii vo Makedonija* (Skopje, 1977); A. Milev, *Žitijăta na sv. Kliment Oxridski* (Sofia, 1961); V. Markovič, *Prăvoslavno monašestvo u srednovekovoj Srbiji* (Sr. Karlovci, 1920), p. 3; M. Purkovič, *Svetitelski kultovi u staroj srpskoj državi* (Beograd, 1939), p. 1; P. Lavrov, « Žitie sv. Nauma i služba emu », *Izvestija ORJAS Imp. AN* (1907), p. 4; L. Pavlovič, *Kultovi lića kod Srba i Makedonaća* (Smederovo, 1965), p. 18; H. Polenakovič, *Kniga za Kliment* (Skopje, 1966); Ivanov, *Bălgarski starini*, pp. 305–314.

31 R. Grujić, *Spomenica srpskog provaoslavnog hrama sv. Bogorodice*, (Beograd, 1935), p. 74; D. Radojčić, « Svetitelski likovi Miloša Obiliščic », *Put. Časopis za hriščansku kulturu*, 1933, 1, pp. 22–25; idem, *Razvojni luk stare srpske književnosti* (Beograd, 1965), p. 20; E. Golubinskij, *Kratkij očerk istorii pravoslavnyx cerkvej, bolgarskoj, serbskoj i rumynskoj* (Moskva, 1871); S. Novaković, *Prvi osnovi slovenske književnosti medju Balkanskim slovenima* (Beograd, 1893), p. 166; D. Čuxlev, *Istorija na bălgarskata carkva*, vol. I (Sofia, 1911); K. Jireček, *Istorija Srba*, vol. I, (Beograd, 1920); I. Snegarov, *Istorija na Oxridskata arxiepiskopija-patriaršija* (Sofia, 1932); P. Slankameć, « Légendi o južnoslavenskim anaxoretima », *Glasnik Srpskog naučnog društva* (Skopje, 1925), 1, pp. 213–33; Ivanov, *Bălgarski starini*, p. 407; Antik, *Lokalni hagiografii.* Le manque de sources locales sur Clément d'Oxrid est compensé par la *Vie détaillée de Théophylacte d'Oxrid* et par la *Vie abrégée de Démetrius Homatianus.* Cf. Milev, *Žitijăta*, pp. 167–87; Ivanov, *Bălgarski starini*, pp. 314–421; I. Dujčev, « Klimentovoto žitie ot Dimităr Xomatian », *Kliment Oxridski, Sbornik statii po slučaj 1050 godini ot smărtta mu* (Sofia, 1966), pp. 161–71; Stančev, Popov, *Kliment*

Leur pénétration rapide dans le calendrier des manuscrits et dans le programme iconographique des églises en est la preuve.

Que peuvent nous proposer le calendrier relativement réduit de l'*Évangéliaire d'Assémani* des X^{e}–XI^{e} siècles et les fresques de cette époque? A côté des noms Constantin-Cyrille (14 février), de Méthode (6 avril), de Clément (27 juillet), dans le calendrier de ce manuscrit glagolitique,[32] on trouve mentionnés les noms de saints que l'on ne rencontre jamais dans d'autres calendriers byzantins et slaves, ni dans des monuments créés hors du diocèse d'Oxrid. Le 29 août, par exemple, est consacré à la mémoire des quinze martyrs de la Strumica, le 2 juin—à la mémoire d'Érasme d'Oxrid, le 5 mai—à la mémoir d'Achille de Larissa, le 25 novembre et le 30 janvier—respectivement à la mémoire du pape Clément de Rome et au jour de la découverte de ses reliques par Cyrille à Chersonèse, en Crimée. La mention de la mémoire des quinze martyrs de la Strumica et de celle d'Érasme d'Oxrid dans un monument provenant de la région d'Oxrid témoigne de la forte propagation du culte des martyrs de la période antérieure à la pénétration slave dans cette région, ce qui est confirmé par la présence de leurs images dans des fresques d'églises en Macédoine. Or la mémoire de ce type de saints n'est attestée que dans le cadre de cette region, elle n'est conservée ni dans des manuscrits, ni dans les fresques ou icônes, provenant des autres parties de la Péninsule balkanique, ni chez les Slaves orientaux, à l'exception de l'image de Clément dans l'église Sainte-Sophie à Kiev. Par exemple, le 14 février est consacré à la mémoire de Cyrille dans l'*Évangéliaire d'Ostromir* (1056–1057), dans l'*Évangéliaire de Mstislav* (1113–1117), ainsi que dans le Livre des Apôtres d'Oxrid (fin du XII^{e} siècle) et dans le *Synodique du roi Boril* (XIV^{e} siècle). Dans le *Ménologe de l'Évangéliaire d'Arxangel'sk* (1092), le 14 février est consacré à la mémoire de Cyrille et le 6 avril—à celle de Méthode.[33] Autrement dit, dans les manuscrits russes sont passés unique-

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Oxridski; du X^{e} siècle on ne possède qu'un office, créé probablement par un de ses élèves. Cf. E. Sprostranov, « Neizvestna služba na Kliment, episkop slovenski », *Sbornik v čest na prof. L. Miletič po slučaj 25-godišnata mu knižovna dejnost (1886–1911)* (Sofia, 1911), pp. 347–51; Ivanov, *Bălgarski starini*, pp. 322–27 (I. ed., Sofia, 1908, pp. 51–58; II ed., pp. 305–311).

32 *KME*, pp. 124–32; V. Ivanova-Mavrodinova, A. Džurova, *Il Vangello Assemani. Monumento palaeobulgaro glagolitico del X secolo (Studio artistico-storico)*, vol. I–II (Sofia, 1981); J. S. Asemani, *Kalendari na vselenskata cărkva za sv. slavjanski apostoli* (Sofia, 1987); Lavrov, « Žitija sv. Nauma Oxridskogo », pp. 1–7; I. Dujčev, *Iz starata bălgarska kniznina*, vol. I (Sofia, 1943), pp. 60–62; au sujet de Constantin de Preslav cf. G. Popov, « Triodni proizvedenija na Konstantin Preslavski », *Kirilo-Metodievski studii*, 2 (1985).

33 Rogov, « Russko-bolgarskie svjazi », pp. 20–26; M. Čorović-Ljubinković, « Odglas kulta Čirila i Metodija u balkanskoj srednjevekovnoj umetnosti », *Simpozium 1100 godišnina od smărtta na Kiril Solunski*, vol. I, (Skopje, 1970), pp. 123–30; *Svodnyj katalog slavjanorusskix knig, xranjaščixsja v SSSR XI–XIII vv.* (Moskva, 1984): l'office de Cyrille—no. 85, 207, 277,

ment les noms de Cyrille et Méthode et plus récemment celui de Jean de Rila. Les autres saints faisant partie des premiers Slaves méridionaux primitifs ne dépassent pas les frontières de la région où ils sont apparus; dans des cas rares, on observe une confusion de la mémoire des différents erémites chez les Slaves méridionaux, essentiellement avec celle de saint Jean de Rila. C'est avec la seconde influence des Slaves du sud que pénètre dans les manuscrits russes le calendrier complet de Tirnovo, mais cette question n'intéresse pas le présent article.

Quel est le choix des saints dans les fresques de Macédoine? Dans l'église Sainte-Sophie d'Oxrid, la couche picturale, conservée depuis le XI^e^ siècle, c'est-à-dire la peinture fut commandée par l'archevêque Léon (1037–1056), garde les images de Constantin-Cyrille, de Méthode et probablement d'Érasme d'Oxrid.[34] La tradition byzantine, ainsi que les sources—les menées, la littérature et la peinture byzantines n'ont pas gardé le souvenir de Cyrille et Méthode. Je laisse de côté les deux scènes de l'église Saint-Clément de Rome qui illustrent surtout l'apothéose de saint Clément, la découverte et la translation de ses reliques, ainsi qu'une scène du *Ménologe de Basile II* qui, elle aussi, évoque la translation des reliques du pape Clément à Rome.[35] Le thème des apôtres slaves n'est pas actuel pour Byzance, mais il est extrêmement populaire parmi les Slaves méridionaux et orientaux, créant une tradition périodiquement réactualisée. De cette manière, il devient une sorte de catalyseur pour les Slaves et une base de leur unification active. Par exemple, l'apparition des fresques avec les images de Cyrille et de Clément dans l'église Sainte-Sophie d'Oxrid, sur la commande de l'archevêque Léon, est liée à la politique relativement tolérante à l'égard des Slaves, menée par Basile II au XI^e^ siècle—une politique reflétant l'universalisme byzantin.[36]

Quelle était la fonction de ces fresques, commandées par l'archevêque Léon et destinées à la population slave? Dans l'église Saint-Clément de Rome, Cyrille et Méthode portent les habits d'hiéromoines, à Sainte-Sophie

358, 414 (fin du XI^e^ siècle – second moité du XIV^e^ siècle); l'office de Cyrille et Méthode—no. 64 (XII^e^ siècle); voir aussi Vie de Cyrille – no. 309 (XII^e^ siècle); de Méthode—no. 165 (XII – XIII^e^ siècles); le mémoire de Cyrille—no. 3, 6, 72, 185, 243, 337 (XI – XIII^e^ siècles); le mémoire de Méthode—no. 3, 72 (XI – XII^e^ siècles); le mémoire de Cyrille et Méthode—no. 198 (XIII^e^ siècle).

34 C. Grozdanov, « Mesećoslov Asemanevog jevandjelja i starije zidno slikarstvo u Makedoniju », *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti, Knjiga V. J. Djurica*, 21 (Novi Sad, 1983), p.2.

35 L. Boyle, *Salut Clemente* (Roma, 1963); I. Dujčev, « Une miniature byzantine méconnue avec les images de Cyrille et Méthode? », *Byzantion*, XXXVI (Bruxelles, 1966), pp. 51 – 73.

36 C. Grozdanov, *Oxridsko zidno slikarstvo od XIV v.* (Oxrid, 1980), p. 20.

d'Oxrid, en revanche Cyrille est représenté en archevêque.[37] Cette initiative iconographique n'est sans doute pas due au par hasard. Les principales normes du système décoratif de l'église byzantine sont fixées dès le IX^{e} siècle, la place centrale y est occupée par les saints chrétiens les plus importants—ceux qui protègent tous les croyants, venus prier pour obtenir salut et pardon. Ces rangées de saints représentés dans la peinture monumentale, sur les icônes et les iconostases, sont adoptées comme un système fixe lors de la christianisation des Slaves. Et c'est là que commencent à occuper une place honorable les portraits des saints slaves, vénérés dans certains milieux de la communauté monastique, ou bien à l'endroit où l'on conservait leurs reliques. De cette manière, on voit se créer une tradition originale dans le programme iconographique de l'église slave où les images des saints locaux apparaissent sur les fresques à côté des saints byzantins. Cela rappelle l'inclusion de leur mémoire dans le calendrier des manuscrits slaves. Ainsi, dans la peinture de l'église, consacrée à la mémoire des quinze martyrs de la Strumica on voit les images de ceux-ci; Érasme d'Oxrid est représenté avec Cyrille et Clément dans l'église Sainte-Sophie d'Oxrid, l'image de saint Achille est peinte dans l'église située au bord du lac de Prespa. Ces représentations ne sont pas fortuites—elles sont faites à la suite d'une commande: saint Achille a été commandé par le tsar Samuil, les quinze martyrs de la Strumica—par le prince Boris, Cyrille, Clément et Érasme d'Oxrid—par l'archevêque Léon.[38] Comme nous l'avons déjà signalé, ce qui est particulièrement intéressant dans ce cas, c'est que la commande vient de milieux slaves, ou bien de Byzantins qui avaient travaillé parmi les Slaves. Les seuls témoignages grecs concernant Cyrille et Méthode remontant à cette époque ancienne sont les renseignements laissés par les archevêques byzantins d'Oxrid qui avaient utilisé les sources de l'époque de Clément. Dans les ménologes grecs on ne vénére pas la mémoire de Cyrille et Méthode, de même, les programmes thématiques des peintres ne contiennent pas leurs noms.[39]

Le programme iconographique de l'autel de l'église Sainte-Sophie d'Oxrid montre bien l'orientation de la commande. Le choix des saints rend compte des idées constantinopolitaines sur les rapports entre les centres ecclésiastiques de la chrétienté. La partie médiane de l'autel comprend les portraits des patriarches de Constantinople, tandis que l'Église romaine est représentée dans la partie orientale, diaconale, par le groupe des six

[37] Čorović-Ljubinković, « Odglas », pp. 125–26 (une bibliographie détaillée).
[38] C. Grozdanov, *Portreti na svetiteli od Makedonija od IX–XVIII vek.* (Skopje, 1983).
[39] A. Vasiliev, *Bălgarski svetći v izobrazitelnoto izkustvo* (Sofia, 1987).

papes. Avant 1054, le programme iconographique de l'église Sainte-Sophie reflète la primauté du patriarcat de Constantinople au sein de la communauté chrétienne par rapport à Rome (il ne faut pas oublier que, dans ce cas, c'était une nécessité, étant donné que la région d'Oxrid s'était longtemps trouvée dans la juridiction de Rome). C'est pourquoi la représentation de Cyrille en archevêque, à côté de Clément, fait partie du programme illustrant la dépendance du siège archiépiscopal d'Oxrid vis-à-vis de son centre ecclésiastique que représentaient l'empereur Basile II et l'archevêque Léon. D'ordinaire, les missions byzantines sont dirigées de haut en bas. C'est le souverain qui prend la décision et par lui la Grăce arrive jusqu'au peuple. En ce sens, il faut admettre qu'aux XII^{e}–XIII^{e} siècles, l'absence d'une telle conjoncture amène la disparition des portraits de Cyrille et Méthode dans la peinture monumentale. Théophilacte d'Oxrid, Dimitiros Chomatianos et Constantin Kavassila glorifient Cyrille et Méthode, mais en les associant à Clément d'Oxrid. Le culte que l'on voue à ce dernier à cette époque pourrait s'expliquer par le fait qu'il avait quitté Preslav, envoyé comme évêque de Velika, et était mort en 916, probablement aux environs d'Oxrid et plus exactement par le parallèle que Théophilacte ètablit entre Clément et « le nouveau Paul, parmi les nouveaux Corinthiens ».[40] C'est là le résultat des parallèles que les archevêques byzantins d'Oxrid faisaient entre Clément et eux-mêmes, en soulignant de la sorte leur destin commun.[41] C'est pour cette raison que Cyrille, Clément et Érasme sont placés ensemble dans l'église Sainte-Sophie d'Oxrid—comme une preuve évidente de leur mission. Ce cycle iconographique laisse deviner une modification par rapport aux prototypes byzantins connus, ainsi qu'un développement et un enrichissement de l'ancienne tradition. Cela entraîne l'accumulation de nouvelles significations auxquelles participent aussi des écrivains byzantins. Ainsi, la réception crée-t-elle une tradition vivante qui, au cours des siècles ultérieurs, va acquérir de nouveaux accents et significations, en fonction de la conjoncture.

Quelles sont les autres questions auxquelles répond le programme iconographique de l'église Sainte-Sophie? Il est subordonné à l'initiative prise au X^{e} siècle de compléter le calendrier grec des saints par ceux que l'on vénérait dans des contrées éloignées. Une telle intégration des saints byzantins et slaves est enregistrée dans le *Ménologe de Basile II*.[42] L'archevêque Léon, ancien bibliothécaire de l'église Sainte-Sophie de

40 Grozdanov, *Portreti*, pp. 41–42; cf. aussi: I Cor. 12: 10, 20, 30; 13: 1; 14: 2, 4–6, 13–16, 26–28, 39.
41 Snegarov, *Istorija*, p. 213.
42 Golubinskij, *Kratkij očerk*, pp. 20–21; Grozdanov, *Portreti*, p. 24.

Constantinople, à la suite de ses fonctions ecclésiastiques prend part à la rédaction des calendriers, en y introduisant des saints que l'Église de Constantinople ne connaît guère et en occupant de la sorte les jours du calendrier, restés sans fête.[43]

Si nous avons concentré notre attention sur les fresques de l'autel de l'église Sainte-Sophie d'Oxrid et du calendrier dans l'*Évangéliaire d'Assemani*, c'est parce que ces témoins montrent d'une manière évidente aussi bien l'introduction réelle des saints slaves dans le programme iconographique de l'Église byzantine, que leur présence dans le calendrier des manuscrits slaves. Et c'est cette fusion de saints byzantins et slaves qui pourrait nous faire saisir ce que l'on appelle une réception productive, permettant entre le modèle et le récepteur une relation d'identité dans le cadre de la communauté orthodoxe byzantino-slave en cours de formation.

De cette manière, les saints locaux occupent parfois dans l'Église une place centrale extrêmement importante. Dans l'église située au bord du lac de Prespa, sur le mur nord de la nef principale est représenté saint Achille bénissant avec l'Évangile dans une main. La représentation de ce saint à côté de la composition de la Deisis l'associe à l'intercession et au Salut du genre humain. En tant que saint local il figure dans l'église Saints-Anargyres (saints Côme et Damien) à Kastoria, tandis qu'à Kurbinovo il fait partie de la composition du Melismos dans la première zone de l'autel; tout cela prouve la grande popularité de ce saint.[44] La création d'un culte des saints locaux modifie le programme iconographique des églises, introduit des nuances nouvelles dans les scènes connues, engendre de nouvelles significations, en tenant compte des nécessités régionales.

Quel type de saint s'impose chez les Slaves orientaux pendant cette période ancienne?[45] Quelle est la tradition idéologique pour les Slaves méridionaux et orientaux, depuis Boris-Mixaïl jusqu'à Volodimer-Vasilij? Quelles sont les variantes conceptuelles des textes de la *Protoslavia orthodoxa*? En général, c'est une adaptation locale du schéma général de la tradition historique et hagiographique des Slaves orthodoxes avec ses invariants principaux: la légitimité bénie des apôtres de la Moravie Cyrille et

43 Golubinskij, *Kratkij očerk*, p. 46.

44 Grozdanov, *Portreti*, pp. 146–48.

45 N. Barsukov, *Istočniki russkoj agiografii* (SPg., 1882, rep. 1970), voir: pp. 70–75—Boris i Glěb; pp. 411–12—Ol'ga; pp. 585–86—Teodor Pečerskij; p. 978—Antonij Pečerskij; pp. 48–51—Antonij Rimljanin; p. 102—Volodimer; E. E. Golubinskij, *Istorija kanonizacii svjatyx v russkoj cerkvi*, II ed. (Moskva, 1909, rep. Israel, 1969), pp. 40–92; N. I. Serebrjanskij, *Drevnerusskie knjažeskie žitija* (*Obzor redakcii i teksty*) (Moskva, 1915); D. S. Lixačev, *Pověst' vremennyx lět*, vol. I (Moskva-Leningrad, 1950); A. Poppe, « La naissance du culte de Boris et Gleb », *Cahiers de Civilisation médiévale*, XXIV (1981), pp. 29–53; idem, *The Rise of Christian Russia*, Variorum Reprints (London, 1982).

Méthode, dont l'oeuvre (l'alphabet) est transmis aux royaumes des princes slaves orthodoxes—depuis Boris et Siméon jusqu'à Volodimir-Vasilij et Stefan Lazarevič; le Salut du peuple slave résulte de l'intérvention directe de la Grăce divine, et l'oeuvre des nouveaux apôtres, élus par Dieu, égale celle des premiers apôtres. Dans la *Vie de Clément* ce «manifeste clé» est affirmé d'une manière explicite.[46] On peut le retrouver aussi dans la *Pověst' vremennyx lět*, dans le récit sur le prince de Kiev, Volodimer.[47] Cela veut dire que ces deux ouvrages contiennent la même clé biblique, la même convention hagiographique. Ainsi, l'heritage hagiographique des Slaves orthodoxes, pendant cette période, apparaît comme une composante active, assurant la continuité de la communication, autrement dit, la validité de la réception. Dès la fin du X^{e} et au début du XI^{e} siècle, se répandent à Kiev les *Vies slaves de saint Venceslas*, prince de Bohême († 938) et de Ludmila, dans la version originale latine ou dans une traduction du latin.[48] C'est la période où la Bohême gardait le souvenir des traditions de Cyrille et Méthode.[49] De cette manière, la Rus', après la christianisation, reçoit le modèle byzantin, tout en subissant des influences qui viennent d'une part de l'Occident, avant la christianisation, et de l'autre, des Balkans par l'intermédiaire de la Bulgarie.[50] Dans un Sermon anonyme de la fin du XI^{e} et du début du XII^{e} siècle, décrivant l'assassinat des princes Boris et Glěb, on établit un parallèle entre leur martyre et celui du saint Venceslas de Bohême.[51] Une influence de la *Vie de Venceslas* peut être découverte aussi dans la *Vie de Boris et Glěb*, rédigée par le moine Nestor et dans la *Vie de saint Théodose de la Lavra* de Kiev du même auteur.[52] D'ailleurs, on sait

[46] B. St. Angelov, H. Kodov, *Kliment Oxridski: Săbrani săčinenija*, vol. III, *Prostranni žitija na Kiril i Metodij* (Sofia, 1973), p. 73.

[47] *Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej (PSRL)*, I, (II ed.) (Leningrad, 1923); II, (II ed.), (SPg., 1908).

[48] Rogov, « Russko-bolgarskie sviazi », pp. 20–21.

[49] R. Jakobson, « Some Russian Echoes of the Czech Hagiography », *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Historie orientales et slaves*, VII (1939–1944), pp. 155–80.

[50] Sobolevskij, « Materialy i issledovanija », pp. 1–286, voir aussi 36–40; Dvornik *Les Slaves*; Dujčev, « Il problema », pp. 39–60; Ševčenko, « Three Paradoxes », pp. 226–32; N. K. Gudzij, *Literatura Kievskoj Rusi i drevnejšie slavjanskie literatury, Issledovanija po slavjanskomu literaturovedeniju i folkloristike* (Moskva, 1960).

[51] D. J. Abramović, *Žitie svjatyx mučenikov Borisa i Gleba* (SPg., 1916), p. 33; Fedotov, *Svjatye drevnej Russi X–XVII st.* (Paris, 1931); V. N. Toporov, « Ponjatie svjatosti v drevnej Rusi (Svv. Boris i Gleb) », *Slavic Linguistics, Poetics, Cultural History: In Honor of Henrik Birnbaum on his Sixtieth Birthday, 13 Dec. 1985, IntJSELP*, XXXI/XXXII (1985), pp. 451–79.

[52] Obolensky, « Heritage », p. 61; I. Dujčev, « Teodosio di Perčersk », *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, XII (Roma, 1969), pp. 292–95; G. V. Vostokov, « Žitie Feodosija Pečerskogo, literaturnyj pamjatnik Kievskoj Rusi », *Russkaja reč'* (Kiev, 1981), pp. 52–62; A. F. Zamaleev, V. A. Zos, *Mysliteli Kievskoj Rusi* (Kiev, 1981), pp. 52–69.

que les reliques de Boris et de Glěb sont conservées dans l'autel de l'église de Sázava et l'ensemble des Vies rédigées en Bohême et en Rus' témoignent d'une relation beaucoup plus complexe entre l'ouvrage et le récepteur, mais cela ne fait pas partie de la problèmatique du présent article. Dans ce cas, il importe de savoir que les liens religieux et culturels entre la Rus' et la Bohême au XI^e^ siècle sont orientés vers la détermination de la place de leurs éthnies dans la communauté chrétienne.

De cette manière, l'idée du caractère sacré de la langue slave qui est un trait distinctif de l'oeuvre de Cyrille et Méthode est en même temps la base commune sur laquelle s'appuie l'identité ethnique des peuples slaves. Cela caractérise, de plus, les échanges entre les littératures, celle de la Rus' et celle des Slaves méridionaux, un problème que la science a suffisamment élucidé.[53] C'est sur cette idée d'identité que repose l'intégration idéologique des Slaves et leur propre reconnaissance dans la famille universelle des peuples chrétiens. C'est elle qui détermine les particularités spécifiques du genre hagiographique chez les Slaves du sud et les Slaves orientaux.[54] Par exemple, l'office de Cyrille et Méthode se trouve dans des manuscrits de la Rus', dès la fin du XI^e^ siècle, au début du XII^e^ siècle et

[53] Voir notes 2, 3, 4, 5, ainsi que M. N. Speranskij, « Delenie russkoj literatury na periody i vlijanie russkoj literatury na jugoslavjanskuju », *Russkij filologičeskij vestnik*, 1896, 3-4, p. 36; idem, « K istorii vzaimootnošenij russkoj i jugoslavjanskix literatur. (Russkie pamjatniki pis'mennosti na juge slavjanstva) », *Izvestija ORJAS*, 1923, XXVI, pp. 143-206; idem, *Iz istorii russko-slavjanskix literaturnyx svjazej* (Moskva, 1960); B. St. Angelov, « Iz istorijata na ruskoto knižovno pronikvane u nas (XI-XIV v.) », *Izvestija na Instituta za bălgarska literatura*, III (1955), pp. 37-65; idem, « Iz istorijata na ruskoto kulturno vlijanie v Bălgarija (XV-XVIII v.) », *Izvestija na Instituta za bălgarska istorija*, 1956, pp. 291-321; idem, « Kirilometodievskoto delo i idejata za slavjansko edinstvo v staroslavjanskite literaturi », *Slavističen sbornik*, II (Sofia, 1958); idem, *Iz starata bălgarska, ruska i srăbska literatura*, I ed. 1958, II ed. 1967; V. P. Adrianova-Peretc, « Drevnerusskie literaturnye pamjatniki v južnoslavjanskoj pis'mennosti », *TODRL*, XIX (1963), pp. 5-27; Mošin, « O periodizacii », pp. 28-106; V. Vavřinék, *Staroslavenské životy Konstantina i Metodija* (Praha, 1963); E. Blahová, V. Konzal, (A. I. Rogov), *Staroslovenské legendy českého původu. Nejstarší kapitoly z dějin českoruských kulturních vztahů* (Praha, 1976); Naumow, *Biblia*, pp. 122-33; P. Dinekov, « O razprostranenii drevnebolgarskoj literatury na Rusi », *Russko-bolgarskie fol'klornye i literaturnye svjazi*, vol. I (Leningrad, 1976), pp. 27-31; R. Pavlova, B. Kastelov, V. Simeonov, « Drevnite bălgaro-ruski knižovni i ezikovi vrăzki », *Bălgaristika i bălgaristi* (Sofia, 1981), pp. 101-106; G. Tsankova-Petkova, *Kulturni i političeski vrăzki i otnošenija meždu Bălgarija, Kievska Rusija i Vizantija prez rannoto srednovekovije, Slavjanskie kultury: Balkany*, vol. I (1978); D. Angelov, *Rusko-bălgarski vrăzki prez vekovete* (Sofia, 1986), pp. 71-86.

[54] R. Jakobson, « The Beginning of National Self-Determination in Europe », *Review of National Poetics*, VII (I) (1945), pp. 29-42; M. N. Tixomirov, Istoričeskie svjazi russkogo naroda s južnoslavjanami s drevnejšix vremen do poloviny XVII v. », *Slavjanskij sbornik* (Moskva, 1947), pp. 132-52.

avec Méthode au XII^e siècle.[55] Après cette époque, l'intérêt envers l'oeuvre de Cyrille et Méthode fléchit pour reprendre plus tard, à la fin du XIV^e et au début du XV^e siècle, sans toujours reposer, à cette époque, sur une base historique réelle.[56]

Étant le genre le plus populaire dans la littérature slave, l'hagiographie donnait à travers les Vies des saints des modèles concrets d'imitation de certaines formes de piété chrétienne. En ce sens, les moines de la Rus' ont joué un rôle extrêmement important dans le destin spirituel de l'Église de la Rus'. Quelle sélection est pratiquée à cette époque dans le genre hagiographique? Qu-est ce que l'écrivain Rus' prend au prototype et qu'est-ce qu'il considère comme prototype?[57] En Rus', très tôt, apparaissent des Vies de moines, issus du Pečers'kij monastyr' de Kiev—celle de saint Théodose par Nestor le Chroniqueur.[58] A la différence de Boris et Glěb, ces saints ne passent pas dans le *Méneloge* des Slaves méridionaux. *La Vie de saint Théodose* († 1074) est immédiatement diffusée en Bohême; elle exerce une influence sur la Vie du fondateur du monastère de Sázava à Prague, Procope (mort dans la première moitié du XI^e siècle), composée un peu plus tard. A Novgorod, par exemple, trois des saints vénérés sont aussi d'origine occidentale—saint Antoine le Romain († 1016), fondateur du monastère qui porte son nom, saint Mercure, venu à fin du XII^e siècle à Novgorod, de Rome (il devient évêque de Smolensk, ensuite moine du Pečerskij monastyr' de Kiev, meurt en 1249) et saint Procope d'Ustjug, *Xrìsta radì jurodìvyj*, « issu de la langue latine du pays allemande » († 1303); il entre comme moine au monastère de Hutyn' puis, pratiquant

55 Angelov, « Kirilometodievskoto delo », pp. 181, 186; R. Jakobson, « The Slavic Response to Byzantine Poetry », *Actes au XII^e Congrès intern. d'études byzantines*, vol. I (Beograd, 1963), pp. 261–62. Voir aussi note 33.

56 I. Dujčev, « Le testimonianze bizantine sui ss. Cirillo e Methodio, Miscellanea francescana », *Rivista di science, lettere e el arti*, LXIII (Roma, 1963), pp. 10–14.

57 I. P. Eremin, « K xarakteristike Nestora kak pisatelja », in *Literatura drevnej Rusi* (Moskva-Leningrad, 1966), pp. 28–41; V. P. Adrianova-Peretc, « Zadači izučenija agiografičeskogo stilja drevnej Rusi », *TODRL*, XX (1964), pp. 47–71; R. Picchio, *La letteratura russa antica* (Firenze, 1968).

58 La plus ancienne *Vie* c'était celle de Theodosij (80/XII^e siècle), cf. A. A. Šaxmatov, « Neskol'ko slov o Nestorovom *Žitii Feodosija* », *Izvestija ORJAS*, 1896, I, 1, pp. 46–65; idem, « Kievo-Pečerskij Paterik i Pečerskaja letopis' », *Izvestija ORJAS*, 1897, 3, pp. 796–844; D. J. Abramović, « Issledovanie o Kievo-Pečerskom Paterike kak istoriko-literaturnom pamjatnike », *Izvestija ORJAS*, 1901, 3, pp. 207–235; M. D. Priselkov, *Očerki po cerkovno-političeskoj istorii Kievskoj Rusi X–XII vv.* (SPg., 1913, rep. The Hague, 1966), pp. 238–74; A. Giambelluca-Kossova, « Il messaggio evangelico nella missione pastorale di san Teodosij di Kiev (Note sulla Vita del venerabile padre nostro Teodosij eugumeno del monastero delle Grotte di Nestore) », *Christianessimo nella Storia*, II/2, 1981, pp. 371–99; idem: « Per una lettura analytica del *Žitie prepodobnago Teodosija Pečerskago* di Nestore », *Ricerche slavistiche*, XXVII–XXVIII (1980–1981), pp. 65–100.

l'ascèse, comme *jurodivyj* (« fol »), parcourt mille kilomètres jusqu'à Velikij Ustjug. Bien que, dans ce cas, les limites chronologiques, soient dépassées, les exemples sont significatifs—la sélection est orientée, elle est déterminée par le goût des moines de la Rus' pour certaines formes de piété; l'ascèse sous la forme de *jurodstvo*, par exemple, est moins répandue parmi les Slaves du sud.[59]

La migration des monuments littéraires depuis les Balkans jusqu'en Rus' et inversement est examinée à plusieurs reprises. Je voudrais juste rappeler le fait que les écrivains bulgares, Rus' et serbes laissent des traces dans le Prologue, un des médiateurs de la pénétration des saints slaves dans les littératures respectives.[60] Certains des exemples très connus sont significatifs: la traduction vieux-russe du XI^e siècle du *Récit du miracle de saint Nicolas de Myre* n'apparaît en Bulgarie qu'au XII^e siècle, et de là passe en Serbie. La traduction Rus' du Prologue, faite au XI^e siècle n'apparaît parmi les Slaves méridionaux qu'au XII^e siècle. *La Vie du prince Mstislav Volodimerovič* et celle de la princesse Ol'ga sont connues dans des versions serbes très anciennes.[61]

Dans la Rus' kiévienne, par exemple, à l'origine dominent, des Vies de princes et de moines—Ol'ga, Boris et Glĕb, Antoine et Theodosij. Il serait difficile d'un point de vue typologique de trouver des parallèles aux saints princes dans l'église grecque.[62] Les Vies Rus' des saints princes nous offrent une analogie avec la *Vie d'Evdokimos le Juste*, connue en Rus', encore au XI^e siècle, ainsi que dans la tradition des saints princes l'Église serbe. On pourrait chercher aussi en même temps des parallèles dans la

[59] Sobolevskij, « Materialy i issledovanija », pp. 36–40. Sur le mémoire liturgique de saint Antoine du Rome (Rimljanin), cf. S. V. Bulgakov, *Nastol'naja kniga dlja svjaščeno-cerkovno-služitelej* (Xarkiv, 1900), II ed., p. 269; cf. aussi M. F. Mur'janov, « K kul'turnym vzaimosvjazjam Rusi i Zapada v XII veke », *Ricerche slavistiche*, XIII (1966), p. 34; F. Dvornik, « Sv. Prokop cesti benediktini a pokrest'aneni Ruska », in *Se znamenim krize* (Roma, 1967), pp. 79–81; A. Naumow, « I culto di san Benedetto da Norcia presso gli Slavi ortodossi », in *Atti del 8° Congresso internationale di studi sull' alto Medioevo, Spoleto, 3–6 novembre 1981* (Spoleto, 1983), pp. 213–23; cf. aussi S. M. Kul'bakin, *Oxridskaja rukopis' Apostola konća XII veka* (Sofia, 1907), p. 127; R. Ljubinkovič, « L'Illyricum et la question romaine à la fin du X^e et au début du XI^e siècle, Autour de l'Église autocéphale de l'État du Samuel », in *La chiesa graeca*, III, pp. 927–69.

[60] Speranskij « Delenie », p. 42; Sobolevskij, « Materialy i issledovanija », p. 88; V. Mošin, « Slovenska redakcija Prologa Konstantina Moksijskog u svetlosti vizantijsko-slovenskix odnosa XII–XIII vijeka », *Zbornik historijskog Instituta Jugoslavenske Akademije*, II (1957); B. Angelov, « Iz istorijata ».

[61] Tixomirov, « Istoričeskie svjazi », p. 68; Mošin, « Poslanie », p. 81; Speranskij, « Delenie », pp. 23, 25–28.

[62] Fedotov, *Svjatye drevnej Rusi*, pp. 77–79; Ioan Kologrivov, *Očerki po istorii russkoj svjatosti* (Brussel, 1961), pp. 63–74.

tradition latine.[63] La nécessité historique détermine le choix du texte (le prototype) et sa relation avec le récepteur (l'écrivain slave). L'adaptation est une interprétation particulière, un ajustement à certains besoins. C'est elle qui détermine la migration de certains genres aux dépens d'autres dans les divers pays slaves, ainsi que les ensembles différents de saints. La sainteté, considérée comme un idéal moral suprême de conduite et comme une position existentielle est significative de la réception du prototype. Que disent les données statistiques? La vieille hagiographie bulgare connaît au total vingt-trois saints locaux (ici, je sors des limites chronologiques posées au début de cet article, en m'appuyant sur des données qui s'étendent jusqu'au XIV^e^ siècle). Le total des saints au cours des siècles permet de saisir la grande importance du XIII^e^ siècle dans l'hagiographie bulgare. Cela n'est pas fortuit, étant donné la puissance politique et le rôle central de l'État bulgare dans les Balkans, à l'époque de l'Empire latin (1204–1261). La littérature apocryphe et les légendes folkloriques qui dominent aux XI^e^–XII^e^ siècles sont remplacées, au XIII^e^ par la littérature officielle, dépositaire d'un vif sentiment patriotique. Le XIV^e^ siècle voit apparaître peu de saints nouveaux, parce que le genre avait, comme nous l'avons déjà signalé, atteint son point culminant. D'une manière très générale on pourrait répartir ces saints en trois groupes.

Cyrille et Méthode, Clément et Naum deviennent célèbres par leur mission apostolique, bien que Méthode et Clément soient également des archevêques; il ne faut pas oublier, cependant que Cyrille, lui aussi, est représenté comme archevêque dans les fresques de Sainte-Sophie d'Oxrid. Un autre groupe est constitué par les anachorètes Jean de Rila, Gavril de Lesnovo, Proxor de Pšina, Joachim d'Osogovo, Petka de Tirnovo, Philotée, Romil de Vidin, Théodose de Tirnovo. Ce type est le plus productif dans l'hagiographie bulgare et l'on observe la même chose dans l'hagiographie de Byzance et de la Rus'. Pasteurs du peuple, célèbres par leur activité littéraire sont Ilarion de Maglen, Ioan de Polivote, Joachim I de Tirnovo, Euthyme et Cyprien. Pimen du Zographe occupe une place particulière, alliant les traits de l'ermite à ceux de l'apôtre, c'est-à-dire il représente une variété du type apostolique. Le héros-martyr, que l'hagiographie connaît bien, apparaît plus tard, si l'on excepte la réactualisation des saints d'Oxrid, connus avant la pénétration des Slaves: martyre des moines du Zographe, de Georges le Nouveau et de Nicolas de Sofia. L'image de Mixaïl le Guerrier, comparée au miracle du grand martyr Georges reste isolée.

63 Fedotov, *Svjatye drevnej Rusi*, pp. 120–25.

Ainsi, les paramètres suivants caractérisent l'hagiographie bulgare: les Vies érémitiques et archiépiscopales prédominent, suivies par celles des martyrs; les Vies des saints princes ou rois sont presque inexistantes. Le roi Petăr (927–969), dont la mémoire est célébrée le 30 janvier, n'a pas de Vie, ses reliques ne sont pas connues, bien qu'un office en son honneur date du X^{e} siècle. Quant au prince Boris (852–889), que l'on fête le 2 mai, rien n'est conservé, ni Vie, ni reliques, ni office.[64] Les martyrs occupent la troisième place dans l'hagiographie bulgare. En général, la partie originale de l'hagiographie bulgare est typologiquement très proche de l'hagiographie byzantine, autrement dit, sa réception s'approche au maximum du prototype.[65] Pour une période de onze siècles qui s'étend du milieu du IV^{e} siècle jusqu'en 1453, l'hagiographie byzantine nous a laissé environ 250 images de héros hagiographiques, parmi lesquels prédominent les ermites (environ 43%), suivis par les archevêques (environ 23%) et les martyrs (environ 16%).[66]

Si l'on compare l'hagiographie slave à l'hagiographie byzantine qui représente la partie essentielle de la littérature hagiographique traduite, on voit qu'une certaine originalité thématique provient des oeuvres consacrées aux apôtres des Slaves, qui dominent aux IX^{e}–X^{e} siècles. Autrement dit, la relation oeuvre-récepteur, n'étant pas en synchronisme avec Byzance, est déterminée par les préoccupations contemporaines. Le champ dans lequel la clé sémantique est interprétée se situe dans la continuation de l'apostolat de saint Paul et de la lutte contre le dogme du trilinguisme.[67] Dans toute la littérature hagiographique slave, une seule fois l'oeuvre de Cyrille et Méthode sera comparée à l'oeuvre de quelqu'un d'autre, c'est Stéphane de Perm', créateur de l'alphabet des Zyrianes, et traducteur des livres saints du slavon dans la langue de ce peuple.[68] Dans sa Vie, rédigée par Épiphane le Sage (fin du XIV^{e}–début du XV^{e} siècle), il est comparé à Cyrille et Méthode et, par endroits, on décèle une forte influence du *Récit sur les lettres* du moine Xrabăr.[69] L'attitude défensive est particulièrement nette dans les ouvrages issus de la tradition Cyrillo-méthodienne—la Vie de Cyrille, la Vie de Méthode, la Préface à l'Évangile, la Prière acrostiche, la *Vie de*

64 *Žitija na bălgarskite svetii*, vol. I–II (Sofia, 1974, 1979), vol. I, pp. 81–93, vol II, pp. 17–19.

65 K. Stančev, *Izgraždane na čoveškite obrazi v starobălgarskata agiografska proza* (Sofia, 1978).

66 Loparev, «Vizantijskije žitija svjatyx VIII–IX vv.»; Stančev, *Izgraždane*, p. 41; *BHG*, vol. III, 1957, pp. 5–80.

67 Picchio, « Function », pp. 1–31.

68 R. Picchio, « *VC* and *VM*'s Pauline Connotations of Cyril and Methodius' Apostleship », *Paleobulgarica (Starobъlgaristika)*, VI, 3, 1982, pp. 112–18.

69 K. Kuev, *Cernorizeć Hrabăr* (Sofia, 1967).

Clément par Théophilacte d'Oxrid, la *Pověst' vremennyx lět*, la *Vie de Stéphane de Perm'*, par Épiphane. Elle repose sur l'égalité de tous les peuples devant Dieu grăce à la langue. C'est grăce à la langue qu'est réalisée une identité ethnique, soutenue par la reconnaissance à la langue slave, du point de vue liturgique, d'une place semblable à celle de l'hébreu, du grec et du latin. L'exégèse biblique, issue de la tradition de Cyrille et Méthode suit cette même orientation. L'apostolat et l'exemple de saint Paul constituèrent le topos dominant dans les ouvrages consacrés à Cyrille et Méthode. En réalité, cette attrait exercé par l'oeuvre des apôtres des Slaves mettra les littératures des Slaves méridionaux dans une situation différente de celle de Byzance et cela deѷ leur apparition, en fondant en même temps une tradition permanente, accentuée chaque fois où le monde slave vit des moments difficiles.

Dans l'ancienne littérature russe, les erémites prédominent aussi et leur pourcentage est même élévé—60% contre 43% dans la littérature byzantine et 35% dans la littérature bulgare. Ils sont suivis par les évêques, mais le nombre de ceux-ci est égal à celui des saints d'un autre type que les traditions bulgare et byzantine ne connaissent guère—les souverains. Les Vies des saints princes et des rois prédominent dans la prose hagiographique serbe où elles constituent, en ajoutant celles des despotes, plus de 50% du total. Les différences entre le modèle byzantin du pouvoir et l'institution princière en Serbie ou dans la Rus' amènent des différences entre les Vies des souverains de ces pays, par rapport à ceux de Byzance et de Bulgarie.

Au pointe de vue thématique, la prose hagiographique bulgare s'approche le plus de son prototype—l'hagiographie byzantine et le suit de près, à la différence des autres pays slaves orthodoxes, qui, surtout en Sérbie, possèdent une originalité particulière; dans la Rus' apparaissent aussi des saints d'origine occidentale. Ces données incomplètes que nous venons d'exposer en ne nous appuyant que sur les cultes des saints, ainsi que certains parallèles iconographiques et codicologiques sont valables pour un domaine plus large de phénomènes dans le cadre du modèle politique et culturel. Malgré un pouvoir central très développé et l'existence d'une capitale, c'est la Bulgarie qui, tout comme Byzance, ne crée point de Vies de souverains (la tradition grecque connaît celles de Constantin et Hélène, de Théodore et de Théophano). Étant l'État slave le plus ancien, créé au contact immédiat de Byzance, s'étant convertie la première au christianisme, la Bulgarie offre un modèle politique et culturel que se rapproche le plus de son prototype—Byzance, dont elle adopte après la christianisation, selon le principe de l'ambivalence, et le code et le langage essentiels de l'art; ce principe fut modifié au XIV^{e} siècle, lorsque la Bulgarie imite et reproduit consciemment le modèle, autant que possible, dans

les décennies qui précèdent la domination ottomane; il ne faut pas oublier que, en général, le modèle politique de la Bulgarie est symétrique de celui de Byzance par certains traits extérieurs, mais il ne l'est pas par le mode de son fonctionnement. Autrement dit, la réception par la Bulgarie se rapproche le plus du prototype. En Serbie et dans la Rus', cette réception subit l'influence de forces centrifuges importantes, venues aussi de l'Occident, et qui déterminent un certain écart du modèle.

Les rapports systématiques entre le dogme religieux, la pratique liturgique et le langage de l'art qui se manifestent dans l'architecture, la peinture murale des églises, les icônes ou la décoration des manuscrits montrent, en réalité, la complexité de ces processus dans chaque pays slave, une question que nous n'avons pas abordée dans le présent article. Mais dans tous ces pays, les processus de différenciation se poursuivent dans le cadre de la grande intégration des Slaves méridionaux et orientaux, rendue possible aux IX^{e}–X^{e} siècles grăce à leur christianisation et à l'adoption du prototype byzantin. De cette manière ils entrent dans la grande famille de la communauté chrétienne d'Orient, ce qui influence leur évolution jusqu'aux temps modernes. C'est uniquement dans le cadre de la communauté culturelle byzantino-slave que l'on pourrait jeter une nouvelle lumière sur le rapport entre les processus d'intégration et les modèles particuliers d'identité qui, en réalité, commencent à se former, pour les Slaves méridionaux et orientaux, dès les IX^{e}–XII^{e} siècles et qui permettent de leur appliquer le critère de la norme artistique avec, à la base, la différente réception par les Slaves—un vaste sujet pour lequel nous venons d'exposer quelques observations préliminaires.

Pour finir, je voudrai souligner que la réception active par la Bulgarie du prototype byzantin constitue son apport dans la réception de la culture byzantine dans la Rus' de Kiev; en fait, cela signifie que la littérature bulgare est loin d'être un simple médiateur entre Constantinople et Kiev, un moyen passif de transport, mais une composante active qui participe à l'élaboration de ce corpus paradigmatique, de ces prototypes structurels qui en réalité sont demeurés valables jusqu'à nos jours. Ce n'est pas un hasard si les fondateurs de la *Protoslavia orthodoxa*—Boris et Siméon—sont considérés par leurs contemporains et par leurs adeptes comme des dirigeants spirituels d'un mouvement religieux qui s'élève au-dessus des problèmes ethniques.[70] Les nouvelles découvertes de Stefan Kojuxarov et de Georgi Popov montrent aussi que ces souverains croyaient que leur mission sacrée était de propager la sainte parole non seulement en Bulgarie,

[70] Picchio, « "Pravoslavno slavjanstvo" i "Rimsko slavjanstvo" ».

mais de pays en pays comme l'avaient fait les apôtres du Christ.[71] Ainsi, la vitalité de la tradition littéraire, créée en Bulgarie, est-elle déterminée par sa réception productive des prototypes byzantins.

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[71] G. Popov, « Novootkrita originalna starobălgarska čast v teksta na trioda », *Bălgarski ezik*, XXVIII (1978), 6, pp. 497–507; idem: « Novootkriti himnografski proizvedenija na Kliment Oxridski », *Bălgarski ezik*, XXXI (1982) 1, 3–26; idem, « Knižovnoto nasledstvo na Kirilo-Metodievite učenići », *Literaturna misăl*, 1988, 1, p. 8; St. Kožuharov, « Pesennoto tvorčestvo na starobălgarskija knižovnik Naum Oxridski », *Literaturna misăl*, 1984, 12, pp. 3–19.

The Christian Prince through the Mirror of the Rus' Chronicles

GIOVANNI MANISCALCO BASILE

I. THE SOURCES

It has been noted recently that the cultural category of "beginning"[1] was vested with a paramount importance in Rus' texts belonging to the history of political thought, since in early Rus' thought only someone or something whose origin (whose beginning) can be traced *is*: it is impossible, then, to lessen the importance of the beginning of the Rus' state, with the rule of Rjurik (Rørik)[2] over Novgorod. The event has been celebrated in countless documents, and no source attempts to conceal the fact that the founder of the Rjurikid dynasty—although belonging to an invading race against which, according to the chronicles, the people living on the Rus' land had successfully fought—was the true founder-*orderer* of the legitimate power over the Rus' land. Sixteenth-century sources[3] even tried to make the Norman king the link between the Russian tsardom and the Roman Empire. Early Rus' sources, however, are all too aware that the *pravda* (justice) and the *narjad* (order)[4] brought to Novgorod, and later to Kiev, by Rjurik and his successors are pagan. Eleventh- and twelfth-century sources were

[1] Cf. Ju. M. Lotman, "O modelirujuščem značenii ponjatij 'konca' i 'načala' v xudožestvennyx tekstax," in *Stat'i po tipologii kul'tury. Materialy k kursu teorii literatury*, vol. 1 (Tartu, 1970), pp. 52–57.

[2] Cf. O. Pritsak, *The Origins of Rus'*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, Mass. 1981), p. 22.

[3] Cf. R. P. Dmitreva, *Skazanie o Knjazjax Vladimirskix* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1955).

[4] The idea of *narjad* 'order' seems to be central in the founding of Rus' cities. See, e.g., the following passage of the *Pověst' vremennyx lět*:

In the year 6370. They drove the Varangians away beyond the sea, ceased to pay them the tribute and started to rule by themselves, but there was no justice among them and kin was against kin, mischief reigned among them and they began fighting one another. And they said: "Let us give ourselves a prince; he will rule us and will judge according to justice." And they went beyond the sea to the Varangians, to the Rus'. These Varangians were called Rus'ians, as others are called Swedes, others Normans, English, Goths. And the Čuds, the Slovens, the Krivičians and all the others [said]: "Our land is wide and rich, but there is no order (*narjad*) in it. Come as princes and rule over us." (*Polnoe sobranie ruskix letopisei* [hereafter *PSRL*], vol. 1 [Leningrad, 1926], 9).

See also G. Maniscalco Basile, "Pravda i narjad: 'Giustizia' e 'Pace' alle origini delle città russe," paper presented at the VIII International Conference "Da Roma alla Terza Roma," Rome, 1988.

written by Christians, and it is not surprising that their attention centered on another beginning: the appearance of a Christian princedom.[5]

The problem, when examining these sources in order to ascertain the "image" of the Christian prince and the boundaries of his power as presented in the writings, is that none of the documents immediately following the Christianization of Rus' is at all comparable to the treatises dealing with this issue in contemporary Western Europe.[6] It is not immediately clear, then, which sources might contain sufficient elements to provide such an image.

It has often been pointed out that early Rus' texts say more than they seem to, but scholars have more often studied the religious writings to ascertain the underlying historical facts[7] than the description of historical facts to reach the underlying ideology. This last method, the study of ideology through the analysis of the accounts of historical facts, is rather difficult and controversial. Although George Orwell acquainted us with the rewriting of history as a means of establishing the hegemony of a political doctrine, and we know that historiography has always been—from ancient Rome to the Soviet Union—a powerful instrument in gaining political consensus, the analysis of the "histories" is never easy.

The task of the analyst is first to determine where the "history" has been distorted or built from scratch, and only then to figure out why. In a field such as Medieval Russian history, where the accounts of the historical facts are the main, or one of the main, sources of evidence about these facts, this task may prove unattainable.

Nevertheless, early Rus' accounts, such as the chronicles (*letopisi*), do contain one element that may help trace an outline of the underlying ideology: the axiological bias of the accounts. Although the facts reported by

[5] In this work, I decided to follow the more traditional translation of the term *knjaz'* as "prince," although the etymology shows that the closest meaning to the Old German word *koning*, from which *knjaz'* stems, is "king"; cf. Pritsak, *Origins of Rus'*, p. xvi. On the introduction in Kievan Rus' of the title *velikij knjaz* (μέγας ἄρχων), cf. A. Poppe, "Le prince et l'église en Russie de Kiev depuis la fin du X^e siècle jusq'au début du XII^e siècle," *Acta Polonia Historica* 20 (1969): 111. See also W. Vodoff, "La titulature des princes russes du X^e au début du XII^e siècle et le relations exterieurs de la Russie kiévienne," *Revue des Études Slaves*, 1983, no. 1, p. 139.

[6] In Rus', in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, works like *Via Regia* by Smaragdus Abbot, *De institutione Regia* by Jonas of Orléans, *De Regis Persona* by Hincmar of Reims, among others, had not been written (with the possible exception of the letters of Metropolitan Nicephor to Volodimer Vsevolodovič Monomax and the *Poučenie Monomaxa*). About the *Speculum Principis*, a literary genre, cf. D. Quaglioni, "Il Modello del Principe cristiano," in *Modelli nella Storia del Pensiero Politico*, ed. V. I. Comparato (Florence, 1987), pp. 103–122, and the rich bibliography quoted therein.

[7] V. Ključevskij, *Drevnerusskija Žitija Svjatyx kak istoričeskij istočnik* (Moscow, 1871).

the chronicles are often quite bare, the praise or the blame that the writer addresses to certain characters, or shows in connection with certain actions of the characters, is sometimes clear and thus outlines the values[8] that underlie the account of facts and, as a consequence, the ideology itself.

This field of research can be particularly rich in cases in which, as in the early Rus' chronicles, the ''history'' was written well after the facts, and in which, as for instance in the *Pověst' vremmenyx lět*, the documents give ample space to non-historical, rather philosophical elements, such as the religious contest between Muslims, Hebrews, and the Orthodox over the conversion of Volodimer Svjatoslavič and the *Poučenie Monomaxa*.

This method of research has rarely been applied to the history of Russian political theory[9] and the *letopisi* have been used more widely as a source of history itself than of the history of political ideas.

Probably the most complete study of early Rus' political ideas is *Obščestvenno-političeskaja mysl' drevnej Rusi* by I. U. Budovnic.[10] But Budovnic and other scholars use primarily non-historical documents, and their analysis of the chronicles is in most cases limited to filling the ideological, political, or even philosophical gaps existing within the other sources. This method of research, while obviously quite correct in assessing the general political feelings of the Rus' cultural environment, leaves in a shadowy area those sources, like the chronicles, which were written primarily to present an ''official'' perspective on Rus' history, on Rus' princely power, and on the principles providing legitimization of such a power.

From this point of view, this corpus of historical documents is particularly important, since it reveals the ideas that the princely establishment held about itself and that it wished the social body also held. Even if most of the chronicles were written by monks,[11] in monasteries, the civil truth that they contain is no less important than the spiritual truth that the

[8] A. J. Greimas, *Du Sens* (Paris, 1970).

[9] Cf. I. Ilieva, *Rol' moskovskogo letopisanija vtoroj poloviny XV–pervoj treti XVI vv. v formirovanie ideologii samoderžavija*, Avtoreferat (Moscow, 1981); D. S. Lixačev, *Russkie letopisi i ix kul'turno-istoričeskoe značenie* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1974) and idem, ''Velikoe nasledie. Klassičeskie proizvedenija literatury drevnej Rusi,'' *Izbrannye Raboty* (Leningrad) 2 (1987): 43ff; cf. also, F. Dvornik, ''Byzantine political ideas in Kievan Russia,'' *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 9/10 (1966): 96; and G. Maniscalco Basile, ''Popolo e potere in Russia nel XVI e nel XVII secolo,'' *Il Pensiero Politico* 30, n. 3 (1987): 307–339.

[10] Cf. I. U. Budnovnic, *Obščestvenno-političeskaja mysl' drevnej Rusi (XI–XIV vv.)* (Moscow, 1960). For a more recent work, centered on the ''image'' of the Kievan prince, cf. W. K. Hanak, *The Nature and the Image of Grand Princely Power in Kievan Russia: 980–1054*, Ph.D.diss. (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1973).

[11] Cf. G. Podskalsky, *Christentum und theologische Literatur in der Kiever Rus' (988–1227)* (Munich, 1982), p. 202. These monks might express the ideologies of the different social classes to which they belonged; cf. Lixačev, ''Velikoe nasledie,'' p. 132.

letopiscy, like the *ikonopiscy*,[12] were meant to reveal: "da vedajut potomki pravoslavnyx zemli rodnoj minuvšuju sud'bu. . . ."[13]

In the early Rus' cultural milieu, until well into the sixteenth century, it is very difficult to draw a neat line (as is nearly always possible in the Middle Ages of Western Europe) between the temporal and the spiritual spheres.[14] In fact, both church and state had deeply rooted interests in establishing a strong authority, capable of providing both *pravda* and *narjad* to the society of Rus'. And, since the beginning of Christian Rus', the clergy had always been the spokesmen for princely power.

Thus, the official character of the chronicles, when it does not spring from a specific sanction, as is the case of the *Nikonovskaja letopis'*, is nevertheless quite clear, and the relevance of these documents for research on how the Christian prince was perceived is no less evident. It cannot be denied that the chronicles are not the only documents that contain useful elements for an analysis of this perception. The chronicles have, however, a paradoxical advantage over the other sources.

It has been noted[15] that religion and society, supernatural truth (*pravda*) and human truth (*istina*), are so closely interwoven in Christian Rus' culture that the attempt to separate them by means of historical or ideological abstraction would result in the fractioned distillation of a compound into two inert, meaningless elements. But in documents whose author is not directly called upon to express his evaluation of historical facts by means of religious paradigms—as is the case, for instance, in hagiography—but is only supposed to recount the "facts," the stress shifts slightly (sometimes very slightly) towards civil values, and that makes them a bit clearer and more evident. Moreover—and this is a paradox that every analyst of political sources has experienced—when the writer is not required by the scope of his work to express his judgment about that which he writes, the evaluation inevitably buried within his work becomes somehow freer, and, to a certain extent, more useful to the interpreter and to the analyst: sometimes the writer inadvertently says more than he is supposed to, and more than he intends. While the task of reading historical accounts as ideological sources is certainly problematic, it can have its rewards.

[12] Cf. P. Florenskij, "Ikonostas," *Sobranie sočinenija* (Paris), 1 (1985): 193–316.

[13] "So that the descendants of the Orthodoxes may know about the flowing destiny of their native land." Cf. A. S. Puškin, *Boris Gudunov* (Moscow, 1956), p. 25.

[14] Cf. C. De Michelis, "Realismo socialista, veridicità e letteratura russa antica," in *Quaderni del Circolo Semiologico Siciliano* 25 (1986): 31–40; and B. A. Uspenskij, *Jazykovaja situacija Kievskoj Rusi i ee značenie dlja istorii russkogo literaturnogo jazyka*, Offset (Moscow, 1982), paper presented at the International Colloquium of Slavists, Kiev, 1983.

[15] Cf. De Michelis, "Realismo socialista," and Uspenskij, *Jazykovaja situacija*.

The corpus of historical writings of which we speak is, as we all know, a huge one and a great amount of work would be necessary to go through all the documents concerning the century following the Christianization. For this paper's more limited purposes—i.e., the attempt to construct a hypothesis about the perception of the Christian prince—only one of the sources, the *Pověst' vremennyx lět*, will be analyzed. Yet this document can hardly be considered coherent, built as it is upon the concretion of many different, and sometimes contradictory, layers of the quasi-legendary, and lost,[16] *Načal'naja letopis'*.

Leaving aside the controversial question of the document's date,[17] it is safe to state that the *Pověst' vremennyx lět* is one of the earliest Rus' historical documents and is, therefore, one of the nearest to the fateful event of the conversion to Christianity of Volodimer Svjatoslavič and all of Kievan Rus'. Although the history of the composition of this source is not clear,[18] it can be safely assumed that most of it was written (it would be more precise to say composed)[19] about a century, or a bit more, after the Christianization. This time lapse—among other elements—would indicate that the milieu to which the writer belonged was spiritually and politically fairly mature and that the "Bygone Years" were depicted with the aim of strengthening the image of a "Christian" prince ruling a "Christian" Rus'.

The analysis of such a document, in order to extract from it the needed political and philosophical elements, can be carried out in at least two distinct ways. The first consists of examining the very general axiological trends of the narration and the outline of a consistent bulk of facts or actions, for example, of the entire historical period of one prince's reign. The second involves observing single facts or actions, looking for their axiological values, and determining if and when they fit into the general outline. These two methods can be carried out separately, but—the second being somehow the proof of the first—they are closely interlocked. In this paper, we will try to exploit both these analytical methods.

16 D. S. Lixačev, *Povest' vremennyx let* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1950), introductory essay; idem, "Velikoe nasledie"; and Ja. S. Lur'e, "Genealogičeskaja sxema letopisej XI–XVI vv.," *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoj literatury* 40 (1985): 190ff.

17 Lur'e, "Genealogičeskaja sxema," p. 102; and D. Ostrowski, "Textual Criticism and the *Pověst' vremennyx lět*: Some Theoretical Considerations," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 5, no. 1 (March, 1981): 11–31; and O. Pritsak, "The Invitation to the Varangians," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 1, no. 1 (March, 1977): 11.

18 Lixačev, *Povest' vremennyx let*, introductory essay.

19 A. S. L'vov, *Leksika "Povest' vremennyx let"* (Moscow, 1975), pp. 344ff.

II. THE IMAGE OF THE EXODUS

It has recently been affirmed by Michael Walzer[20] that the image of the Exodus of the Hebrews from Egypt to the Promised Land has been transferred to the Western Christian world as a metaphor for revolution and, sometimes, for a long-awaited rebirth.[21] The arguments expounded in this essay, which is primarily concerned with sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Protestant philosophy, are highly controversial: Walzer draws daring parallels between Western European theories conceived by such poets, philosophers, and politicians as John Bunyan[22] and William Morris[23] who (as the author himself admits) probably had no knowledge of the Hebrew literature on the end of the Egyptian slavery or on the Hebrew theology of the Alliance and the Liberation. If, from a rigorously scientific point of view, this hypothesis is rather doubtful—at least to the extent to which the author attempts to make it a cultural invariant in the history of Christian culture—Walzer's suggestions are still very provocative.

The image of the Exodus has often been used as a metaphor for conversion, and the crossing of the Red Sea as a metaphor for baptism.[24] In fact, in early Christian culture, "conversion" and "baptism," were probably the terms closest in meaning to the modern "revolution." The problem, however, when trying to superimpose a historical paradigm on a series of facts recounted by a historian (whether a chronicler or a contemporary scholar) is that this series, too, is shaped upon a historical paradigm, and the superimposition is possible only if a common paradigmatic cultural ground exists.

Walzer proposes a narrative paradigm composed of five phases: oppression; liberation; social contract; struggle; and new (renewed) society. This analytical scheme is not unusual—it could be abbreviated as: obstacle; overcoming the obstacle; and convincing everyone involved that everything is all right—and it could be seen as an invariant of medieval (and even earlier)[25] tales.

It has recently been shown[26] that the narrative paradigms of the Rus' tales are so deeply rooted that they can be traced in Russian culture as far forward as the prose by Mixail Bulgakov, and that, in early Rus' literature, the absence of dogmatic treatises somehow widened the field for other

20 M. Walzer, *Exodus and Revolution* (New York, 1985).
21 Cf. N. Frye, *The Great Code: The Bible and Literature* (New York, 1982).
22 J. Bunyan, *Pilgrim's Progress* (1684).
23 W. Morris, *Selected Writings and Designs* (Hammondworth, 1962), p. 114.
24 I Corinth., 10, 1–2; II Corinth., 3, 4–18; Hebr. 8, 8–12 and 9, 19–21.
25 V. Ja. Propp, *Morfologija skazki* (Leningrad, 1928).
26 R. Giuliani, "Demonologia e magia nel *Maestro e Margherita* di M. A. Bulgakov," *Ricerche Slavistiche* 29/31 (1982/1984): 269–303.

literary or historical genres. This meant the theological, philosophical, and political "truths" had to be contained in other writings, such as the chronicles,[27] and had to be expressed by means of particular paradigms appropriate to these writings: in the case of the chronicles by means of—among other literary techniques— fabulation and the recounting of tales. This does not mean that the facts were falsified or distorted,[28] but that the order of the narration was given a literary shape; the falsification or the distortion of facts is but a *symptom* that a literary order was imposed upon them.

It is not therefore at all absurd that the history of the Christianization of Rus' should be told in a narrative form, with symbols and a rhythm every contemporary reader could recognize as "true";[29] the Exodus provided an adequate symbolic structure.

Obviously, merely discovering that the chronicles relate the history of the conversion of Volodimer Svjatoslavič to the image of the Exodus would not be an exciting outcome of research on eleventh- and twelfth-century political thought. An analysis of the theoretical and political implications of the history of the conversion could yield more rewarding results, particularly in assessing the soundness of the widespread opinion[30] about the caesura that supposedly occurred between pre-Mongolian Rus' political thought and the theories about the sovereignty of the Muscovite grand prince and the *translatio imperii*, which flourished during the last decades of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth.[31]

III. THE SON OF THE HOUSEKEEPER

In the year 6478. . . At that time came the people of Novgorod, asking to be given a prince. . . and Svjatoslav told them: "Who would come to you?" They refused Jaropolk and Oleg; Dobrinija said: "Ask Volodimer." Volodimer was son of Maluša, Ol'ga's housekeeper. . . . And said the Novogorodians to Svjatoslav: "Give us Volodimer." And he told them: "Here he is."[32]

[27] Podskalsky, *Christentum.*

[28] Or, at least, not deliberately fasified or distorted: cf. R. Picchio, "Sulla ecclesiasticità della tradizione letteraria antico-russa," paper presented at the International Conference "Da Bisanzio a Mosca: storia della Chiesa russa dal X al XVII secolo," Florence, 1988).

[29] Cf. Ju. M. Lotman, "Il problema del segno e del sistema segnico," in *Ricerche Semiotiche*, a cura di C. Strada Janovič (Turin, 1973), pp. 40–63.

[30] Podskalsky, *Christentum*, pp. 264ff.

[31] Cf. G. Maniscalco Basile, *La Sovranità Ecumenica del Gran Principe di Mosca* (Milan, 1983), and J. Pelenski, "The Origins of the Official Muscovite Claims to the 'Kievan Inheritance'," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 1, no. 1 (March, 1977): 29–52. On the cultural diacronic unity of the "Slavia," cf. R. Picchio, *Storia della Letteratura Russa Antica* (Florence, 1959), p. 35.

[32] *Lavrent'evskaja letopis'*, in *PSRL*, 1: 29.

We could say that the political career of Volodimer Svjatoslavič was off to a very promising start, as the demand is made (after the first and second of Svjatoslav's and Ol'ga's sons are rejected) that he become the prince of a town whose first prince, also summoned by the "people"[33] of Rus', had been the first legitimate ruler of the Rus' land. But very soon Volodimer, who, a bit earlier in the *Pověst' vremennyx lět*, is identified with the Christian Princess Ol'ga (as a "nephew" she protects from the Pečenegs,[34] as she does her two legitimate ones), is shown from a very different perspective: "In the year 6488... And he [Rog"volod] asked his daughter: 'Do you want Volodimer?' and she answered: 'I do not want to obey the son of a slave....'"[35] Although Volodimer salvages his pride by slaughtering Rog"volod, and Rogneda is "persuaded" to "obey the son of a slave," the image of the prince seems to be marred by his origin and is very different from the image of Svjatoslav, who, while refusing to be baptized, is by all Varjag standards[36] a noble and brave prince.

Volodimer "...loved women and every vice...,"[37] lived in adultery with his brother's wife, a Greek nun,[38] and kept four more wives and eight hundred concubines.[39] "He was an unrepentant fornicator, he took married women and virgins...."[40] The contemporary reader, to whom the sins of the flesh were probably not as loathsome as sins of the spirit, could easily understand the parallel, suggested by the *Pověst' vremennyx lět*, between Volodimer Svjatoslavič and King Solomon;[41] nor would he miss the paramount difference between the two sovereigns: "He [Solomon] was wise and he died; he [Volodimer] was ignorant and at the very end found his salvation."[42]

After killing his stepbrother Jaropolk, Volodimer Svjatoslavič began to rule alone as prince (*knjažiti*) in Kiev.[43] His first act of government, according to the narrative order of the *Pověst' vremennyx lět*, was to erect an altar on a hilltop, just behind his *terem*, to Perun, Chors, Dažʼbog, Stribog,

[33] About the idea of "people" in Medieval Russia, cf. G. Maniscalco Basile, "Il termine 'popolo' nella Povest' o Car'grade," in *La nozione di "romano" tra cittadinanza e universalità* (Naples, 1985), pp. 523–27; and idem, "Popolo e potere nella Russia del XVI secolo."

[34] *PSRL*, 1:27. On Ol'ga's baptism, cf. O. Pritsak, "When and Where was Ol'ga Baptized?," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 9, no. 1/2 (June 1985): 5–21.

[35] *Lavrent'evskaja letopis'*, in *PSRL*, 1:32.

[36] Cf. Hanak, *The Nature and the Image.*

[37] *PSRL*, 1:36.

[38] *PSRL*, 1:33.

[39] *PSRL*, 1:34.

[40] *PSRL*, 1:34.

[41] *PSRL*, 1:34.

[42] *PSRL*, 1:34.

[43] *PSRL*, 1:34.

Simar''gl, and Mokoš'[44] and to induce the people to sacrifice ''their sons and daughters'' to the ''demons.''

From this moment on the narration flows along two distinct lines. Volodimer carries on his princely task of securing the borders of the Rus' and of gradually expanding them by means of victorious wars against his neighbors and, sometimes, by making convenient treaties with them.[45] At the same time, he undertakes a theological odyssey around the islands of the main religions of his world. It is a strange voyage: Volodimer, according to the narrative order of the *byliny*,[46] sits upon his throne while the ''islands'' float towards him to expound their virtues.

Thus, the Muslim Bulgars, who had promised peace with Rus' ''... until the stone will float and the hop will sink,''[47] come to Volodimer to introduce to him their law (*zakon*). In spite of the sexual delights promised by the Prophet to warriors following a glorious death, the prohibition against drinking is an obstacle, for ''Drinking is the joy of Rus'.''[48] Germans (*Němci*) follow with a message from the pope, but the Catholic faith, too, appears to be inconsistent with the tradition of Volodimer's ancestors.[49] The Khazar Jews are next, but the Diaspora convinces Volodimer that the Jews' religion is not the right one, for their deity abandoned them and gave their land to the Christians.

The last island to float towards the throne of Volodimer Svjatoslavič is the Orthodox one. The Greeks send Volodimer a philosopher[50] who expounds at length on the scriptural passages on the Last Judgment,[51] and ''Volodimer put them into his heart saying 'I will wait a little more.' ''[52] The wait goes on for one and a half years, and, after what could be called a wise cross-check of the religions,[53] Volodimer decides to besiege Cherson.

44 Cf. B. A. Rybakov, *Jazyčestvo Drevnej Rusi* (Moscow, 1987), pp. 412ff.

45 *PSRL*, 1:36.

46 Cf. Ju. M. Lotman, ''Ob opposicii 'čest'' – 'slava' v svetskix tekstax kievskogo perioda,'' in *Trudy po znakovym sistemam* (Tartu) 3 (1967): 100–112.

47 *PSRL*, 1:36. The commercial realm of the Muslim Volga Bulgars was, economically, a province of the Iranic Islamic Khorasan and, culturally, a colony of the Central Asian Turkic Islam; cf. Pritsak, *Origins of Rus'*, p. xvi.

48 *PSRL*, 1:36.

49 *PSRL*, 1:36.

50 In two fifteenth-century chronicles, this philosopher is given the name of Cyril. See H. Goldblatt, ''On *Rusьkymi pismeny* in the Vita Constantini and Rus'ian Religous Patriotism,'' in *Studia Slavica Medievalia et Humanistica Riccardo Picchio Dicata*, ed. M. Colucci, G. Dell'Agata and H. Goldblatt (Rome, 1986), p. 323.

51 *PSRL*, 1:45.

52 *PSRL*, 1:45.

53 *PSRL*, 1:45: ''... they chose good and judicious men, ten of them, ...'' and sent them for *in loco* religious inspections.

This is the turning point of the voyage.

The nut of the town walls is not as easy to crack as Volodimer had hoped; then, following the advice of one who, according to the *Pověst' vremennyx lět*, is either a renegade Chersonian or an envoy of Providence, he cuts the town's water supply and vows to consent to baptism if Cherson falls.

Thus, the Greek Orthodox god is put on trial: is the Christian god a deity so weak and indifferent, as that of the Jews, as to allow the defeat of a potential adorer? He is not, and Cherson falls. The cautious prince does not stop with just one challenge; testing again the willingness of the Christian god to support his followers, Volodimer refuses to be baptized until (or unless) the Byzantine emperors' sister comes to him in Cherson and marries him.

Again the way to the one true faith seems to be flowing towards Volodimer Svjatoslavič as he waits, sitting on his throne in the newly conquered town, for the emperors of the only ecumenical empire to pay him homage, as vassals to their lord. This, once again, is a beginning, and a more solemn one than Rjurik's.

IV. THE NEW CONSTANTINE

While the emperors and their weeping sister comply with the conqueror's will, "... by an act of God, Volodimer's eyes were sore and he could not see any more... and the empress[54] sent him messengers, saying: 'If you wish to recover from this illness, be baptized immediately, or the illness will never disappear.' "[55] Volodimer, challenging again the power of the Greek Orthodox god,[56] *commands* that he be baptized,[57] and recovers from his blindness.

It is almost impossible to overlook the open reference to the hagiographical part, preceding Constantine's deed of gift, in the *Constitutum Constantini*:[58] the emperor's sudden leprosy and miraculous recovery after being

[54] It is interesting to note that Anna, sister of Basil II (986–1025) and Constantine VIII (1025–1028), in spite of being the reluctant bride of a "barbarian" prince, gives him the right advice at the right moment, and is called *carica* (empress), both before and after her marriage to Volodimer.

[55] *PSRL*, 1:47.

[56] *PSRL*, 1:47.

[57] *PSRL*, 1:47.

[58] On the diffusion of the *Constitutum Constantini* in Kievan Rus', cf. A. Pavlov, "Podložnaja darstvennaja gramota Konstjantina Velikogo pape Sil'vestru v polnom grečeskom i slavjanskom perevode," *Vizantijskij vremennik* 3 (1896). According to Pavlov, the *Constitutum Constantini* reached the Rus' not later than the beginning of the second half of the fifteenth century in a South Slavic translation (probably Serbian), and the Greek translation appeared not

immersed in the holy water. Moreover, the order—the illness (blindness, instead of leprosy), baptism, recovery, and, only at the very end, the official submission to the Christian deity, with Volodimer's acceptance of the Christian credo[59] —seems to show that the reference is not unintentional. It clothes Volodimer and his conversion in *truly* holy (Constantine's) attire[60] and makes of the event a coronation.[61] It is not without reason, or at least without *ideological* reason, that Volodimer does not consent, or request, but rather *commands* to be baptized; this is the same formula the Rus' princes, having already been chosen by descent or by election, used to proceed to the official and sacred ceremony of the coronation.[62]

While the conversion and baptism of Volodimer Svjatoslavič have great religious significance, suggesting as they do the salvation (redemption) of the people of Rus',[63] they also have an importance as civil events. The sign—or symbol—is the use of the term *velel* in relation to the ceremony of baptism.

For some reason, however, the Christian image of the prince in the *Pověst' vremennyx lět* seems somehow incomplete:

. . . the bishops said to Volodimer: "There are more and more murderers. Why don't you punish them?" He told them: "I fear this to be a sin." They said to him:

later than the beginning of the Phothian schism (cf. Pavlov, "Podložnaja darstvennaja gramota," pp. 21 and 58). The document was very likely known to the chronicler through the Greek translation or, at least, through an oral account, inaccurate enought to allow Constantine's leprosy to become Volodimer's blindness. On the legends concerning the conversion of Constantine the Great, cf. A. Kazhdan, " 'Constantine imaginaire.' Byzantine Legends of the Ninth Century about Constantine the Great," *Byzantion* 57, no. 1 (1987): 196–250, esp. pp. 196–97.

59 "I believe in one God the Father, Maker of Heaven and Earth..." (*PSRL*, 1:48). V. Vodoff, in *Naisssance de la Chrétienté Russe* (Paris, 1988), p. 69, believes this episode to be modelled on the conversion of St. Paul (Acts 9, 8–13). This, obviously, is not at all unlikely, but in my opinion, even if the chronicler used St. Paul's blindness as a symbolic image for the voyage from the darkness of paganism to the light of faith, the narrative "order" of Volodimer's conversion is really more similar to that of the *Constitutum Constantini*: in Acts 9, 8–13 the faith makes the miracle, whereas in the *Pověst' vremennyx lět* the miracle, seen as a successful experience of the power of God, inspires the faith.

60 The simile between Volodimer and Constantine the Great is also in Ilarion's *Slovo o zakone i blagodati* (cf. A. M. Moldavan, *Slovo o zakone i blagodati* [Kiev, 1984], p. 126). On this important theological and political document, cf. L. Müller, *Die Werke des Metropoliten Ilarion* (Munich, 1971). On the use in early Rus'ian prose of more or less literal quotations from the Holy Writs and from the Fathers in order to give *truth* to the words of the writers, cf. R. Picchio, "Levels of Meaning in Old Russian Literature," in *American Contributions to the Ninth International Congress of Slavists, Kiev, September 1983* (= Slavica, 2), pp. 357–70.

61 On the introduction of the ceremony of enthronization in Kievan Rus', cf. Poppe, "Le prince et l'église," p. 112.

62 Cf. *Sobranie gosudarstvennyx gramot i dogovorov* (Moscow, 1813–94), vol. 3, p. 70.

63 *PSRL*, 1:54.

"You have been put [onto your throne] (*Ty postavlen'' esi ot'' Boga*) to punish the evildoers and to reward the good. . . ."

While the bishops ask Volodimer to enforce *pravda* in his princedom, he seems reluctant to disregard the judicial *starina*,[64] i.e., the payment of the *vira*.[65] After what seems to be a short experiment, the elders—and also the bishops—ask him to return to the old custom.

Although the new religious background seems to endow Volodimer with the full powers of a Christian ruler—and with such functions related to this role as those of punishing and rewarding—the *starina* prevents him from fulfilling entirely the task he has been entrusted by God. What "sins" is Volodimer afraid of committing when punishing evildoers? Do rules exist, within the newly Christian princedom, forbidding the prince to enforce *pravda* by means of *groza*?[66]

Volodimer's idea of sin may be the key to answering these questions. In order to find out what might be considered sinful by the Kievan prince, it is necessary to look again at the religious islands floating towards Volodimer.

The Muslim religion is rejected, as was noted before, because "Drinking is the joy of Rus'." As it is, Volodimer's answer to the Bulgars seems to be an ironic joke: it is clear that in the Chronicle a "religious" refusal had to be given to a "religious" proposal. The "joy,"[67] therefore, could only be the heritage (*jouissance, usufruit*)[68] of the Rus' tradition that Volodimer could not, and would not, abandon.[69] The Roman Catholic island is rejected because ". . . our fathers never accepted this . . . ," and the Khazar Jews' island because they had been disowned by their god.[70]

64 *PSRL*, 1:54. Cf. N. V. Kalaxov, "Ob ugolovnom prave po Sudebniku Ivana Vasil'eviča," *Juridičeskie zapiski redkina* 2 (1842):322. The term *razboinik* indicated a person guilty of assault or murder.

65 The *vira* was a payment due to the prince by an offender or his kin. Cf. D. H. Kaiser, *The Growth of Law in Medieval Russia* (Princeton, N.J., 1980), pp. 71, 72.

66 While the *vira* is undoubtedly a more public means of social order than *wergeld* (cf. Kaiser, *Growth of Law*, pp. 62ff.), it could hardly be considered a means to induce the fear of God.

67 *PSRL*, 1:36. On the meaning of *vesel'e*, cf. Ju. M. Lotman, "Ešče raz o poniatijax 'slava' i 'čest'' v tekstax kievskogo perioda," in *Trudy po znakovym sistemam*, vol. 5, pp. 469–74.

68 Cf. A. J. Greimas, *Dictionaire de l'ancien français jusq'au milieu du XIV^e^ siècle* (Paris, 1969), p. 454.

69 Almost as likely, the sardonyx goblet presented by Constantine Monomax to Volodimer Vsevolodovič, as said in the *Skazanie o Knjazjax Vladimirskix* (cf. R. P. Dmitreva, *Skazanie o Knjazjax Vladimirskix*), was not a private goblet but a symbol of the religious functions of Augustus as *pontifex maximus*.

70 ". . . sami otverženi ot'' Boga i rastočeni?" (*PSRL*, 1:34).

For which "Promised Land," then, is Volodimer looking?

The answer the Kievan prince gives the Khazars is quite enlightening: the Khazars' god (a god corresponding to their description) did exist, but their way of relating to him was not the right one, and he did nothing to save them from dispersion in foreign lands. The other answers are no less enlightening: the right way to adore the one true God cannot, and must not, be inconsistent with the tradition established by Volodimer's ancestors. The one God, whom Volodimer seeks by allowing the islands to come to him, must be the one who taught his Rus' ancestors their way of living, who, since the beginning of [their] time, formed the *starina*.

This explains quite well the relief shown by the chronicler when, by agreeing to renounce the power of punishing evildoers, "Volodimer lived according to the order (*po ustroen'ju*) of his fathers and ancestors."[71]

The shape of the Exodus–Odyssey is now clear: the suggestions of Greek religion, of Greek ritual,[72] lead to "remembrance" and, as from the shadows in the Platonic cave, the "truth" buried deep within the tradition comes to light as "recognition." Volodimer's Exodus appears to be one of looking back, towards the rediscovery of a forgotten truth rather than towards the discovery of an unknown one. The symbolic simile between the chosen people and the people of Rus' becomes clear: the flow of the truth in history progresses from the Old Testament (the tradition not yet enlightened by the Revelation) to the New Testament and back to the happiness of Eden.

The sins that Volodimer fears committing are, therefore, those actions that might fall outside the bounds of the Rus' tradition, the *starina*, which is even *truer* than the Greek faith. This is the reason for the multiple trials to which Volodimer subjects the Greek deity (the conquest of Cherson, the recovery from blindness). The deity of the (heathen) tradition has obligations towards his followers; he must grant his favor and, given the right sacrifices and prayers, he must do what is requested,[73] not in heaven, but on earth. It is, no doubt, to punish the "demon" for having deceived him that Volodimer commands the statue of Perun he had built behind his *terem* to be tied to the tail of a horse and beaten with sticks.[74]

71 *PSRL*, 1:54.

72 *PSRL*, 1:46.

73 "He listened to Solomon who said: 'Give to the poor, and God will give to you' " (*PSRL*, 1:54).

74 *PSRL*, 1:50. Cf. A. Ju. Gur'evič, *Problemy srednevekovoj narodnoj kul'tury* (Moscow, 1981).

A further element concerning this point is particularly significant. During the baptismal ceremony of Volodimer Svjatoslavič when, blinded, he is waiting for the empress, the Kievan prince says: "Shall this be the truth, *verily* the God of the Christians is great."[75] The *Pověst' vremennyx lět* uses the term *istina* for "truth" and *poistine* for "verily." According to B. Uspenskij[76] the word *istina*, a kind of antonym to *pravda*, means earthly truth as opposed to, or at least different from, heavenly truth, and it springs etymologically from *is-to* (Latin *iste*, Russian *etot*).[77] So, Volodimer's words could be translated more precisely as: "If this [the recovery from the blindness] *in fact* is going to happen, *in fact* the God of the Christians is great." What Volodimer is looking for during his Exodus–Odyssey is therefore an *actual* god, who is willing to act *and who is capable of acting* in the real, earthly world. The traditional order of Volodimer's ancestors could not be broken for a deity (like that of the Muslims) who could only promise happiness after death. The miracles and prophecies the Greek philosopher expounded[78] offered hope of a more earthly nature: the ancestors' order would not need to be broken at all.[79]

With this very unusual narrative order, the "New Constantine" of the Rus' land, more than an image of the old one, is the true founder of the true faith—a faith deeply rooted in the Rus', and Varjag, traditions—to which the (Greek) bishops[80] must also yield.[81]

[75] *PSRL*, 1:47.

[76] Uspenskij, *Jazykovaja situacija*, pp. 112–13.

[77] Uspenskij's theory, however, seems inconsistent with the use of this term in Ilarion's *Slovo o zakone i blagodati* (first edition), in Moldavan, *Slovo o zakone i blagodati*, pp. 78ff., where *istina* in most cases means "revelation" and is linked to the *blagodati* (grace) of the New Testament. In my opinion, Uspenskij's meaning is more appropriate in the context of the baptism of Volodimer Svjatoslavič in the *Pověst' vremennyx lět*.

[78] *PSRL*, 1:37–43.

[79] Cf. Gur'evič, *Problemy srednevekovoj narodnoj kultury*.

[80] ". . . and said the bishops and the elders: 'There are many wars. The *vira* will be of use for the weapons and the horses' . . ." (*PSRL*, 1:55).

[81] For a different interpretation of this episode, cf. Hanak, *The Nature and the Image*, pp. 35ff. Hanak reads the Chronicle as a statement of the God-given power of the Kievan prince, but he fails to note the apparent inconsistency between the *groznyj* power shaped by the bishops and the way of the ancestors that Volodimer eventually chose to follow. This interpretation seems to be the one adopted by Dvornik (cf. *Byzantine political ideas*, p. 96). According to Poppe, ("Le Prince et l'église," p. 105), the episode shows, instead, the power of the Kievan prince over the newly established Christian church. It is interesting to note that Volodimer, even after his baptism, continues to behave according to his ancestors' religious customs. Under the year 6505 (*PSRL*, 1:55), the *Pověst' vremennyx lět* reports that Volodimer, fighting against the Pečenegs with a small *družina*, is compelled to hide under a bridge to escape death, and promises to build a church if he escapes danger. About this ancient Slavic custom, cf. Procopius Caesariensis, *Opera Omnia* (Lipsiae, 1905), vol. 2, p. 357 ("[Antai and Sclabenoi]. . . do not believe in fate, and generally do not admit that it has any power over man,

The founding of churches, liberality towards the poor, and the hierarchical order[82] Volodimer maintains in his domains are his part of the religious *synallagma*, which makes him a ''blessed prince.''[83]

The image of Volodimer's ''heathen'' baptism might therefore appear as the exact opposite of the image of the Exodus Jurij Lotman outlines in a recent work.[84] Lotman sees the clash between Moses and Aaron (Ex. 32, 15–20) as a clash between two cultural models: the oral (the golden calf) and the written (the Tables of the Law). The final result of the Exodus seems strangely twisted in the *Pověst' vremennyx lět*: the new culture towards which Volodimer Svjatoslavič traveled in his religious search, although written, appears to be not a culture of causality, but a culture of prediction[85] and of reciprocity[86] —typically oral, or heathen—but this result cannot really be interpreted along these lines.

V. THE CHOSEN PEOPLE

In the *Slovo o zakone i blagodati*,[87] Ilarion affirms that Rus' was the chosen land, and, later, in the *Pověst' vremennyx lět*,[88] this fate is emphasized as the reason for the Cuman raids into the Kievan land. Ilarion's, and the chronicler's, reasons are within the specificity of the Rus' land and of the Rus' people. Filofej's ''desert''[89] gives them both, in more recent times,

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and when they are threatened by death or fall ill or are in a dangerous position during war, they promise that if they come out alive they will at once offer a sacrifice for their soul, and if they escape death they make the sacrifice they had promised and think that they have purchased salvation with the price of the sacrifice''). See also B. D. Grekov, *Kul'tura Kievskoj Rusi* (Moscow, 1944), p. 35. About the Σκλαβηνοί, cf. O. Pritsak, ''The Slavs and the Avars,'' in *Gli Slavi Occidentali e Meridionali nell'Alto Medioevo, Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo*, vol. 30 (Spoleto, 1983).

82 In the Augustinian meaning of the word (St. Augustin, *De Civitate Dei*, 19, 13); cf., for instance, the episode of the ''silver spoons'' (*PSRL*, 1:54): Volodimer's *družina* refused to eat with wooden spoons [commoners' spoons] during the banquets, and the prince agreed to ''honor'' his noblemen by granting them silver ones.

83 ''Blažennyj knjaz'' (*PSRL*, 1:56).

84 Ju. M. Lotman, ''Neskol'ko myslej o tipologii kultur,'' in *Jazyki, kultury i problemy perevodimosti* (Moscow, 1987), pp. 3ff.

85 Lotman, ''Neskol'ko myslej.''

86 J. M. Lotman, ''L''accordo' e l''affidare se stessi' come modelli archetipi della cultura [Dogovor i 'vručenie sebja' kak arxetipičeskie modeli Kul'tury, 1979],'' in *Testo e contesto* (Bari, 1980), pp. 61–77.

87 Moldovan, *Slovo*, pp. 121–22.

88 ''Let nobody say: God hates us! This shall not be. For whom did God love, as He loved us? . . . for we, more than any other people, have been taught, and know the will of God . . .'' (*Lavrent'evskaja letopis'*), in *PSRL*, 1:96).

89 Cf. Filofej of Pskov, *Poslanie velikomu knjazju Ivanu Vasil'eviču*, in V. Malinin, *Starec Eleazarova Monastyrija Filofej i ego Postanija* (Kiev, 1901), suppl., pp. 62–63.

the status of being the final hope[90] for the redemption of the world. Such status can only be the result of something deep within the soul of the chosen people, and the Rus' soul is shaped by the *starina*, by the beginning, which cannot be denied without committing a sin.

Volodimer Svjatoslavič's behavior seems deeply inspired by two of the archetypical categories of any ancient, "magical" culture: reciprocity and constraint.[91] A "magical" culture, as opposed to a "religious" culture, according to Lotman, is based upon a *dogovor* (pact) which compels both parties to comply with the compulsory behavior that is the object of the pact. Thus, if the weaker party (a man, a shaman, etc.) complies, the stronger party (a deity, a demon, etc.) must also comply. The reciprocity is then the basis for constraint: if the shaman performs a particular series of actions, the god or the demon, even against his will, must respond with a reciprocal series of actions. Within a religious culture, however, the cultural archetype is shaped by a combination of unilaterality and absence of constraint.[92] Here, man trusts in God and gives himself freely, and just as freely God grants a reward or offers protection.

Volodimer's conversion would seem to be based upon the magical archetype—and indeed partly is—but for the similarity of the narrative order of the *Pověst' vremennyx lět* and the Exodus, and for the role of the prince within this order.

A magical culture, allowing the pact (the fief, in an early Rus' cultural environment)[93] to become an archetypical structure, is bound to a double binary relationship: two parties may comply or *not* comply with the rules stated in the pact. This means that only *two* parties can play in the magical drama.

In a religious culture, there are more than two behavioral patterns: man may or may not abandon himself to the deity, and the deity may or may not grant him grace.[94] More importantly, there are more than two parties, because the relationship is not between a god and a man, but between God and a people (potentially, all the people in the world). Within this latter cultural structure, each person's actions affect the pattern of the relationship with the deity.

90 Cf. Lotman, "O modelirujuščem značenii ponjatij 'konca' i 'načala'." Here the category of the "end" has a great importance.

91 Cf. Lotman, "L''accordo' e l''affidare se stessi.'"

92 Lotman, "L''accordo' e l''affidare se stessi.'"

93 Lotman, L''accordo' e l''affidare se stessi'; cf. also A. Ja. Gur'evič, *Problemy genezisa feodalizma v zapadnoj Evrope* Moscow, 1970).

94 Cf., e.g., the parable of the workers in the vineyard (Matt. 20, 1 – 16).

To which of these cultural models does Volodimer's conversion belong? Once again, the key to the answer must be sought within the role of the Kievan prince, as depicted by the *Pověst' vremennyx lět.*

During the theological odyssey—which really began before the Bulgar Muslims' invitation to learn the law,[95] with the construction of the altar to Perun and other pagan gods—the Kievan prince's task had been that of choosing a faith, the *true* one, for his people. In making this choice, he was bound, one could say, by the criteria of reciprocity and constraint: (1) he refuses the Muslims because they ask him to deny the Rus' national identity ("drinking" being a symbol of this identity) in exchange for nothing but the promise of a future beatitude (a religious model); (2) he refuses the Hebrews because their god could or would not be "constrained" and comply by helping His followers; (3) he refuses the Roman Catholics, because to refrain from food and drink, as they ask Volodimer to do,[96] is not consistent with Rus' tradition (again, the Roman Catholic model is a religious one, as it requires "abandoning oneself" to the deity); (4) he is convinced by the Greek faith, because, after many trials, he satisfied that the Greek Orthodox deity is a good one. The criteria in making the choice are typical of a magical culture, whereas the fact that the prince is called upon to make the choice for all his people is not: Volodimer is depicted by the authors of the *Pověst' vremennyx lět* as a *sacerdos*,[97] rather like a shaman, even when he sacrifices to Perun. He is the ruler of a godless people and part of his role as ruler is to find the one God.

The order of the *Pověst' vremennyx lět* leaves little room for doubt: rather than a new Constantine, Volodimer is a new Moses.[98] And this image of the Exodus could well be the basis for Ilarion's, and the chronicler's, theory of the chosen people.

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95 Cf. B. D. Grekov, *Kievskaja Rus'* (Moscow, 1949), pp. 471–472.

96 "... [there is no need] to drink or to eat, because all is in the glory of God, so said our master Paul." (*PSRL*, 1:36).

97 "Maxima quidem in hominibus sunt dona Dei a superna collata clementia sacerdotium et imperium..." (*Novella VI*).

98 On the frequency of the image of the Exodus in Russian *pis'mennost'*, cf. Goldblatt, "On *Rusьkymi pismeny*," 321–322. It is hard to say if the chronicler of the *Pověst' vremennyx lět* was influenced by the writer of the *Skazanie o slavjanskoj pis'mennosti* (which is the document analyzed by Goldblatt), or vice versa, as attempts to date the *Skazanie* are not yet conclusive.

Metropolitan Ilarion on the Origin of Christianity in Rus': The Problem of the Transformation of Byzantine Influence

ALEXANDER AVENARIUS

In the last two decades researchers have repeatedly dealt with the Kiev metropolitan Ilarion and especially his "Sermon on Law and Grace." Their treatment, strangely enough, has often had a critical, even polemical character. Most surprising is that these researchers all attempt to reevalute the established opinion of Ilarion's work, accepted already by prerevolutionary Russian historiography.

The principal idea of Ilarion's "Sermon," presented in the work's introduction, is a contrast between Old Testament Judaism, the religion of the Chosen People, and New Testament Christianity, as the religion of all peoples; it is developed in the text and represented by the example of Rus'. These passages have traditionally been considered to be a manifestation of the growth of national awareness in Rus' and a justification of its equality in the politics and culture of the time, particularly in relation to Byzantium.[1] This view has recently been often criticized. Although the critics point out that Metropolitan Ilarion was installed by Jaroslav the Wise, Prince of Kiev, without the preliminary consent of the Byzantine emperor and consequent consecration by the Patriarch of Constantinople, they claim that these acts cannot be classified as a manifestation of anti-Byzantine tendencies, which may have ensued from the Byzantine-Rus' war in 1043, by then already ended. According to these scholars, Ilarion's "Sermon" contains not a single hint of anti-Byzantine ideology, but fully respects Byzantine ecumenical doctrine and is by no means an elaboration of the equality and autonomy of Rus'.[2]

[1] G. G. Litavrin, A. P. Každan, and Z. V. Udal'cova, "Otnošenija drevnej Rusi i Vizantiji, v 11–pervoj polovine 13 veka," *Proceedings of the Thirteenth Congress of Byzantine Studies, Oxford, 1966*, p. 82; A. N. Rogov and V. N. Florja, *Formirovanie samosoznania drevnerusskoj narodnosti: Razvitie ètničeskogo samosoznania slavjanskix narodov v èpoxu rannego srednevjekovja* (Moscow, 1982), p. 10.

[2] L. Müller, *Des Metropoliten Ilarion Lobrede auf Vladimir den Heiligen und Glaubensbekenntnis* (Wiesbaden, 1962), pp. 23–27; I. Ševčenko, "Russo-Byzantine Relations after the Eleventh Century," *Proceedings of the Thirteenth Congress*, p. 93; A. Poppe, "Das Reich der

The question arises whether the formulation in the eleventh century of a Rus' ideological program must inevitably have taken an anti-Byzantine approach. However, another problem seems to be of much greater importance. Adherents of both opinions consider the culture of a certain nation and its ideological ideas to be clear-cut, homogenous entities already in the initial stages of development. In this case, Ilarion's work is considered to be the expression of an already crystallized doctrine, either Rus' or still pro-Byzantine. Those who classify Ilarion as the spokesman for the emancipation effort in Rus' culture generally admit that his work was written under Byzantine influence, although they do not regard that as essential. Adherents of both viewpoints fail to take into account the possibility of the existence of motifs conditioned by Rus' reality. Anyway, it seems that the degree of integration of the Rus' culture and the ideological homogeneity of the "Sermon" itself[3] are exaggerated. My approach to the given theme is to analyze acculturational processes in their historical setting, an approach which makes use of the achievements of cultural anthropology.

Seen from such a perspective, the problem surpasses the boundaries of the original theme and touches those connected with the reception and adoption of Byzantine culture in the Slavic setting as a whole. So far we know very little about the processes that took place during the Slavs' contacts with Byzantine life and culture, and still less about the factors that helped transform and create Slavic culture. Ilarion's work offers unique possibilities in this respect.

The acceptance of Christianity in 988 opened the way to a broad reception of Byzantine influence. Hand in hand with Christianity, Byzantine material culture, represented by church architecture and decoration, penetrated Rus'. This component of Byzantine culture began to assert itself in Rus' most vigorously. Besides the obvious need for places to perform the religious services, the rapid building of churches was influenced by other factors. At that time Byzantine architecture was the only component of Byzantine culture suitable for easy transference to Rus' and adaptation to local traditions. Wooden architecture in Rus' could adopt the examples coming from Byzantium without major change. The participation of Rus' masters in the construction of such churches as St. Sophia and the Tithes Church in Kiev was evident in their final forms. The achievements of Byzantine architecture were not accepted passively in Rus', but were transformed and adapted to local traditions. For instance, the first Rus'

Rus' im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert: Wandel der Ideenwelt," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 28 (1980): 338.

[3] A common view of both sides.

churches had several domes, a typical feature of old Rus' wooden architecture.[4] The participation of Rus' masters in making the decorations for St. Sophia in Kiev is manifested in some saints depicted and in departures from common Byzantine practices.[5]

While Rus' architecture, owing to its high standard, could adopt and modify Byzantine influence readily, other components of Byzantine culture that began to penetrate Rus' following the acceptance of Christianity—i.e., the Christian doctrine itself and the written literary culture—were not easily linked to local traditions.

The Byzantine influence accompanying the penetration of Christianity was markedly evident through half a century. Because not many materials are available, our assessment is based mainly on some external features which can be followed in the Rus' written documents of the period. One of these is the adaptation of Byzantine words and names and their application to reality in Rus'. Though we are not going to deal with its ideological function in Rus' literature, the use of Byzantine nomenclature is clear evidence of a formal dependence on Byzantine models.

Byzantine nomenclature is found first of all in that part of the Rus' Chronicle usually labeled as the oldest and defined as the autonomous "Tale of the Spread of Christianity in Rus'."[6] Interestingly enough, it is just this "Tale" that is considered to be convincing proof of the emancipation of the Rus' culture and ideology from Byzantine models. All parts of the "Tale" have one striking, unifying feature in common: the transformation and use of Byzantine names in the Rus' environment. This is true for both the names of architectural monuments—the Golden Gate and St. Sophia—and the names of persons: members of the Rus' royal family were usually given Byzantine first names after famous Byzantine personalities—Princess Ol'ga received the name Helen upon baptism and Prince Oleg was called Demetrius.[7]

The adoption of Byzantine terms often had differing motivations. While the taking over of architectural terms can be considered simply their application to certain analogous constructions in Rus', the taking over of personal names had an ideological intent. The fact that after baptism Princess Ol'ga took over the name Helen, after the first Christian empress, has profound symbolical meaning: the task Helen and Constantine the Great

[4] I. E. Zabelin, *Čerty samobytnosti drevnerusskogo zodčestva*, (Moscow, 1900), p. 80.

[5] V. N. Lazarev, *Mozaiki Sofii kijevskoj*, (Moscow, 1960), p. 156.

[6] "Istoričeskij očerk," in *Pověst' vremennyx lět*, ed. D. S. Lixačev, vol. 2 (Moscow and Leningrad, 1950), p. 61.

[7] *Pověst' vremennyx lět*, vol. 1 (Moscow and Leningrad, 1950), p. 24.

undertook in Byzantium was that faced by Ol'ga in Rus'.

Even more interesting is the comparison of Prince Oleg to Demetrius of Thessalonica. The latter, a saint, savior, and patron of a Byzantine town, was compared to a pagan Rus' prince, later worshipped as the embodiment of the Rus' fighting spirit.[8] Here we cannot speak of a simple change of name, as in Ol'ga's case. What is important is not that Ol'ga actually took over the name Helen and that Oleg was only compared to Demetrius. Of much greater significance is that the latter case shows a deliberate, selective approach to Byzantine tradition. The author of the "Tale" deliberately omitted mention of one aspect of the tradition—Demetrius's holiness—while stressing his qualities as a warrior.

In spite of the nuances, the selective method applied by the compiler of the "Tale" betrays unambiguously his affinity to Byzantine models. The connection to Byzantine reality and Byzantine influence was further extended and implemented following 1037, when Jaroslav the Wise decided to establish a translators' workshop charged with translating Byzantine literature into the Slavic language.[9] This seems surely to have been founded, although no translation has been decisively identified as the product of the workshop. Most probably its establishment was an attempt to transpose Byzantine works into the broadest context possible.

The nascent Christian culture in Rus' was no longer satisfied with the reception of only certain elements of the more developed culture. Rus' needed a literature written in its own language. No longer was literature accepted and adapted, both qualitatively and quantitatively, from the Bulgarian sphere only with its similar, Slavic language. Some works were deliberately translated from Byzantine literature, which was much more heterogeneous in both genre and content. There was unquestionably a marked inclination toward Byzantine culture. At the same time, the basic preconditions were laid for the emancipation of Rus' written culture and ideology. The act of translating entailed selection, and the Rus' selected what they considered important and necessary for their society.

The political events that took place at the beginning of the 1040s, connected with the Rus'-Byzantine war of 1043, must have accelerated the emancipation of the Rus' culture. The relatively long period taken to settle the conflict—which did not end with the truce in 1046, but with the marriage of a Byzantine princess to Jaroslav the Wise's son and the deposition

[8] See the analysis of Ilarion's "Sermon," below.

[9] *Pověst' vremennyx lět*, 1: 102.

of Ilarion (1052), the first metropolitan of Rus' origin[10] —seems to have had little long-term effect on cultural and ideological development. Ideological and cultural motifs from the preceding period were still not outdated, giving evidence that Byzantine influence was alive. This was manifested most strikingly in the decoration of St. Sofia in Kiev. The depiction of the Byzantine emperor with a nimbus, accepting tribute from Prince Jaroslav, is usually interpreted as an expression of the political privileges of the Byzantine emperor, as the head of the Byzantine world, of which Rus' was also a part.[11] The depiction of Helen and Constantine in St. Sophia can be explained in the same way, as evidence of the still close relationship of Rus' to Byzantine cultural traditions. At the same time, however, there was an advent of new ideological elements, which, while still observing and respecting the principal orientation on Byzantine tradition and culture, though in far more sophisticated form, meant that these were being accepted differently than in the past.

The "Sermon on Law and Grace" of the Kiev metropolitan Ilarion is the work that laid the cornerstone of this deliberate transformation and reception of Byzantine influence. The "Sermon" contains two ideological concepts, whose elements draw on two different sources and traditions. First are motifs adhering to the Byzantine tradition: two motifs are particularly pro-Byzantine in character. The first is, on the whole, unambiguous and requires no commentary at the moment. Prince Volodimer learned about the Greek Orthodox land of Byzantium and brought Christianity from New Jerusalem, i.e., Constantinople, to Rus' ("Sermon," 102).[12] Clearly, Ilarion was not denying the Byzantine roots of the Rus' religion. The second striking pro-Byzantine motif is the comparison of Prince Volodimer to Constantine the Great. Because he spread Christianity in Rus', Volodimer became an "isapostol," similar to Constantine the Great, first to spread officially acknowledged Christianity in Byzantium ("Sermon," 117). Again we encounter the phenomenon of the transfer of Byzantine terms and names to the Rus' environment. The ideological meaning of this process has for

[10] A. Poppe, "La dernière expédition russe contre Constantinople," *Byzantinoslavica* 32 (1971): 262, dates the conclusion of peace to 1046; G. G. Litavrin, *Vojna Rusi protiv Vizantii: Issledovanija po istorii slavjanskix i balkanskix narodov* (Moscow, 1972), p. 222, supposed it was a long-lasting process.

[11] A. Grabar, "Les fresques des escaliers et l'iconographie imperiale byzantine à Saint Sophie de Kiev," *Seminarium Kondakovianum* 7 (1933): 103 and 117; D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth* (London, 1971; 2nd ed., 1984), p. 446; A. Poppe, "The Building of the Church of St. Sofia in Kiev," *Journal of Medieval History* 7 (1981): 38, dates of the frescoes.

[12] The "Sermon" is cited from the edition by L. Müller, *Des Metropoliten Ilarion Lobrede auf Vladimir den Heiligen und Glaubensbekenntnis* (fn. 2, above).

some time been pushed aside due to a lack of evidence. Here we can deal with the problem in a more detailed way and analyze it more thoroughly.

At first glance, it might seem that the comparison and transfer of names was one of the most striking ways to emphasize the equality of the Rus' prince and the Byzantine emperor and the equal position of Rus' and its autonomy in relation to Byzantium. Interpreting the comparison as a motif of emancipation, however, contradicts the fact that similar comparisons were made in other Slavic contexts, first in connection with Bulgaria. Patriarch Photios compared the first Christian Bulgarian prince, Boris, to Constantine the Great. By converting Bulgaria to Christianity, Boris, too, imitated the deed of Constantine the Great.[13]

Surely the proclamation of the rights of the Bulgarian prince and the founder of the Byzantine state religion was not the objective of this comparison. Anyway, Photios himself was one of the first Byzantine ideologists to outline the theoretical principles of Byzantine doctrine on the future Byzantine *oikoumenē*; his statement about the Christianization of Rus' (before 867) is perhaps the first evidence of certain political and ecclesiastical claims of Byzantium over neighboring nations.[14] Similarly, all of Byzantine policy in relation to Bulgaria is marked by the effort for political and ecclesiastical supremacy.

The comparison of a Slavic prince to Constantine the Great also occurred in relation to Great Moravia in about the mid-ninth century. In Constantine's biography the Byzantine emperor is compared to Prince Rastislav. However, it has been clearly proved that Constantine's biography does not oppose Byzantine political doctrine in relation to Slavic nations, but takes it fully into consideration. The comparison of Rastislav to Constantine the Great was not an ideological motif supporting the autonomy and equal rights of Great Moravia in relation to Byzantium. The actual function of this motif lies in ninth-century Byzantine ideology.

The term *podobniče* (imitator) that Ilarion used to define Volodimer's relation to Constantine is the key idea in his sermon. That term occurs frequently in connection with the authority of the Byzantine emperor and Byzantine ideology. The motif occurs in two variants and is always connected with the definition of the Byzantine emperor's relationship to God, or Christ. The emperor is to imitate Christ and his deeds (*mimesis theou*) or

13 *Photii patriarchae Constantinopolitani Epistulae et Amphilochia*, I, ed. B. Laourdas and L. G. Westerink (Leipzig, 1983), *Ep.* 1, p. 19; V. Zlatarski, *Istorija na bălgarskata dăržava prez srednite vekove* vol. 1, pt. 2 (Sofia, 1919), p. 93.

14 Photii *Epistolae*, ed. B. Laourdas and L. G. Westerink, *Ep.* 2, p. 50.

should be like Christ.[15] The analogous motif, which compares God's power with that of the prince, is usually considered to be a manifestation of autocratic claims by the Slavic ruler against the analogous demands of the Byzantine emperor,[16] if it occurs in the Slavic environment. In the "Sermon," as in the cases of Boris and Rastislav, the situation is different. The model that the Slavic prince is compared to is neither God nor Christ, but the Byzantine emperor Constantine the Great, who himself followed Christ by his deeds. The comparison of the Slavic prince to the Byzantine emperor in the Rus' as well as in other Slavic contexts conveys the idea of a hierarchically arranged Byzantine *oikoumenē*.

Although in principle he does not deny the Byzantine basis of Rus' culture and orthodoxy, Ilarion deliberately diminishes its role in their origin. He achieves this by various means.

The first is the employment of motifs from the Old Testament. When speaking of the transfer of Christianity to Rus' from Constantinople, Ilarion does not call the capital of Byzantium by its proper name or by that given to it by the Slavs, but calls it New Jerusalem ("Sermon," 118).[17] That name is in itself nothing extraordinary, but in the given context it has an important, specific function. It enables us, as Ilarion intended, to see Constantinople as one site of the dissemination and strengthening of Christianity. Constantinople, viewed from the historical perspective, is only one of the centers in which the Old Testament tradition was transformed to a qualitatively new stage. Judaism as the religion of law and Christianity as that of love are not directly opposed in Ilarion's work, but are understood as two stages in the development of religion. This interpretation is still more evident in the comparison of Volodimer and Jaroslav with Solomon and David, and of Kiev's St. Sophia to the temple in Jerusalem ("Sermon," 121). Though Ilarion was well informed about the strong Byzantine influence in the construction of Kiev's Sophia, which imitated Constantinople's Hagia Sophia, he seeks its model in Jerusalem, in the Old Testament. He deliberately avoids Byzantine tradition in one of its most marked connections with Rus' development. The use of Old Testament nomenclature and elements is

[15] H. Hunger, *Prooimion: Elemente der byzantinischen Kaiseridee in der Arengen der Urkunden* (Vienna, 1964), pp. 58–63; F. Winkelmann, "Das hagiographische Bild Konstantins I. in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit," in *Beiträge zur byzantinischen Geschichte 9–11. Jhd.* (Prague, 1978), p. 188.

[16] Hunger, *Prooimion*, p. 51.

[17] About Old Testament motifs in Rus' literature, see N. N. Jefimov, *Rus'—novyj Izrail: Teokratičeskaja ideologija svoezemnogo pravoslavija v dopetrovskoj pis'mennosti* (Kazan, 1912); R. Picchio, "The Function of Biblical Thematic Clues in the Literary Code of 'Slavia Orthodoxa,'" in *Slavica Hierosolymitana* (Jerusalem) 1 (1977): 20 nn.

formally inspired by Byzantine customs, but in actual meaning has a different impact.

Just as the Old Testament comparisons in Ilarion's work tended to downplay Byzantine influence in Old Rus', other motifs drawn from other sources played their own role in the creation of an autonomous ideology. The attempt to present Volodimer's introduction of Christianity in Rus' as an autonomous initiative is an interesting but not quite clear phenomenon in terms of the sources. In this connection Volodimer is called the teacher of religion ("Sermon," 100). In the Byzantine context this term did not apply, but it does occur in an analogous situation, in the Moravian context. Prince Rastislav asked for a teacher from Byzantium, and Constantine is indeed labeled as one.[18] The similarities in the biography of Constantine and the biography of Methodius, on the one hand, and the "Sermon" on the other, are not sufficient to prove that the author of the "Sermon" knew and used both old Slavic biographies. The similarities concern biblical quotations exclusively.[19] Similarly, in the case of Volodimer's being labeled a teacher, we cannot prove his Constantine (Cyril)-Methodius origin beyond doubt. Apart from other factors, we cannot do so because although Constantine is called a teacher, Volodimer's case is different. It is an evidently purposeful historical inaccuracy. Even if we take into consideration verbal influence, the meaning of the attribution is quite different, and can be connected with Ilarion's statement that Volodimer himself with his bishops gave laws to his people ("Sermon," 117).

If well-grounded doubts arise about the possible Constantine-Methodius influence, they make more evident Ilarion's return to pre-Christian Rus' history, from which he draws his principal arguments in elaborating his ideological program. The evaluation of Volodimer, now as the representative of secular power, is the starting point here. Volodimer's military and political successes are compared with the deeds of Igor' and Svjatoslav ("Sermon," 100). It is highly probable that the method of analogy was used here, as it was in regard to the church. Just as in the religious sphere the continuity of Old Testament Judaism and New Testament Christianity is expressed, so in the worldly one is stressed the idea of continuous political development from pagan times up to the Christian period of Rus' history.

[18] F. Grivec, "O idejah in izrazih Žitij Konstantina in Metodija," *Rozprave Slovenskej Akademie znanosti in umetnosti, filozofsko-filol., razred II-8* (Ljubljana, 1944), p. 169; V. Vavřínek, "Staroslověnské životy Konštantína a Metoděje," *Rozpravy ČSAV r. SV* 13 (1963): 32.

[19] N. N. Rogov, "Iz istorii russko-češskix svjazej drevnejšego perioda," *TODRL* 23 (1968): 73.

The sources of inspiration from which Ilarion draws his arguments and expressions are not limited to Rus' history proper, but reach back into its prehistory, which Ilarion considers to be an organic component in the development of the Rus' society and state. Volodimer is many times called khagan ("Sermon," 57, 100, 103). Indeed, as early as 839 the Rus' ruler was called khagan,[20] and it is supposed that a Khazar khagan was concerned, for it is historically possible that the realm of the Khazars reached to the central Dnieper region at the time.[21] In the eleventh century, however, the title of autonomous Rus' rulers no longer ensued from this tradition. Calling Volodimer and Jaroslav "khagan" is surely an effort to stress the exclusive position of the Rus' princes in the world surrounding Byzantium.[22] Yet calling Rus' princes khagans was not peculiar to Ilarion. An inscription containing the word "khagan" in connection with a Rus' ruler was made in Kiev's St. Sophia[23] in the second half of the eleventh century.

Ilarion expressed his attitude to Byzantine influence in various spheres of life in yet another striking way. As during the initial development of the Rus' culture, consistent use of Byzantine nomenclature was the manifestation of close affinity to Byzantine models, so departure from this practice was symptomatic of the opposite trend of independence. This phenomenon is encountered only once: Ilarion does a striking thing by substituting the name Golden Gate, which was of Byzantine origin, by a regional, Rus' one ("Sermon," 124).

The way in which Ilarion tried to cope with Byzantine cultural and ideological influence in Rus' is good reason to return to the problem once more, as the issue at the forefront during the whole initial period of Rus' cultural development. The use and transfer of Byzantine terms to Rus' can be considered one of the most striking indications of the intensity of Byzantine influence.

The acceptance or rejection of a certain name or term was not a negligible phenomenon in Byzantine culture. At any rate, names were ascribed much greater importance and significance in the Byzantine sphere than in the West. To the Byzantine mind, probably influenced by oriental views, a

20 *Annales Bertiniannenses* II, *MGH SS* I (Lipsiae, 1925), p. 434. J. P. Arrignon, "Remarques sur le titre de Kagan attribué aux princes russes d'après les sources occidentales et russes de IX^{e}–X^{e} s.," in *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* 23 (1984): 64ff.; O. Pritsak, "The Origin of Rus'," *Russian Review* 36 (1977): 249ff.; see also W. Vodoff, "La titulature des princes russes du X^{e} s. au début du XII^{e} s. et les relations extérieures de la Russie kiévienne," *Revue des études slaves* 60 (1983): 139ff.

21 A. N. Saxarov, *Diplomatija drevnej Rusi* (Moscow, 1980), p. 36.

22 Poppe, *Das Reich*, p. 339, fn. 13.

23 S. A. Vysoc'kyj, *Drevnerusskije nadpisi Sofii Kievskoj*, (Kiev, 1966), p. 42.

term, or picture, as the expression of its original, is not merely a conventional symbol. It is part of the notion itself and of its very essence. This attitude, characteristic of cultures in which a symbolic way of thinking is alien, occurs in the Byzantine-Slavic environment from time to time in various forms. It can be found in Byzantine iconoclasm, where a pictoral depiction is sometimes identical with its original (archetype).[24] This tradition manifests itself marginally also in Byzantine hesychasm, where the written word "God" is God himself.[25] An echo of this way of thinking can be detected in Nikon's reform and revision of translations of religious books. Absolute adherence to literal translations, to the detriment of the intelligibility of the texts, was one main reason for the reform. On the other hand, departure from the usual manner of translation and expression was considered to be simultaneously departure from the proper religion. The close connection between term (name) and notion became a significant ideological tool for Ilarion, too. He used the concept in interpreting briefly his views and their relation to the sources on which he built his own ideology.

His philosophy was far from being anti-Byzantine, however. The principal axiom—the admission of the Byzantine ecumenical doctrine and the adherence of the Rus' church to the Constantinople patriarchate—remained untouched. On the other hand, that did not prevent Ilarion from building the cornerstone of Rus' ideological doctrine by focusing on its historical evolution and the needs of Rus' society and drawing on the historical facts from time to time, more or less organically. He applied diverse means of expression and ideology, adapted from various historically and culturally remote sources: from the Old Testament tradition and from pre-Rus' and Rus' history.

Ilarion's "Sermon on Law and Grace" occupies an important position at the beginning of the long process of deliberately adapting Byzantine influence to local conditions, while simultaneously outlining its forms, manners, and means.

The evolution of Ilarion's general approach as well as of its individual elements can be traced to the second half of the eleventh century, to the elaboration of the tradition of Boris and Glĕb.[26] In the "Lectio" (*čtenie*) devoted to both martyrs, two pictures, based on two different cultural environments and traditions, are again presented. The already familiar

[24] G. Ostrogorski, "Gnoseologičeskija osnovy vizantijskogo spora o sv. ikonax," *Seminarium Kondakovianum* 2 (1928): 47–52; A. Avenarius, "Die Ideologie der Byzantiner und ihre Wiederspiegelung in der Vita Constantini," *Byzantinoslavica* 46 (1985): 30.

[25] Lixačev, *Razvitie*, p. 85.

[26] A. Poppe, "La naissance du culte de Boris et Gleb," *Cahiers de civilisation medievale* 24 (1981): 29–53.

comparison of Volodimer to Constantine[27] tends to support Byzantine tradition. However, the Old Testament tradition is in evidence, too. Glěb is not only called David, but is compared with him in a broader context: David protected his nation from a foreign danger, and so did Glěb.[28]

A similar use of various motifs and pictures can be seen in the tale about Boris and Glěb. Here, too, the use of Byzantine terms and names is encountered (Vyšgorod is compared with Thessalonike and the brothers Boris and Glěb with St. Demetrius). Nonetheless, the tale abandons the Byzantine concept in a most radical way, when compared with all preceding literary works. In the depiction of Volodimer, the Byzantine motif of comparing him with Constantine the Great is no longer employed. On the contrary, his close connection with the Rus' environment is stressed, emphasizing his ancestral links to Svjatoslav and Igor'.[29] Moreover, stating these connections evokes one of the most politically and economically prosperous periods of the Rus' state. The most important thing, however, is that Volodimer is called the sovereign in the tale, that is, that on both the theoretical and practical planes his sovereignty as a ruler is fully acknowledged in his own country.[30]

In the eleventh–twelfth centuries, we can study not only cultural influence coming from Bohemia,[31] but the adoption of the Constantine-Methodius tradition, mediated by the Bulgarian milieu. Especially the Constantine-Methodius legacy, as preserved in the Primary Chronicle, represented another concept of the cultural beginnings of Rus', different in that it seemed to be based on the Byzantine tradition.[32] However, its influence remained limited, manifesting itself again only in the Nestor Chronicle.

Even in the late twelfth century, the development favored means of expression that, while preserving the general pro-Byzantine trend, fostered the elaboration of an independent Rus' ideology and political objectives. The time of Andrej Bogoljubskij represented a significant stage in this

27 *Žitija svv. mučenikov Borisa i Gleba i služby im*, ed. D. I. Abramovyč (Petersburg, 1916), p. 4.

28 *Žitija svv. mučenikov*, p. 50; B. N. Florja, "Václavská legenda a borisoglebsky kult (shody a rozdíly)," *Československy časopis historicky* 26 (1978): 90.

29 *Žitija svv. mučenikov*, p. 27.

30 *Žitija svv. mučenikov*, p. 27.

31 F. Dvorník, *Les Bénedictins et la christianisation de la Russie: L'Église et les Églises*, vol. 2 (Chevetogne, 1954), pp. 326–29; V. Huňáček, "Slovanska Sázava a česko-uherskoruské vztahy v 11. stol.," *Bulletin Ústavu ruského jazyka a literatury* 14 (1970), pp. 5–21.

32 A. A. Šaxmatov, *Pověst' vremennyx lět*, vol 1 (Petrograd, 1916); idem, "Skazanie o preloženii knig na slovenskij jazyk," *Zbornik u slavu V. Jagiće* (Berlin, 1908), p. 172.

development. The effort to build an autonomous metropolis at Vladimir-on-the-Kljaz'ma[33] was accompanied by vivid ideological preparation. Upon Andrej's victory over the Volga-Bulgars in 1164, the prince's victory over the Bulgarians was compared with the victory of Manuel Comnenus over the Saracens,[34] yet the fact that Andrej Bogoljubskij is called "our Tsar"[35] is vivid evidence of the advanced political emancipation of the Principality of Vladimir. The very form of the presentation reflects the competitive atmosphere between Byzantium and Rus'. In the spheres of both politics and ideology, the evidence shows that Rus', whose political center was transferred to the Vladimir principality, embarked on direct confrontation with the Byzantine political theory and practice in about the mid-twelfth century.

The process of development and confrontation was characterized by a dawning self-awareness, search for roots, and cultural change proper. In the twelfth century there was an interesting shift in the use of the term Scythian. This was the name the Rus' had been ascribed by Byzantine authors, who, as was their common practice, identified the population of a certain geopolitical territory regardless of ethnicity or time. The term was then applied in Rus' literary works. As early as the Primary Chronicle, the name Scythians and the country they peopled became a means for stressing the ancient past and numerousness of the East Slavic tribes. Two Rus' tribes, the Oulichs and the Tivers, residing on the territory of former Scythia Magna, were the direct heirs and successors of the ancient Scythians.[36] The Rus' deliberately accepted the name Scythians as their own.[37]

In the twelfth century Scythian motifs began to appear in visual arts in Rus' and became components of the exterior decorations of Rus' churches, as typified by the decoration of the Pokrov (the Intercession of the Holy Virgin) Church on the river Nerl'. Ilarion's concept seems to be represented in its exterior decoration. Naturally, no direct connections can be ascertained. However, one thing is clear: the decoration of this church is executed in many ways analogously to Ilarion's concept—by the use of

[33] N. N. Voronin, "Andrej Bogoljubskij i Luka Xrizovorg: Iz istorii russko-vizantijskix otnošenij v 12. veke," *Vizantijskij vremennik* 21 (1962): 302.

[34] *Skazanie o čudesax vladimirskoj ikony Božiej materi* (St. Petersburg, 1878), pp. 21–22; I. E. Zabelin, "Sledy literaturnogo truda A. Bogoljubskogo," *Arxeologičeskie izvestija i zametki*, 1895, no. 2–3, p. 45; E. S. Hurwitz, *Prince Andrej Bogoljubskij: The Man and the Myth* (Florence, 1980), pp. 54ff.

[35] I. U. Budovnic, *Obščestvenno-političeskaja mysl' Drevnej Rusi* (Moscow, 1960), p. 245; Voronin, "Andrej Bogoljubskij," p. 31.

[36] *Pověst' vremennyx lět*, 1: 14.

[37] F. V. Mareš, "Byzantský nazor o totožnosti Slovanů a Skythů na Stare Rusi," *Vznik a počátky Slovanu* 2 (1956): 7.

several identical means of expression, transposed into visual symbols. Observing the Byzantine canon, the church is decorated by the central figure of the Old Testament David, surrounded on both sides by a couple of lions and griffins, undoubtedly having some connection to the Scythian animal style. The second scene is essentially a repetition, but Alexander the Great is its central character.[38]

Use of themes drawn from the Old Testament and pre-Rus' times—including ancient motifs—is actually the same method Ilarion had already used in literature. The church decoration at Nerl' is the most vivid example of such ideological impact. We also encounter Scythian animal and plant motifs in the decoration of Rus' churches (the Dimitriev church in Vladimir-on-the-Kljaz'ma, the church in Yurev),[39] but this style lost clarity of meaning and characteristic significance in the late twelfth century and beginning of the thirteenth century.

Nonetheless, Scythian elements, manifested in terminology and used to define the sovereign dignity of the Rus' princes, can easily be discerned. If we question that there was any concrete symbolism behind the use of Scythian elements in decoration, and if we agree that they were applied by the developing higher social stratum to create symbols of its power,[40] or of a victorious nation,[41] we must still keep in mind their essential and principal meaning, that is, the emphasis on the continuity of the Rus' nation and state in relation to the ancient traditions, from which its autonomy sprung.

The relationship of the Rus' to intensive Byzantine ideological and cultural influence over the course of two centuries, from its beginnings to the end of the twelfth century, was not uniform, but underwent certain stages of development. The Rus' milieu, exposed to intensive Byzantine influence following the adoption of Christianity, began to "process" and transform that influence according to its needs. In the end it took a rather critical approach, resulting in ideological and artistic confrontation. At the beginning of this process stood the personality of Metropolitan Ilarion.

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[38] *Istorija kul'tury drevnej Rusi: Domongol'skij period*, vol. 2 (Moscow, 1951), p. 332.

[39] G. K. Vagner, "Sud'by obrazov zverinnogo stilja v drevnerusskom iskusstve," in *Skifo.-sibirskij zverinnyj stil' v iskusstve narodov Evrazii* (Moscow, 1976), p. 252.

[40] B. A. Rybakov, "Prikladnoje iskusstvo i skul'ptura," in *Istorija kul'tury drevnej Rusi*, vol. 2, p. 408.

[41] N. P. Kondakov, *Očerki i zametki po istorii srednevekovogo iskusstva i kul'tury* (Prague, 1929), p. 92.

JURIDICAL ASPECTS

La Rus' entre la Bulgarie et l'Empire byzantin: de la fin du X^e^ au début du XII^e^ siècle

JEAN-PIERRE ARRIGNON

Le baptême de Volodimer en 988/989 marque l'entrée de la Rus' dans la communauté des États chrétiens présidés par l'empereur.[1] Outre la Foi, les Rus' reçoivent alors une langue liturgique, le slavon; cette dernière s'impose aussi comme langue littéraire; le vieux-russe est alors relégué au rang de langue vernaculaire. Ce dualisme linguistique ou diglossie aurait caractérisé la situation linguistique de la Rus' de Kiev, si l'on en croit du moins l'analyse de B. A. Uspenskij,[2] aujourd'hui sérieusement contestée.[3] Notre propos n'est pas ici de reprendre cette difficile question, mais de nous limiter à l'étude des techniques de traduction des oeuvres byzantines. Les Rus' se sont-ils bornés à recevoir, par l'intermédiaire de la Bulgarie, les traductions effectuées par les «Apôtres des Slaves», Cyrille et Méthode et leurs disciples, pour les Slaves du sud, ou bien ont-ils eux-mêmes traduit ces textes, directement à partir du grec, dans de grands *scriptoria* comme

[1] G. Ostrogorsky, «Die byzantinische Staatenhierarchie», *Annales de l'Institut Kondakov*, VIII, 1936, pp. 41–61; F. Dölger, *Byzanz und die Europäische Staatenwelt* (Ettal, 1953), pp. 140–96; A. Grabar, «God and the 'Family of Princes', presided over by Byzantine Emperor», *Harvard Slavic Studies*, II, 1954, pp. 117–23; G. Ostrogorsky, «The Byzantine Emperor and the Hierarchical World Order», *The Slavonic and East European Review*, XXXV, 1956/57, pp. 1–14.

[2] B. A. Uspenskij, *Jazykovaja situacija Kievskoj Rusi i ee značenie dlja istorii russkogo literaturnogo jazyka*, Moscou, 1983, p. 9.

[3] Cette thèse a été farouchement combattue lors du IX^e^ Congrès international des Slavistes, cf. A. S. Mel'nyčuk, «Obsuždenie problemy jazykovoj situacii v Kievskoj Rusi», ...*IX Meždunarodnyj s''ezd slavistov, Izvestija Akademii nauk SSSR*, ser. *Literatury i jazyka*, 1984, t. 34, N. 2, pp. 122–23; ainsi que les articles de V. V. Kolesov, «Kritičeskie zametki o 'drevnerusskoj diglossii'», A. A. Alekseev, «Počemu v drevnej Rusi ne bylo diglossii» et L. P. Klimenko, «Istorija russkogo literaturnogo jazyka s točki zrenija teorii diglossii», in *Literaturnyj jazyk drevnej Rusi: Mežvuzovskij sbornik*, Leningrad, 1986, p. 41. On trouvera enfin une excellente mise au point concernant cette question dans l'article de A. I. Gorškov, «Otečestvennye filologi o staroslavjanskom i drevnerusskom literaturnom jazyke», in *Drevnerusskij literaturnyj jazyk v ego otnošenii k staroslavjanskomu*, Moscou, 1987, pp. 7–29.

celui qu'aurait installé Jaroslav le Sage dans l'ensemble métropolitain de Sainte-Sophie de Kiev?[4]

Nous examinerons, dans un premier temps, la situation de la Bulgarie et de l'empire de Constantinople à la fin du X^e^ siècle et au début du XI^e^ s., puis nous présenterons les perspectives qu'offre la récente approche linguistique, enfin nous proposerons une piste nouvelle élaborée à partir des données musicologiques.

LA BULGARIE ET L'EMPIRE BYZANTIN FIN X^e^ SIÈCLE–1018

La mort de l'empereur Jean Tzimiskès en 976 ouvre une période de grave crise intestine dans l'Empire byzantin, crise marquée par le soulèvement de Bardas Skléros dès l'été 976 et celui de Bardas Phocas, le 15 août 987.[5]

L'agitation à l'intérieur de l'Empire et la paralysie du gouvernement central qui en résulta furent mis à profit par les Bulgares pour secouer la tutelle sous laquelle Jean Tzimiskès avait placé le pays après sa victoire sur Boris II, en avril 971.[6] Samuel, le plus jeune des quatre fils du comte Nicolas—les fameux *cometopouloi*[7] —parvint à constituer un puissant royaume dont la capitale, d'abord établie à Prespa, fut par la suite transférée à Ohrid.[8] Ce n'est qu'en 997, après la mort de Romain, le frère de Boris II, que Samuel fut couronné et que, selon toute vraisemblance, il prit le titre d'*Autocrator*.[9]

[4] *Povĕst' vremennyx lĕt* (cité *infra PVL*), 6545/1037, p. 166 et *Russian Primary Chronicle* (cité *infra RPC*), p. 137. Les références à la *PVL* renvoient à l'édition de O. B. Tvorogov et D. S. Lixačev, *Pamjatniki literatury drevnej Rusi: Načalo Russkoj literatury XI–načalo XII veka*, Moscou, 1978; celles à la *RPC*, *Laurentian Text*, éd. et trad. de S.-H. Cross et O. P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor, Cambridge, Mass., 1953.

[5] Pour le détail de ces événements voir: G. Schlumberger, *L'épopée byzantine à la fin du X^e^ siècle* I.: *Guerre contre les Russes, les Arabes, les Allemands, les Bulgares. Luttes civiles contre les deux Bardas. Jean Tzimiskès. Les jeunes années de Basile II le Tueur des Bulgares (969–989)*, Paris, 1896, pp. 585–672; G. Ostrogorsky, *Histoire de l'État byzantin*, Paris, 1956, pp. 323–24 et rééd. 1970, pp. 328–30.

[6] N. Blagoev, «Car Boris II», *Godišnik na Sofijskij universitet, juridičeski fakultet*, 25 (1929/30), 5, pp. 1–35. A.-N. Saxarov, *Diplomatija Svjatoslava*, Moscou, 1982, pp. 146–204.

[7] Sur les Cométopouloi, voir «1000 godini od Vostanieto na komitopulite i sozdavanjeto na Samoilovata država», *Zbornik na materiali od naučnata sredba održana vo Prespa od 10 do 15 oktomvri 1969 godina*, Skopje, 1971; W. Seibt, «Untersuchungen zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte der 'bulgarischen' Kometopulen», *Handes Amsorya* (Wien), 89, 1975, h 1–3, pp. 66–98. S. Reck, «Powstanie zachodniobulgarskiego państwa Komitopulów», *Przegląd historyczny*, 1983, 74, pp. 237–54.

[8] Ostrogorsky, *Histoire*, p. 325. D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth, Eastern Europe 500–1453*, Londres, 1971, p. 131.

[9] V. Gjuzelev, «Carskata promulgacija na Petr i negovite priemnici v svetlinata na Bălgaro-vizantijskite diplomatičeski otnošenija sled dogovora ot 927 g.», *Istoričeski pregled*, 1983, 6, pp. 41–42.

La formation d'un nouvel et puissant État bulgare, qui s'étendait alors jusqu'en Thrace et en Thessalie, ne pouvait laisser Byzance indifférente. Dès la chute du tout puissant *parakimomène* Basile en 985,[10] l'empereur Basile II se lança en août 986 dans sa première campagne bulgare. Il essuya alors une sévère défaite,[11] le 17 août 986, près de Sardique, ce qui incita très probablement Bardas Skléros à usurper une nouvelle fois la pourpre au début de 987; il fut rejoint le 15 juillet de la même année, par Bardas Phocas. L'empereur byzantin ne dut alors son salut qu'à l'intervention, durement négociée, d'une très puissante armée russe envoyée par le prince Volodimer.[12] Au terme de l'accord, le prince russe témoignait de sa volonté d'embrasser le christianisme, en recevant probablement la *prima signatio*,[13] qui préludait à son baptême et à son mariage avec la Porphyrogénète Anne, soeur de Basile II, célébrés, l'un et l'autre, à Cherson, en mai 989.[14]

A peine avait-il brisé les ambitions politiques de l'aristocratie foncière sur le champ de bataille de Chrysopolis, à la fin de janvier ou au début de février 989, puis, d'une manière définitive, sur celui d'Abydos, le 13 avril 989,[15] que, dès le printemps 991, il se lançait dans ce qui semble avoir été l'objectif essentiel de son règne, la destruction de l'Empire bulgare. Celle-ci commença réellement à partir de 1001. Elle fut conduite par l'empereur en personne; elle s'acheva dans les passes montagneuses du Kleidion, dans la région du Strymon, à Campu Langu, le 29 juillet 1014. La défaite que Basile II infligea à l'armée bulgare fut telle que Samuel n'y survécut pas; il mourut peu après, le 6 octobre 1014. Basile II reçut alors son terrible surnom de Bulgaroctone.[16] La mort d'Ivan Vladislav, au siège de Drač en février 1018, marqua la fin de la résistance. L'aristocratie bulgare se rendit à l'empereur qui la prit à son service. La majeure partie de celle-ci, en particulier les membres de la dynastie, fut transférée dans les provinces d'Asie

10 M. Psellos, *Chronographie ou Histoire d'un siècle de Byzance*, éd. et trad. E. Renaud, t. I, Paris, 1967, pp. 12–13.

11 Schlumberger, *L'épopée byzantine*, pp. 660–72. D. Angelov, *Părva Bălgarska dăržava*, Sofia, 1981, p. 405.

12 Sur ces négociations voir A. Poppe, «The Political Background to the Baptism of Rus': Byzantine-Russian Relations between 986–989», *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 30, 1976, pp. 197–244, repris dans *The Rise of Christian Russia*, Londres, 1982, II (Collected Studies 157) et J.-P. Arrignon, *La chaire métropolitaine de Kiev des origines à 1240*, Lille, 1986, pp. 33–38 (thèse dactyl.).

13 Arrignon, *La chaire métropolitaine*, p. 39.

14 Arrignon, *La chaire métropolitaine*, p. 42.

15 Poppe, «Political Background», p. 212.

16 Ostrogorsky, *Histoire*, pp. 333–37.

où l'empereur la dota richement en biens fonciers et en dignités civiles et militaires.[17]

La Bulgarie fut incorporée à nouveau à l'Empire et organisée en thèmes.[18] Quant au patriarcat d'Ohrid,[19] il fut ramené au rang d'archevêché autocéphale dont le titulaire était désormais nommé par l'empereur.[20] Cette disposition juridique qui donnait à l'empereur et au patriarche la possibilité de contrôler très étroitement l'Église bulgare, a, peut-être, été calquée sur le modèle de la jeune Église de la Rus' dont le métropolite était lui aussi nommé par l'empereur sur proposition du synode *endémoussa*.[21]

Cette disposition était d'autant plus nécessaire que la situation de l'église bulgare était particulièrement inquiétante. C'est, en effet, à la fin du X^e^ siècle et au début du XI^e^ siècle qu'apparurent les premières oeuvres de la littérature bogomile ainsi que fameux *traité contre les Bogomiles* du prêtre Cosmas publié «aussitôt après 972,...dans les mois qui ont suivi l'occupation de la Bulgarie par les Grecs».[22]

Le tableau que ce prêtre bulgare a laissé de son église doit retenir notre attention. Cosmas donne une description accablante du clergé et de l'Église bulgare, d'autant plus précieuse qu'elle est dénuée de haine; à aucun moment en effet, il ne conseille d'user de la persécution et s'interdit même tout recours au bras séculier.

Cosmas s'efforce de faire front aux accusations portées par les Bogomiles contre les prêtres, en rappelant l'épître de Paul à Timothée[23] dans laquelle l'apôtre décrit les qualités du bon évêque et du bon diacre; le contraste est alors saisissant avec ces «prêtres qui font tout le contraire, ils s'enivrent, ils rapinent et ils ont d'autres vices secrets, et il n'y a personne pour leur interdire ces mauvaises oeuvres, malgré les paroles de Paul».[24] La cause de cet état lamentable du clergé séculier vient d'abord du défaut d'instruction lié au manque de livres. La possession de ces derniers était un

[17] G.-G. Litavrin, «Formirovanie i razvitie Bolgarskogo rannefeodal'nogo gosudarstva», *Rannefeodal'nye gosudarstva na Balkanax VI–XII vv.*, Moscou, 1985, pp. 180–81.

[18] Le point sur cette question controversée se trouve dans l'ouvrage de J. Ferluga, *Byzantium on the Balkans: Studies on the Byzantine Administration and the Southern Slavs from the VIIth to the XIIth Centuries*, Amsterdam, 1976.

[19] W. Swoboda, «Bułgaria i patriarchat Konstantynopolitański w latach 840–1018», *Z polskich studiów slawistycznych*, ser 4, *Historia*, Varsovie, 1972, pp. 47–65. I.-Ch. Tarnanides, *E diamorphôsis tou autokephalou tès Boulgarikès ekklésias 864–1235*, Thessalonique, 1976.

[20] Ostrogorsky, *Histoire*, p. 337, note 1.

[21] E. Hajjar, *Le synode permanent: Synodos endémoussa dans l'Église byzantine des origines au XI^e^*, Rome, 1962; et Arrignon, *La chaire métropolitaine*, p. 98.

[22] H.-Ch. Puech et A. Vaillant, *Le traité contre les Bogomiles de Cosmas le prêtre*, Paris, 1945, p. 24.

[23] I Tim. III: 2–4, 8–10.

[24] Puech et Vaillant, *Le traité*, p. 65.

privilège des riches. S'adressant à un hérétique qui lui reprochait de connaître les citations, dont il émaillait ses discours, Cosmas réplique:

Ce n'est pas pour toi que nous produisons le talent qui nous a été donné, mais pour ceux qui ne l'ont pas, et pour ceux qui veulent acquérir la perle inestimable. Car toi tu es riche, tu es comblé de tout, tu as l'Ancien et le Nouveau Testament[25] et les autres livres pleins de textes convaincants et de toutes sortes d'arguments; et toi-même tu as tout appris...

Toi, tu lis en secret pour battre ton frère dans les discussions, et non pour le sauver... jaloux du salut de ton frère, tu ne le laisses pas copier les paroles de Dieu ni les lire, mais tu veux faire le savant avec elles, par orgueil, pour que tous les hommes t'estiment habile et te considèrent; parce que c'est de ta bouche qu'ils entendent citer ces textes qu'ils ne connaissent pas...

Voyez-vous dans quels maux nous nous plongeons pour ne pas lire et pour ne pas connaître l'Écriture ? Lisez souvent la sainte Écriture, afin de détruire vos péchés... Le Seigneur dit «Celui qui m'aime méditera ma loi jour et nuit».[26] Quel bien n'obtient-on pas par l'entremise de l'Écriture sainte... Beaucoup d'hommes courent plutôt aux divertissements qu'aux Églises et ils préfèrent les fables et les radotages à l'Écriture.[27]

Enfin il conclut:

Mais d'où cela naît-il? N'est-ce pas clair que c'est de ne pas lire l'Écriture et de la négligence des prêtres? Et que répondrons nous à cela? Écoutez, pasteurs, ces paroles s'adressent à vous... D'où sortent ces loups, les mauvais chiens de la doctrine hérétique? N'est-ce pas de la négligence et de l'ignorance des pasteurs? d'où sortent «les brigands et les voleurs?» C'est-à-dire les péchés et les iniquités, n'est-ce pas de ce qu'on ne reçoit pas d'instruction des évêques? Comment, en effet la parole de Dieu peut-elle être administrée par un ignorant qui, sans connaître la loi, est établi législateur, et souvent par la corruption, ce qui est la nouvelle idolâtrie?»[28]

Ainsi, à la fin du X^{e} siècle et au début du XI^{e} siècle, la Bulgarie présentait pour Byzance une double menace: menace militaire d'abord, jusqu'à ce que Basile II détruisît en juillet 1014 dans les passes du Kleidion, l'armée bulgare du tsar Samuel et déportât massivement l'aristocratie bulgare en Asie Mineure; menace religieuse surtout liée au développement de l'hérésie bogomile, qui prospérait facilement dans une société guidée par des prêtres négligents, fauteurs de scandales et ignorants. Dans ces conditions n'est-il pas légitime de nous poser la question de savoir

[25] Les Bogomiles ont rejeté toutes les écritures qui ne leur étaient pas accessibles: l'Ancien Testament, le Psautier, les Pères de l'Église et toute la théologie savante. Ils tiraient leur enseignement essentiellement du Nouveau Testament qu'ils pouvaient lire en langue vulgaire, et qui était largement diffusé ainsi que des apocryphes, voir Puech et Vaillant, *Le traité*, p. 33.

[26] Jean (XIV, 21) complété par le Ps. I, 2.

[27] Puech et Vaillant, *Le traité*, pp. 121–23.

[28] Puech et Vaillant, *Le traité*, pp. 123–24.

ce que la Bulgarie pouvait apporter au tout jeune État de la Rus' qui venait d'entrer dans la Communauté des États chrétiens en 988/989.

Comme nous avons essayé de le montrer par ailleurs, la conversion de la Rus' a été conduite et réalisée directement à partir de Constantinople.[29] Il nous paraît difficile en effet d'imaginer que les Byzantins, particulièrement au fait de la situation en Bulgarie, aient pu utiliser les services de prêtres bulgares pour évangéliser la Rus' ou envoyer dans ce pays des copies des textes scripturaires et liturgiques traduits en vieux-slave, alors que ceux-ci faisaient cruellement défaut dans le pays lui-même.

Le baptême de Volodimer ouvrait l'immense pays de la Rus' à l'action des évangélisateurs, tâche immense qui a dû mobiliser toutes les énergies de la jeune Église locale mais aussi celle de la Grande Église de Constantinople. Un des problèmes essentiels a dû être de se procurer les livres liturgiques en slavon, indispensables à la célébration des offices et à la formation des nouveaux convertis, ainsi que les recueils de droit canon également traduits en slavon et nécessaires à la mise en place d'une société chrétienne. Le tentation est alors grande de considérer la Bulgarie comme le centre où la jeune Église de la Rus' se serait approvisionnée en livres religieux d'autant que les centres culturels, notamment celui d'Ohrid, semblent n'avoir subi aucune interruption de leurs activités littéraires du fait de la reconquête de Basile II.[30]

Ces affirmations demandent à être considérées avec beaucoup d'attention. Si l'Église primitive de la Rus' avait puisé aussi largement dans la littérature slavonne de Bulgarie, nous devrions trouver trace de l'hérésie bogomile en Rus'.[31] Or, les seuls indices sur lesquels a été établie cette hypothèse sont deux passages de la *Chronique de Nikon*[32] sous les années 1004[33] et 1211.[34] Dans le premier, il est dit que le métropolite Leontios a fait emprisonner le moine Hadrien, un eunuque, parce qu'il critiquait la loi de l'Église, les évêques, les prêtres et les moines, mais que, peu après,

[29] Poppe, «Political Background», pp. 197–244; et Arrignon, *La chaire métropolitaine*.

[30] A. Dostal, «Les relations entre Byzance et les Slaves (en particulier les Bulgares) aux XI^e^ et XII^e^ siècles, du point de vue culturel», *Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Oxford, 5–10 September 1966*, Londres, 1967, pp. 173–74.

[31] Pour une bibliographie détaillée voir G. Podskalsky, *Christentum und Theologische Literatur in der Kiever Rus' (988–1237)*, Munich, 1982, pp. 43–45. L'ouvrage de référence reste celui de E. Hösch, *Orthodoxie und Häresie im alten Russland*, Wiesbaden, 1975, pp. 52–75.

[32] S. Zenkovsky, *The Nikonian Chronicle*, Princeton, 1984, p. 119. Sur la *Chronique de Nikon*, voir B. M. Kloss, *Nikonovskij svod i russkie letopisi XVI–XVII vekov*, Moscou, 1980.

[33] *Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej* (cité *infra PSRL*), A. F. Byčkov, éd., IX, Moscou, 1862, p. 68.

[34] *PSRL*, X, Moscou, 1885, p. 132.

celui-ci retrouva le bon sens, se repentit et envisagea à nouveau la Vérité.

Dans le second il est rapporté que Nikita, métropolite de Kiev et de toute la Rus', fit jeter en prison l'hérétique Dmitrij.

Il convient avant tout de rappeler que cette chronique a été compilée, tardivement au XVI^e siècle,[35] sous le contrôle de la chaire métropolitaine de Moscou et de son métropolite, Daniil (1522–1539). De plus, la mention de l'hérétique Hadrien, sous l'année 1004, constitue un hapax que certains n'ont pas hésité à expliquer par l'utilisation des archives ecclésiastiques de la chaire métropolitaine qui auraient été transférées alors à Moscou.[36] Enfin le seul fait de critiquer les lois de l'Église, la hiérarchie ecclésiastique et les moines ne peut suffire à établir que le moine Hadrien était un «hérétique bogomile venu de Bulgarie».[37]

Le *Traité contre les Bogomiles* était bien connu en Rus', comme le prouvent les nombreux manuscrits conservés de ce traité;[38] pourtant, aucun d'entre eux ne remonte à la période kiévienne.[39] Quant aux traces de bogomilisme qui imprégneraient tel ou tel passage des chroniques, du *Paterikon* du monastère des Grottes,[40] voire même des fresques décorant Sainte-Sophie,[41] elles sont loin de constituer des preuves irréfutables de l'existence de cette hérésie en Rus' durant la période prémongole.

Aussi partageons-nous tout à fait l'opinion du père G. Podskalsky quand il écrit que dans la Rus' kiévienne, à la différence de la Bulgarie, il n'y a pas eu de synode consacré aux Bogomiles et que les sorciers qui ont été mis à mort l'ont été par les princes et non par les évêques.[42]

L'absence de preuves de l'existence de l'hérésie bogomile en Rus', à l'époque prémongole, appelle deux remarques. Tout d'abord, nous en retirons la conviction que les Byzantins ont volontairement tenu les Bulgares à l'écart de l'évangélisation de la Rus' pour des raisons tant politiques que religieuses. D'autre part l'incorporation du pays dans l'Empire, n'a pas entraîné d'exode massif de population bulgare en Rus' donc de transfert de

35 Selon B. M. Kloss, *Nikonovskij svod i russkie letopisi*, p. 51, la compilation de la chronique de Nikon fut réalisée entre 1526 et 1530 dans le scriptorium métropolitain (p. 54), peut-être avec la participation du métropolite Daniil (pp. 94–95).

36 Zenkovsky, *Nikonian Chronicle*, p. xxxvi.

37 E. Golubinskij, *Istorija russkoj cerkvi*, t. 1, 2-polovina, Moscou, 1969, pp. 791–92.

38 A.-A. Medynceva, *Drevnerusskie nadpisi Novgorodskogo Sofijskogo sobora*, Moscou, 1978, pp. 75–77.

39 Comme cela ressort du *Svodnyj Katalog slavjano-russkix rukopisnyx knig, xranjaščixsja v SSSR, XI–XIII v.*, Moscou, 1984.

40 I.-U. Budovnic, *Obščestvenno-političeskaja mysl' drevnej Rusi (XI–XIV)*, Moscou, 1963, p. 96.

41 V. N. Lazarev, *Mozaiki Sofii Kievskoj*, Moscou, 1960, pp. 31–33.

42 Podskalsky, *Christentum*, p. 45.

manuscrits; c'est la conséquence de la politique d'apaisement et de clairvoyance mise en place par Basile II dès 1018 en Bulgarie.[43] A défaut de contacts directs entre Rus' et Bulgares, la question se pose-t-elle alors de la traduction de textes grecs? Nous avons donné une analyse détaillée et récente de cette question dans notre thèse, à laquelle nous renvoyons, faute de place,[44] nous limiterons ici notre analyse à la difficile question des techniques de traduction.

Sous l'année 1037[45] la *Chronique des temps passés* rapporte ce célèbre passage:

> le prince Jaroslav aimait les livres et les lisait en permanence, jour et nuit; il réunit de nombreux scribes qui traduisirent le grec en slavon. Ils recopièrent de nombreux ouvrages au moyen desquels les croyants furent instruits et se délectèrent de l'enseignement divin. . . [Jaroslav] ensemença le coeur des croyants par les oeuvres écrites et nous recueillons [les fruits] de la connaissance reçue des livres.
>
> De grande utilité est l'étude des livres; c'est par les livres que l'on nous montre et nous enseigne la voie du repentir, car la sagesse et la tempérance sourdent des oeuvres écrites. Dans les livres, il y a une profondeur infinie; par eux, nous nous consolons des peines; ils sont la bride de la tempérance. . .
>
> Si tu cherches avec application la sagesse dans les livres, alors tu trouveras un grand profit pour ton âme. Car celui qui lit souvent les livres s'entretient souvent avec Dieu et les saints. Celui qui lit les récits des prophètes, les enseignements des Évangiles et des apôtres, et les vies des saints Pères, en tire grand profit pour son âme.
>
> Jaroslav, ainsi que nous l'avons déjà dit aimait les livres; et, en ayant écrit beaucoup, il les déposa dans l'église de Sainte-Sophie qu'il avait lui-même fait construire.[46]

Ce passage de la *Chronique* est très révélateur du rôle dévolu à Jaroslav dans la christianisation du pays. Si Volodimer est celui qui ensemença le sol de la Rus' par le saint baptême, Jaroslav est celui qui a ensemencé l'esprit du croyant en lui offrant la connaissance des livres. Pour faciliter celle-ci, il a installé un *scriptorium* à Kiev près de Sainte-Sophie, et encouragé la copie des manuscrits et la traduction de textes à partir des originaux grecs. Se pose alors la difficile question de l'identification des textes traduits dans le *scriptorium* métropolitain et plus généralement dans ceux de la Rus' de Kiev.[47]

[43] Ostrogorsky, *Histoire*, p. 336.

[44] Arrignon, *La chaire métropolitaine*, pp. 267–83.

[45] *PVL*, 6545/1037, p. 166; *RPC*, pp. 137–38.

[46] *PVL*, 6545/1037, p. 166; *RPC*, pp. 137–38.

[47] N. A. Meščerskij, «Iskusstvo perevoda Kievskoj Rusi», *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoj literatury*, 1958, XV, pp. 54–72; et idem., «K voprosu o zaimstvovanijax iz grečeskogo v slovarnom sostave drevnerusskogo literaturnogo jazyka (po materialam perevodnyx proizvedenij

Dès 1910 l'académicien A.-I. Sobolevskij[48] soulignait la difficulté qu'il y avait à différencier une traduction faite en Rus' prémongole, d'une autre faite chez les Slaves du sud, car l'une et l'autre ont été réalisées à partir d'une langue de même type: le vieux slave dont le slavon de la Rus' n'est qu'une rédaction locale. C'est donc par l'étude minutieuse et précise de la langue des oeuvres traduites et de la comparaison avec la langue du texte original sur lequel la traduction a été réalisée qu'il est possible de comprendre les techniques de traduction usitées dans tel ou tel centre. Un excellent exemple de cette méthode a été proposé par I.-S. Uluxanov.[49] Son concept, connu sous le nom d'«occasionnalisme»,[50] consiste à mettre en évidence dans une oeuvre traduite les emprunts ou innovations occasionnels, c'est-à-dire temporaires, qui par la suite, ne sont pas passés dans la langue. C'est sous cet angle qu'Uluxanov a étudié la *Grande catéchèse* de Théodore le Studite,[51] oeuvre qui fut traduite en Rus' à la fin du XI^e^ ou au début du XII^e^ siècle. Il a pu montrer que les verbes à suffixe *pre-* ont été employés pour traduire les principales figures rhétoriques du texte grec: ainsi, la tournure grecque εὔχομαι/ὑπερεύχομαι est rendue à deux reprises par la combinaison des verbes молитися/премолиты.[52]

Or cette technique de traduction semble propre au traducteur de Théodore le Studite. Elle n'apparaît pas, par exemple, dans la traduction des seize sermons de Grégoire de Nazianze, ni dans la traduction de la chronique de Georges Hamartole, oeuvres dont les chercheurs s'efforcent toujours d'établir de manière définitive le lieu de la traduction. Dans ces oeuvres, les «verbes occasionnels» à préfixe *pre-* ne sont presque jamais utilisés pour traduire des figures de rhétorique; ils apparaissent, comme c'est la règle, pour traduire la morphème grec.[53] Ainsi des études systématiques des traductions des oeuvres grecques en vieux slave permettraient de confronter les verbes vieux-slaves à leurs correspondants grecs et feraient apparaître au moins deux techniques de traduction: la première, la plus répandue, consiste à vouloir rendre la structure du mot grec; la seconde

Kievskogo perioda)», *Vizantijskij vremennik*, 1958, XIII, pp. 248–61.

48 A.-I. Sobolevskij, «Osobennosti russkix perevodov domongol'skogo perioda», *Izvestija Otdelenija russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti*, 1910, 88, fasc. 3, pp. 162–77.

49 I.-S. Uluxanov, «Nekotorye voprosy texniki perevodov s grečeskogo, sdelannyx na Rusi», *Drevnerusskij jazyk, leksikologija i slovoobrazovanie*, Moscou, 1975, pp. 167–84.

50 Ce concept a été également développé sous le nom de «pérégrinisme» par le philologue belge L. Deroy, *L'emprunt linguistique*, Paris, 1956, 8° (Bibl. de la Fac. de Philosophie de l'Université de Liège).

51 Sur Théodore le Studite et son oeuvre cf. H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, Munich, 1959, pp. 491–95.

52 Uluxanov, «Nekotorye voprosy», pp. 168–69.

53 Uluxanov, «Nekotorye voprosy», p. 177.

plus rare à rendre les effets rhétoriques des auteurs grecs. La première technique pourrait être utilisée surtout par des traducteurs slaves, la seconde, surtout par des Grecs; elle pourrait bien avoir avoir prévalu à Kiev dans le *scriptorium* de Sainte-Sophie placé sous la surveillance directe des métropolites grecs, à l'exception de deux d'entre eux, Hilarion et Clément, originaires de la Rus'.

Ainsi la difficile question de la traduction des oeuvres grecques en slavon doit-elle être réexaminée sur la base du concept d'«occasionnalisme» ou de «pérégrinisme». Alors il sera possible d'opérer une classification des oeuvres traduites à partir des techniques de traduction; celle-ci pourrait permettre de différencier les grands centres de traduction du monde slave, dont Kiev était à l'évidence un des plus importants. De la fin du X^{e} à la première moitié du XII^{e} siècle, nous ne pensons pas que la Rus' se soit bornée à puiser dans le réservoir bulgare comme l'écrit A.-I. Rogov,[54] elle a largement participé à la création de son propre fonds littéraire, sous la conduite éclairée de ses premiers métropolites et dans le cadre de ses scriptoria dont celui de Sainte-Sophie de Kiev a été le plus éminent.

Un autre élément doit retenir notre attention, ce sont les livres slaves de chant ecclésiastique dont l'«étude semble être atteinte d'une maladie incurable»,[55] si l'on en croit Ch. Hannick. La version slave de l'*Hirmologion* est un des livres liturgiques sur lequel repose la majeure partie des compositions hymnographiques des chants liturgiques slaves.[56] Les deux principales sources de celui-ci sont les fragments de Novgorod[57] et l'*Hirmologion* de Xilandar.[58] Or, l'*Hirmologion* slave diffère des *Hirmologia* byzantins en ce que ces derniers sont composés depuis le X^{e} siècle selon l'ordre des acolouthies, alors que les *Hirmologia* slaves, dont la traduction manuscrite remonte au XII^{e} siècle sont composés selon l'ordre des odes. Ch. Hannick en tire la conclusion que ce type d'*Hirmologion* selon l'ordre des odes a été

54 A.-I. Rogov, «Russko-bolgarskie kul'turnye svjazi v konce XII–XIII v.», *Jazyk i pis'mennost' srednebolgarskogo perioda*, Moscou, 1982, pp. 20–26.

55 Ch. Hannick, «Aux origines de la version slave de l'Hirmologion», *Fundamental Problems of Early Slavic Music and Poetry*, Copenhague, 1978, p. 5.

56 M. Velimirović, *Byzantine Elements in Early Slavic Chant*, Copenhague, 1960, et R. Palikarova-Verdeil, *La musique byzantine chez les Bulgares et les Russes du IX^{e} au XIV^{e} siècle*, Copenhague/Boston, 1953 (Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae Subsidia, III), enfin N. Uspenskij, «Vizantijskoe penie v kievskoj Rusi», *Akten des IX internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongresses*, Munich, 1960, pp. 643–54, et D. Conomos, *Byzantine Hymnography and Byzantine Chant*, Brookline, 1984, 50 pp.

57 E. Koschmieder, «Die ältesten Novgoroder Hirmologien-Fragmente, I, II, III», *Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse*, Neue Folge, 35 (Munich, 1952), 37 (1955), 45 (1958). Pour la datation voir «Die ältesten», II, 35 (1955), pp. 35–38.

58 Hannick, «Aux origines», pp. 7–8.

créé par les apôtres des Slaves, Cyrille et Méthode, dans la seconde moitié du IX^{e} siècle, pour les Slaves du sud, d'où il est passé en Rus', comme en témoignent les ménées de Novgorod conservées pour les mois de septembre, octobre et novembre, datés de 1095–1097.[59]

Les chants liturgiques qui accompagnaient les offices étaient interprétés selon deux styles musicaux: soit le style syllabique pour lequel une seule note correspond à une seule syllabe, soit le style mélismatique pour lequel une douzaine de notes, ou même plus, peuvent être chantées pour une seule syllabe.[60] Ce dernier style nous est connu par cinq manuscrits, appelés tous les cinq *kondakar*, et datés des XII^{e}–XIII^{e} siècles. S'il ne fait plus de doute que le style syllabique appartient à la liturgie musicale mise en place par Cyrille et Méthode et qu'il fut chanté dès 880,[61] le style mélismatique semble être apparu un peu plus tard, au cours du XI^{e} siècle. Il est lui aussi profondément enraciné dans la tradition liturgique et mélodique byzantine. Toutefois, d'importantes questions concernant ce style musical ne sont pas encore résolues; une des plus importantes a trait au système de notation dit *kontakarion* qui attend toujours une solution satisfaisante;[62] il en va de même du processus de traduction des textes et de transcription des musiques. Le fait que ce style musical apparaisse au XI^{e} siècle au moment précis où se mettent en place les cadres de la jeune Église de la Rus', nous conduit à attirer l'attention des musicologues sur cette concomitance. Le *Kontadakar' Uspenskij* renferme en effet une petite série de chants mélismatiques byzantins que l'on appelle *Asmatikon*. Or, il a été prouvé que les modèles asmatiques grecs avaient été empruntés par les chants mélismatiques slaves, ce qui montre leur origine byzantine. Surtout la comparaison de ces chants fait apparaître comment les musiciens slaves sont parvenus à faire correspondre la ligne mélodique slave à l'original grec. Ils ont utilisé deux moyens: soit ils ont supprimé l'élément musical non indispensable, soit ils ont posé deux *mélismata* successifs sur une seule syllabe.[63] Cette technique qui apparaît, rappelons-le, au XI^{e} siècle pourrait bien être associée aux efforts considérables que devait fournir la chaire métropolitaine de Kiev pour adapter les chants liturgiques grecs à la langue slave. Ce n'est là qu'une hypothèse de recherche qu'il nous a semblé intéressant de poser et que les musicologues auront à examiner.

59 Hannick, «Aux origines»,pp. 84–85.

60 K. Levy, «The Earliest Slavic Melismatic Chants», *Fundamental Problems of Early Slavic Music and Poetry*, Ch. Hannick, éd., Copenhague, 1978, pp. 197–210.

61 R. Jakobson, «Methodius' Canon to Demetrius of Thessalonica and the Old Church Slavonic Hirmoi», *Sbornik praci fil. fak. Brnenske Univ.*, F. 9, r. 14, 1965, pp. 115–21.

62 Levy, «Earliest Slavic Melismatic Chants», pp. 205–209.

63 Levy, «Earliest Slavic Melismatic Chants», pp. 202–203.

CONCLUSION

La fin du X^{e} et le début du XI^{e} siècle sont marqués tout à la fois par la destruction de l'Empire bulgare et l'entrée de la Rus' dans la Communauté des États chrétiens: deux événements essentiels du règne de l'empereur byzantin Basile II.

D'aucuns n'ont pas hésité à affirmer que, pour une large part, la christianisation du jeune État de la Rus' a été réalisée par l'intermédiaire de la Bulgarie. Le démembrement de l'État bulgare en thèmes et son insertion dans l'Empire byzantin, le développement de l'hérésie bogomile, la situation du clergé local, nous ont conduit à reconsidérer la place accordée à la Bulgarie dans le processus d'évangélisation de la Rus'.

L'absence de preuves évidentes de l'hérésie bogomile dans la Rus' prémongole, la place accordée par la *Chronique des temps passés* à l'activité littéraire de Jaroslav, renforcent, selon nous, l'idée que les Byzantins se sont efforcés de protéger le jeune État chrétien de la Rus', de la contamination de l'Église bulgare malade. Pour cette raison, les métropolites grecs ont poussé et aidé le prince de la Rus' à développer le *scriptorium* de Sainte-Sophie où pouvaient s'effectuer des traductions directement à partir des manuscrits grecs apportés par ces mêmes métropolites.

Certes, il est quasi impossible, dans l'état actuel de nos recherches, de mesurer l'importance de ce *scriptorium*, ni même de lui attribuer avec précision telle ou telle oeuvre, si ce n'est, peut-être, la traduction de la *Grande catéchèse*.

C'est pour cette raison que nous proposons de reprendre le concept d'«occasionalisme» ou de «pérégrinisme» pour étudier avec la plus grande minutie les techniques de traduction comme l'a montré I.-S. Uluxanov à partir de la *Grande catéchèse* de Théodore le Studite. Alors il sera possible non seulement de classer les manuscrits d'après les techniques de traduction mais aussi de faire apparaître différents centres de traduction.

D'autre part, la question de l'origine du style mélismatique qui apparaît au XI^{e} siècle, pourrait bien renforcer le rôle joué par la chaire métropolitaine de Kiev pour adapter les chants liturgiques grecs à la langue slave. Enfin, l'approche linguistique et musicologique renforce, à nos yeux, l'importance de Kiev comme centre culturel de la Rus', dès les premiers temps de la conversion du pays.

Ainsi, la chrétienté de la Rus' qui s'est formée au cours du XI^{e} siècle nous semble être plus redevable à Byzance qu'à la Bulgarie, dont l'apport se fera plus sensible à partir des XII^{e}–XIII^{e} siècles avec la formation du deuxième Empire bulgare.

Université de Poitiers

Der hl. Feodosij Pečerskij: historisch und literarisch betrachtet

GERHARD PODSKALSKY

A. DIE URSPRÜNGE DES MÖNCHTUMS IN DER RUS'

Bis heute ist es nicht geklärt, ob es Verbindungslinien irgendwelcher Art von den griechischen Mönchssiedlungen auf der Krim (8. Jh.; Epoche des Bilderstreits) zu den ersten Kiever Klöstern gegeben hat oder nicht. Und auch für die geistlichen Ursprünge des Kiever Mönchtums sind wir im wesentlichen auf die beherrschende Gestalt des dritten Abtes im dortigen Höhlenkloster angewiesen, des hl. Feodosij Pečerskij, da die beiden Gründergestalten, Ilarion (Nikon) und Antonij, in ihrem spirituellen Profil aus den literarischen Quellen nur in groben Umrissen hervortreten. Selbst über den genauen Umfang des geistlichen Vermächtnisses, das Feodosij hinterlassen hat, gibt es noch Zweifel, doch dass unter seiner Leitung ein echter Neuanfang gemacht wurde, bleibt unbestritten. Schon Ilarion und Antonij hatten nicht, wie etwa die Anachoreten in Palästina (aufgrund der lokalen Gegebenheiten), fertige (Natur-) Höhlen bezogen, sondern sich mit eigenen Händen neue Höhlen am Steilufer des Dnieper gegraben; deshalb hebt die Nestorchronik auch den Unterschied zu den schon bestehenden, reich dotierten Stifterklöstern am Fürstenpalast in Kiev hervor, indem sie allein das Höhlenkloster auf »Tränen, Fasten, Gebet (und) Wachen« gegründet sieht.[1] Wie aber schon Antonij mit dieser Vorgehensweise den (bestätigenden) Segen des für ihn als Lehrmeister entscheidenden Hl. Berges (Athos) auf seine Neugründung herabflehen will, so sieht später die Lebensbeschreibung (»Žitie«) des hl. Feodosij das nächtliche Lichtwunder, das den Bauplatz der endgültigen (zweiten) Klosterkirche bezeichnet, als Parallele und damit wunderbare Erfüllung einer ähnlichen Voraussage in

[1] *PRSL* I, vyp. 1: *Pověst' vremennyx lět* (Leningrad, ^{2}1926; Nachdr.: *Handbuch der Nestorchronik*, I [München, 1977 = Forum Slavicum, 48]), 155–160 (zu 1051); dt. Übers.: R. Trautmann, *Die altruss. Nestorchronik* (Leipzig, 1931), 11–115 (= Slav.-balt. Quellen u. Forsch., 6); L. Müller, *Helden und Heilige aus russ. Frühzeit* (München, 1984), 58–62 (Vf. plant vollst. Neuübersetzung der Nestorchronik).—Einen sehr lesenswerten Aufsatz zur Symbolik der Höhle schrieb E. Benz: »Die hl. Höhle in der alten Christenheit und in der östlich-orth. Kirche«, in: *Eranos-Jhb.* 22 (1953): 365–432, bes. 416–429 (z. Kiever Höhlenkloster).

der als vorbildlich zitierten Sabasvita.[2] Denn jeder echte Neuanfang ist nach monastischer Tradition notwendigerweise immer auch relativ, d. h. bezogen auf die mass-geblichen Grosstaten der frühchristlichen Mönchsväter (des Ostens).—Versuchen wir also, die geistige Gestalt Feodosijs möglichst umfassend in den Blick zu bekommen, zunächst in den wichtigsten historischen Daten und anschliessend in seiner literarischen Ausformung.

B. I. FEODOSIJ PEČERSKIJ: HISTORISCH BETRACHTET

(a) Die Quellen

Als wichtigste Quelle zum Leben des Feodosij gilt mit Recht das von seinem Mönchsbruder Nestor wohl in den Jahren 1079 bis 1088 verfasste »Žitie«. Neben der verbreiteten *Paterik*-Fassung bestehen noch getrennte Textüberlieferungen im »Uspenskij Sbornik« (12. Jh.) sowie eine gekürzte *Prolog*version serbischer Redaktion (nach 1237).[3] Während die literarischen Abhängigkeiten von byzantinischen (und nichtbyzantinischen, d. h. mährischen) Viten inzwischen weithin geklärt ist, wurden erst in den letzten Jahren grundlegende Entdeckungen über den hermeneutischen Schlüssel dieses in der Rus' traditionsbildenden »Žitie« veröffentlicht,[4] auf die im

[2] Vgl. *Das Paterikon des Kiever Höhlenklosters*, hg. v. D. Čyževs'kyj (Tschiževskij) (München, 1963,) 63f.; dt. Übers.: E. Benz, *Russ. Heiligenlegenden* (Zürich, 1953; unveränd. Nachdruck: ebd. 1983), 140f.; D. Freydank/G. Sturm (Hg.), *Das Väterbuch des Kiewer Höhlenklosters* (Leipzig, 1988), 111f. (verb. Text).

[3] Zu den verschiedenen Edd./Übers. sowie der Sekundärlit. vgl.: G. Podskalsky, *Christentum und theol. Literatur in der Kiever Rus' (988–1237)* (im Folgenden: *Christentum*), 122f; Nachtrag zur Sekundärlit.: B. A. Romanov, *Ljudi i nravy Drevnej Rusi* (Moskau-Leningrad, [2]1966), 150–181.; I. Dujčev, »Teodosio di Pečersk«, in: *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, XII (Rom, 1969), 292–295; D. Freydank, »Die altrussische Hagiographie als Gegenstand der Literaturwissenschaft«, in: *Zeitschrift für Slawistik* 23 (1978):67–75, hier 69f; G. V. Vostokova, »'Žitie Feodosija Pečerskogo': literaturnyj pamjatnik Kievskoj Rusi«, in: *Russk. reč'* 3 (1981):96–101; A. F. Zamaleev/V. A. Zoc, *Mysliteli Kievskoj Rusi* (Kiev, 1981), 52–69; B. M. Bilyk, »Kievo-Pečerskij monastyr' v XI–XIII stoletijax«, in: *Pravda o Kievo-Pečerskoj lavre* (Kiev, 1963), 5–17; P. Dusi, »S. Feodosij del Monastero delle Grotte nella letteratura russa medievale«, in: *Russia christiana* 25 (1984):5, 40–54; O. V. Tvorogov, »Nestor«, in: *Trudy otd. drevnerussk. lit.* 39 (1985):83–86; N. N. Bašatova, »'Žitie Feodosija Pečerskogo' v ocenke literaturovedov XIX veka i sovetskix-issledovatelej«, in: *Literatura Drevnej Rusi: Mežvyzovskij sbornik naučnyx trudov* (Moskau, 1986), 34–41; L. A. Ol'ševskaja, »Arxeografičeskij obzor spiskov kassianovskix redakcij Kievo-Pečerskogo paterika«, in: ebd., 48–62.

[4] Gemeint sind damit die beiden Untersuchungen der Schülerin von A. Danti und R. Picchio, der seinerseits (vgl. unten Anm. 33) diese Forschungsrichtung auf breiter Basis erschlossen hatte: A. Giambelluca Kossova, »Per una lettura analitica del *Žitie prep. Feodosija Pečerskago* di Nestore«, in: *Ricerche slavistiche* 17/18 (1980–81):65–100 (Analyse des ersten Teils); dies. (= Kossova, A. G.), »Il messaggio evangelico nella missione pastorale di S. Feodosij di Kiev. Note sulla 'Vita del venerabile padre nostro Feodosij, egumeno del Monastero delle Grotte' di Nestore«, in: *Cristianesimo nella storia. Ricerche Storiche, Esegetiche, Teologiche* 2 (1981):371–399 (Analyse des zweiten Teils).

zweiten Teil einzugehen sein wird.—Wahrscheinlich von demselben Nestor stammen auch die Chroniknachrichten über Feodosij,[5] die uns—ohne sachliche Differenzen zur Vita—von den Anfangsjahren seiner Leitungszeit erzählen. Als letzte Gruppe der geschichtlichen Zeugnisse im engeren Sinne kommen noch drei »Slova« des *Paterik* in Betracht: die Übertragung der Gebeine Feodosijs in die neue Kirche (»Slovo 9«), die auch in die Chronik einbezogen wurde, ein posthumer Wunderbericht (»Slovo 10«) und der wohl einem Schüler und Augenzeugen (nach einer Hypothese von L. K. Goetz: dem ehemaligen Höhlenmönch und späteren Bischof von Vladimir, Serapion) zuzuschreibende Lobeshymnus (»Poxvala«/»Slovo 11«).[6] Ohne eigenständigen Wert für die Lebensbeschreibung, wohl aber für die Nachwirkung das Mönchsvaters in der Rus' ist das liturgische Offizium (*Služba*) für den hl. Feodosij,[7] das gerne dem Kanondichter Grigorij zugeschrieben wird. Sehr umstritten in ihrer Echtheit und damit nur bedingt für das geschichtliche Wirken Feodosijs auswertbar sind die unter seinem Namen umlaufenden Werke (meist: Mönchspredigten).[8] Obwohl ihr bisher letzter und einzig kritischer Editor, I. P. Erëmin, es trotz deutlich geäusserter Zweifel (K. Viskovatyj u. a.) bei der Zuschreibung zweier polemischer Werke gegen die Lateiner an Feodosij belassen wollte, lassen sich diese Bedenken durch weitere innere und äussere Gründe gegen Feodosij Pečerskij und für den gleichnamigen Igumen Feodosij Grek (12. Jh.)

[5] *PRSL* I, 159f. (zu 1051), 183–198 (zu 1074).

[6] Zu den verschiedenen Edd./Übers. bzw. zur Sekundärlit. des Kiever Pateriks: *Christentum*, 159–161.—Als weitere (verkürzte) Übersetzung (ins Englische) wäre hinzuzufügen: L. Puhalo/V. Novakshonoff, *The Kiev Caves Paterikon* (Chilliwoch, B.C. [Canada], 1980 = The Russian Millennium Ser., 1).—Nachtrag zur Sekundärlit: N. Syčev, »Na zare bytija Kievo-Pečerskoj obiteli«, in: *Sborn. statej v čest' akad. Sobolevskogo* (Leningrad, 1928), 289–294; R. Łužny, »Kijowski siedemnastowieczny wariant cerkiewno-słowiańskiego Pateryka«, in: *Slovo* 28 (1978): 35–43; D. K. Prestel, »A Comparative Analysis of the *Kievan Caves Patericon*« (Univ. of Michigan, 1983; Mschr.; wichtige Unters. zur Redaktionsgesch.); W. Gesemann, »Vergleichende Analyse der Orginalität des Kievo-Pečersker Paterikons«, in: *Slavistische Studien zum IX. Intern. Slavistenkongress in Kiev 1983* (Köln-Wien, 1983), 129–142 (= Slavistische Forschungen, 40); —Zu interessanten Teilaspekten der einzelnen Mönchsanekdoten: H. Birnbaum, *Essays in Early Slavic Civilization / Studien zur Frühkultur der Slaven* (München, 1981), 215–245 (»On Jewish Life and Anti-Jewish Sentiments in Medieval Russia«); R. Zguta, »Monastic Medicine in Kievan Rus' and Early Muscovy«, in: H. Birnbaum/M. S. Flier, *Medieval Russian Culture* (Berkeley, 1984), 54–70.—Die drei genannten *Slova* aus dem *Paterik* finden sich bei Čyževs'kyj, *Das Paterikon*, 78–94; vgl. *PRSL* I, 209–214 (zu 1091) zu Serapion als (Teil-) Autor der *Poxvala*: L. K. Goetz, »Die Zusammensetzung der sog. 'Poxvala prep. Feod. Pečerskomu' «, in: *Arch. Slav. Philol.* 26 (1904): 215–237 (dagegen: N. Hudzij [Gudzij], »Poxvala Feod. Pečerskomu«, in: *Lingua viget* [FS V. Kiparski] [Helsinki, 1964], 61–67 [Abfassung nach 1093]).

[7] Zur Ed./Übers.: Podskalsky, *Christentum*, 237.

[8] Zu ihren Edd.: Podskalsky, *Christentum*, 91f.

als Autor erhärten:[9] die beiden Schriften können nur dem Kreis des griechischstämmigen Klerus bzw., soweit die Fastenfrage tangiert ist, dem Fastenstreit in der Rus' des 12. Jahrhunderts enststammen.[10] Während einige angebliche Homilien-fragmente) aus dem 'Žitie' bzw. der *Nestorchronik* sowie andere Predigten gegen Trunksucht, Häresie und Aberglaube (*dvoeverie*), die in späten Handschriften bzw. in der kirchlichen Tradition mit dem Namen Feodosijs verbunden waren, heute fast einhellig als unecht ausgeschieden werden,[11] möchte F. J. Thomson, der inzwischen in der Sowjetunion für seine radikale, aber immer aus einer immensen Handschriften- und Literaturkenntnis exakt begründeten Kritik der »altrussischen« Literatur bekannt ist, im Grunde die Echtheit aller Feodosij-Schriften in Frage stellen, vor allem wegen ihres kompilatorischen, weder speziell patristischen noch persönlichen Charakters.[12] Doch dieses Argument muss, soweit es allgemein und ohne weitere, gezielte Hinweise vorgebracht wird, mit Vorsicht betrachtet werden, da schon die Geltung eines Autors in der Patristik letztlich weder von der Menge noch der Originalität seiner Werke (vielmehr vom Masse seiner Rezeption) abhängig war. Trotz dieses grundsätzlich möglichen Zweifels sollte man also vorläufig an den fünf Mahnreden an die Mönche, den zwei Trostworten über den geistlichen Nutzen, der Einführungsrede für einen (Kloster-) Kellermeister, die alle den Geist der Studitenregel widerspiegeln, und einem Gebet »für alle Christen« als schriftlichem Vermächtnis Feodosijs festhalten.—Wo Feodosij sonst noch erwähnt ist (in den Werken Kirills von Turov, in Chroniken, Predigten und Kanones, usw.), wird den schon anderwärts bekannten Begebenheiten und Besonderheiten seines Lebens nichts Wesentliches hinzugefügt.[13]

(b) Die wichtigsten Stationen seines Lebens

Nach diesem kursorischen Überblick über die Quellenlage kommen wir zum zweiten Punkt, einer kritischen Überprüfung der wenigen gesicherten Lebensdaten des »Benedikts der Rus'«. Das Jahr seiner Geburt bzw.

[9] Zu ihrer Ed./Übers. bzw. krit. Sekundärlit.: Podskalsky, *Christentum*, 180f.

[10] Die Antwort auf die Frage nach dem »rechten Fasten« betont zudem die rechtgläubige Erziehung des Verfassers durch seinen Vater, was nicht auf Feodosij Pečerskij zutreffen kann, der seinen Vater früh (vor dem 13. Lebensjahr) verloren hatte und ganz im Banne seiner Mutter stand.

[11] Vgl. dazu Anm. 8 (Edd./Lit.) sowie F. Thomson, »Chrysostomic Paleaoslavica: A Preliminary Study of the Sources of the Chrysorrhoas (Zlatostruy) Collection«, in *Cyrillomethodianum* 6 (1982): 23 (Nr. 85).

[12] »Quotations of Patristic and Byzantine Works by Early Russian Authors as an Indication of the Cultural Level of Kievan Russia«, in: *Slavica Gandensia* 10 (1983): 65–102, besonders 69f. (u. a. zum *Slovo* an den Kellermeister).

[13] Vgl. Podskalsky, *Christentum*, 152, 154, 169, 177, 219 (Anm. 980), 224, 237 (Anm. 1086), 243–246, 263 (Anm. 1181).

seines Klostereintritts bleiben uns, wie so oft in Mönchsviten, unbekannt; die von I. Dujčev[14] genannten Jahre 1029 bzw. 1055 sind reine Wahrscheinlichkeitsberechnungen, ohne direkten Beleg aus den Quellen; auch das erst in der Kassian-Redaktion (1460/1462) des *Paterik* eingeschobene Eintrittsdatum (1032) wird durch keine sonstigen Zeitangaben gestützt. Gesichert ist dagegen das Faktum der in allen Quellen übereinstimmend berichteten Aufnahme und Einsetzung zum Vorsteher durch Antonij (Pečerskij).[15] Nach neuesten Forschungen entstammen die in der Nestorchronik und im Kiever *Paterik* verstreuten Erzählungen über Antonij nicht einem (seit dem 15. Jahrhundert verlorenen) »Žitie« Antonijs, wie es A. A. Šaxmatov und M. D. Prisëlkov (und mit ihnen die ganze, ältere Kirchengeschichtsforschung in Rus') angenommen hatten, da es ein solches »Žitie« niemals gegeben habe, und die Verehrung Antonijs erst lange nach der Kiever Epoche mit dem Eindringen des Hesychasmus und einer Revision des liturgischen Kalenders (Anfang des 15. Jh.s) einsetzte.[16] Diese einschneidenden Resultate fanden, obwohl die entsprechende Dissertation (R. D. Bosley) bisher nicht im Druck erschienen ist, in Fachkreisen eine zunächst vorsichtig formulierte Zustimmung.[17] Dessen ungeachtet, verdienen die Nachrichten über Antonij in den genannten Quellen aber keine geringere Wertschätzung als jene über Feodosij. Auch das Datum der Abtswahl Feodosijs ist unbekannt, doch wird schon seit L. K. Goetz[18] für dieses bedeutende Ereignis mit grosser Wahrscheinlichkeit das Jahr 1062 vorgeschlagen (in diesem Jahre wurde der Neubau des Höhlenklosters abgeschlossen). Nur kurze Zeit nach seiner Einsetzung muss Feodosij die

14 Dujčev, »Teodosio di Pečersk«, 293.

15 Čyževs'kyj, *Das Paterikon*, 28f.; *PRSL* I, 159f. (zu 1051.)

16 Es handelt sich um die von dem Warschauer Rus'-Historiker A. Poppe angeregte und betreute These von R. D. Bosley, »A History of SS. Theodosij and Antonij of the Kievan Caves Monastery, from the Eleventh to the Fifteenth Century« (Yale Univ., 1980; Mschr.; mit einer Liste aller hagiographisch relevanten russ. und südslav. Handschr. bis 1500 bzw. 1400).—Ein wichtiges Argumentationsglied für die These der fehlenden Verehrung Antonijs in der Kiever Epoche (und damit auch der Vita) ist der Ausfall einer Schilderung seines (erbaulichen) Todes; vgl. zu diesem hagiographischen Topos: M. Alexandre, »A propos du récit de la mort d'Antoine [Athanase, »Vie d'Antoine«. *PG* 26, 968–974, § 89–93]: l'heure de la mort dans la littérature monastique«, in: *Le temps chrétien de la fin de l'Antiquité au Moyen-Age, III^e–XIII^e siècles* (Paris, 1984), 263–282.

17 Vgl. Prestel, »A Comparative Analysis«, 246–251.—R. Bosley hat seine Hauptthese inzwischen in einem Sammelband eines Münsteraner Symposiums (Mai 1984) veröffentlicht: »A. A. Šachmatovs These einer verschollenen Vita des hl. Antonij«, in: G. Birkfellner (Hg.), *Sprache u. Literatur Altrusslands* (Münster, 1987), 1–5 (= Studia slavica et baltica, 8).

18 *Das Kiever Höhlenkloster als Kulturzentrum des vormongol. Russlands* (Passau, 1904), 34.

byzantinische Studitenregel[19] eingeführt haben, und zwar in der von Patriarch Alexios Studites (1025–1043) bearbeiteten Form.[20] Dieses Typikon, dessen griechischer Urtext bisher nicht aufgefunden wurde,[21] das also nur in seiner slavischen Übersetzung (sechs Handschriften)[22] erhalten ist, wurde erst in den letzten Jahren ediert—getrennt nach seinen beiden Bestandteilen, den liturgischen Anweisungen[23] und den Vorschriften für das Alltagsleben im Koinobion.[24] Obwohl (Feodosij—nach Auskunft der Chronik—diese Regel mit aller Genauigkeit und Strenge beobachtete und alle übrigen Klöster (wohl ausser den anfangs genannten Stiftermonasterien) sie von ihm übernahmen, veränderte sich die geistliche Landschaft doch schon wenige Jahrzehnte nach seinem Tode ganz erheblich: im Laufe des 12. Jahrhunderts verfiel nicht nur die strenge Observanz in Höhlenkloster, sondern viele Klöster (Novgorod!) wählten von vornherein den Weg der Idiorrhythmie, der dem seit Basileios d. Gr.

19 *PRSL* I, 160 (zu 1051); Čyževs'kyj, *Das Paterikon*, 39. Die beiden Berichte unterscheiden sich in der Frage, ob die Initiative zur Annahme der Studitenregel von Konstantinopel (Studitenmönch Michael) oder von Kiev (Mönch Efrem) ausging.—Zur Bedeutung a) des Theodoros Studites bzw. b) des Studitenklosters in Konstantinopel vgl. a) Ch. Frazee, »St. Theodore of Stoudios and Ninth Century Monasticism in Constantinople«, in: *Stud. Monast.* 23 (1981): 27–58; b) Ph. Meyer, *Die Haupturkunden f. d. Gesch. der Athosklöster* (Leipzig, 1894; Nachdr.: Amsterdam 1965), 15–20; L. H. Grondijs, *L'iconographie byzantine du crucifié mort sur la croix* (Brüssel, ²1947), 95–110 (=Bibl. Byz. Bruxell., 1).

20 Vgl. V. Grumel, *Les Regestes des Actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, I, 2 (Paris, 1936), 255f. (Nr. 841; zum Inhalt vgl. E. Golubinskij, *Istorija russkoj cerkvi*, I, 2 (Moskau, 1904; Nachdr.: The Hague-Paris, 1969), 608–631; I. Gošev, »Pravilata na studijskija monastir«, in: *Godišn. Sof. univ., Bogosl. fak.* 17, 6 (1939/40): 5–14; zu Alexios Studites persönlich: A. A. Fourlas, »Alexios Studites«, in: *Lexikon des Mittelalt.*, I (München-Zürich, 1980), 387.

21 Vgl. aber die vorhergehende »Ὑποτύπωσις« des Studiosklosters: *PG* 99, 1704B–1720B.

22 Vgl. z. B. A. Gorskij/N. Nevostruev, *Opisanie slavjan. rukopisej Moskovskoj Sinodal'noj biblioteki*, III, 1 (Moskau, 1869; Nachdr.: Wiesbaden, 1964), 250ff. (Ustav, 2. Teil); M. Lisicyn, *Pervonačal'nyj slavjano-russkij tipikon* (St. Petersburg, 1911), č. 2, 163–355 (»Ktitorskij ustav Alekseja, patr. Kostantinopol'skogo«, gottesdienstlicher Teil).

23 D. M. Petras, »The Typicon of the Patriarch Alexis the Studite: Novgorod—St. Sophia 1136« (Rom, 1982; Mschr.), 41–163 (Ed./engl. Übers.).

24 D. S. Iščenko, » 'Ustav Studijskij' po spisku XII v. (Fragmenty)«, in: *Istočniki po istorii russkogo jazyka* (Moskau, 1976), 109–130 (Ed./Fragmente: 114–130); Gesamted./russ. Übers., mit hist. Einl., Quellenanalyse u. Facsimile-Ed. der HSS (GIM, Nr. 330/380, 12. Jh.) durch F. Korotkov, »Pervonačal'nyj obščežitel'nyj ustav russkix monastirej (disciplinarnaja čast' Alekseevskogo studijskogo ustava po rukopisi Sinodal'nogo sobranija Gosudarstvennogo istoričeskogo muzeja No. 380 [XII v.])« (unveröff. Diss. in vier Teilen, Geistl. Akad. [Leningrad 1986]).—Demselben Herausgeber (Iščenko) verdanken wir auch die (Teil-) Edition der 'Grossen Katechese' des Theodoros Studites (περὶ τοῦ μὴ ὀλιγορεῖν ἡμᾶς ἐν ταῖς παιδείαις τοῦ καθηγουμένου): »Maloizvestnoe poučenie Feodora Studita v drevnerusskom perevode«, in: *Istorija russkogo jazyka: Issledovanija i teksty* (Moskau, 1982), 308–319 (Ed. 316–318).

angemahnten Koinobitentum diametral zuwiderläuft.[25] Dennoch blieb die Gestalt Feodosijs auch weiterhin vorbildhaft, nicht zuletzt auch durch seinen persönlichen Einsatz in der Armen- und Krankenpflege (φιλανθρωπία). Gesicherte Daten sind wiederum die Grundsteinlegung der neuen, grossen Klosterkirche zu Ehren der Himmelfahrt Mariens im Jahre 1073 (15. August), [26] vor allem aber der Todestag Feodosijs: 3. Mai 1074.[27] Im bezeichnenden Unterschied zu Antonij sind uns nicht nur das genaue Todesdatum (=Geburtstag zum wahren Leben), sondern auch die näheren Umstande des erbaulichen Hinscheidens bekannt. Auch die weiteren, posthumen Daten sind genauer festgehalten als die Lebenseinschnitte: wohl kein Zufall, da es sich ja um die entscheidenden Stadien des jenseitigen, ewigen Lebens handelt. So werden am 14. August 1091 die Gebeine Feodosijs feierlich in die 1089 fertiggestellte Hauptkirche des Klosters übertragen.[28] Höhepunkt der wachsenden Verehrung ist schliesslich die 1108, durch den Metropoliten und alle Bischöfe erfolgte Eintragung ins Synodikon (*sinodik*), was einer öffentlichen Kanonisation gleichkam.[29] Ein unlängst erschienenes Buch (UdSSR) über die »politische« Geschichte der Kanonisation in Rus', das sich schon in Vowort als bewusste Reaktion auf den angeblichen, geistlichen Monopolanspruch der orthodoxen Landeskirche ankündigt,[30] vertritt ohne eigentliches Forschungsanliegen die (absichtlich tendenziöse) These, dass die Kanonisation Feodosijs nur dazu dienen sollte, ein »Pantheon« der Nationalheiligen zu bauen bzw. auszuweiten.[31] Obwohl die Vita Feodosijs eigens betont, dass er bei seiner Suche nach einem Kloster in Kiev zunächst als Armer an vielen

[25] Vgl. Bosley, »A History«, 126.—Zur Weitergeltung der Studitenregel im 13. (1276), bzw. 15. (1455) Jh.: vgl. *Russkaja Istoričeskaja Biblioteka*, VI, 135, 597 (= Pamjatniki drevnerusskogo kanoničeskogo prava, I).

[26] *PRSL* I, 183 (zu 1073); Čyževs'kyj, *Das Paterikon*, 1-5 (»Slovo 1«), 8f. (»Slovo 3«), 69f. (»Žitie« F.s.); vgl. dazu noch: Podskalsky, *Christentum*, 54, Anm. 283; H. Faensen, »Reduktionsprozess der Klosterarchitektur«, in: E. Donnert (Hg.), *Gesellschaft u. Kultur Russlands im frühen Mittalalter* (Halle, 1981), 202-211.

[27] *PRSL* I, 183-188 (zu 1074); Čyževs'kyj, *Das Paterikon*, 74 (»Žitie« F.s.): beide Versionen sind fast identisch.

[28] *PRSL* I, 209-211, (zu 1091); Čyževs'kyj, a.a.O., 78-82 (»Slovo 9«).

[29] *PRSL* I, 283 (zu 1108); Čyževs'kyj, a.a.O., 82.—Vgl. dazu: Podskalsky, *Christentum*, 54, Anm. 286.—In diesem Jahr (1108) kommt auch der 1240 durch die Tataren zerstörte Kloster(aus)bau zu einem gewissen Abschluss. Zur Gesamtanlage, wie sie sich etwa vor 100 Jahren darbot: vgl. *Ukazatel' svjatyni i svjaščennyx dostopamjatnostej Kieva, kak v samom gorode, tak i v ego okresnostjax, dlja poklonnikov, poseščajuščix svjatyja mesta Kievskija* (Kiev, [7]1881), 1-79, 87-132.

[30] A. S. Xorošev, *Političeskaja istorija russkoj kanonizacii (XI-XVI vv.)* (Moskau, 1986; Verf. kennt nicht die einschlägige westliche Literatur, z. B. L. Müller, A. Poppe, usw.); speziell zu Feodosij: 36-56.

[31] Xorošev, *Političeskaja istorija*, 50.

Pforten abgewiesen wurde und sich später mit Vorrang der kleinen Leute, der Kranken, Armen und Alleinstehenden annahm, sieht der Verfasser des besagten, pseudowissenschaftlichen Pamphlets der Politpropaganda in Feodosij schlicht und einfach einen Parteigänger der »feudalen Rechtsordnung« und einen Kämpfer für die »Vasallentreue«.[32] So viel zu den wichtigsten greifbaren Stationen im Leben un Nachleben Feodosijs, soweit sie von der neueren Literatur besonders angesprochen wurden.

B. II. FEODOSIJ PEČERSKIJ: LITERARISCH BETRACHTET

(a) Zur Hermeneutik der hagiographischen Literatur in der Kiever Rus'

Die hermeneutische Analyse bzw. Selbstprüfung setzt meistens in dem Augenblick ein, in dem eine Wissenschaft eine ihrer schöpferischen Phasen abgeschlossen hat. So ist auch die Kiever Rus' als Anfangsperiode des ukrainischen, weissrussischen und russischen Geisteslebens in Theorie und Praxis weit von einer theologischen Hermeneutik (als Metawissenschaft) entfernt. Und doch hält gerade die geistliche Literatur—eine systematisch-spekulative Theologie gibt es ja nicht—zu ihrem Verständnis thematische Schlüssel bereit, die leider lange übersehen wurden.[33] Diese Schlüssel sind der zur Abfassungszeit schon in slavischer Übersetzung vorliegenden Hl. Schrift entnommen und lassen sich im »Žitie« Feodosijs eindeutig nachweisen: zwei Arbeiten der italienischen Slavistin A. Giambelluca Kossova haben diese Funktion der Schriftzitate zum Auftakt bestimmter Sinnabschnitte detailliert und exemplarisch aufgezeigt.[34] Textpassagen, die bei nur oberflächlicher Lektüre als historisch, inhaltlich oder stilistisch inkohärent, ja deplaziert erscheinen könnten, werden durch das bewusste Aufnehmen der thematischen Schlüssel erhellend für den Geist des Lesers und für seinen Willen bewegend. Wenn die Exegese als eigenständige theologische Gattung für die Kiever Rus' auch praktisch ausfällt (die Werke der beiden Kiever Metropoliten Ilarion und Klim Smoljatič können trotz intensiver Schriftverweise bzw. Anleihen bei patristischen Bibelkommentaren nicht als selbständige Auslegung gelten), so kommt doch die Hl. Schrift, besonders bei den neutestamentlichen Kernthemen, auch in der

32 Xorošev, *Političeskaja istorija*, 37.

33 Vgl. dazu den grundlegenden Aufsatz von R. Picchio, »The Function of Biblical Thematic Clues in the Literary Code of 'Slavia Orthodoxa'«, in: *Slavica Hierosolymitana*, I (Jerusalem, 1977), 1–31.

34 Vgl. oben Anm. 4, sowie auch den Aufsatz von E. Bláhová, »Biblejske zitaty v Uspenskom sbornike XII–XIII vv.«, in: *Cyrillomethodianum* 6 (1982): 67–79; vgl. auch: N. V. Kara, »Osobennosti citirovanii tradicionnyx tekstov v poučeniax Feodosija Pečerskogo (XI v.)«, in: *Vestnik Leningradskogo universiteta* 8: *Istorija, jazyk, literatura*, vyp. 2 (1983), 64–68.

Hagiographie voll zum Tragen. Nennen wir hier nur ein Beispeil aus der Eröffnungsrede Nestors zum »Žitie«; dort sind im zweiten Abschnitt, in dem es um das Erscheinen Feodosijs als letztem, aber zugleich grösstem aller Mönchsväter in diesem Lande (d.h. der Rus') geht, zwei Schriftstellen im Wortlaut zitiert: a) Mt 8, 11: »Viele werden vom Osten und Westen kommen und sich mit Abraham, Isaak und Jakob im himmlischen Reiche zu Tische setzen«.—b) Mt 19, 30 (geraffter Doppelsatz): »Viele werden als letzte die ersten sein«.—In diesen beiden Sätzen ist nicht nur die Motivation des Hagiographen, sondern auch das Selbstverständnis des Kiever Christentums im Kreise der schon seit langem bekehrten Nachbarvölker zusammengefasst[35] (vgl. die Funktion des verwandten Gleichnisses von den Arbeitern im Weinberg [Mt 20, 1–16] im »Čtenie« auf Boris und Glěb, das ebenfalls von Nestor stammt). In dieser Weise sind im ganzen »Žitie« Feodosijs seine Grosstaten als Asket, als Prophet und Mitarbeiter bzw. Nachahmer Christi (Höhepunkt!) eingeleitet bzw. orchestriert. Der durchgehend harmonische Gleichklang von Hl. Schrift und Leben erscheint dem Autor wichtiger als die Aufzählung von genauen Daten, Einzelbegebenheiten oder Reflexionen, auf die sich die Erwartung heutiger Leser oftmals richtet. Dieses Vorgehen Nestors erinnert an die literarische Erzählweise schriftkundiger Juden, die z.B. mit dem ersten Vers eines Psalmes unter ihresgleichen dessen Gesamtaussage evozieren konnten (vgl. den in Mt 27, 46f. zitierten Anfang von Ps. 21); in ähnlicher Weise will Nestor mit den eingeflochtenen Schriftzitaten dem Leser oder Hörer den Sinnzusammenhang einer Sequenz von Sätzen einerseits verdeutlichen, andererseits aber sicher auch zusammernfassen und einprägen. Diese Rede- bzw. Erzähltechnik setzt eine Kultur voraus, in der zumindest der Mönch die Schrift des Alten und Neuen Testaments weitgehend auswendig kannte (was schon in der Pachomiosregel gefordert wird!) und im Gedächtnis die zitierten »Initialen« (z.B. eines Gleichnisses) selbständig in ihren Gesamtbezügen ergänzen konnte. Natürlich ist auch diese literarische Technik—wie viele der literarischen Topoi in Kiev—aus Byzanz übernommen worden (aber nicht in mechanischer Weise, etwa im vorliegenden Falle aus den als vorbildlich zitierten Viten des Antonios d. Gr., der palästinensischen Väter, usw.). Kirill von Turov, der manche von ihm nur aus der Tradition übernommenen Denkformen verbal ins Bewusstsein hebt, bemerkt später in seiner ersten und zweiten Mönchsrede ausdrücklich,

[35] Čyževs'kyj, *Das Paterikon*, 21. Der erste Vers (Mt 8, 11) ist übrigens auch schon bei Ilarion (»Slovo o zakone i blagodati« 33, 14–16) zitiert: vgl. L. Müller, *Des Metropoliten Ilarion Lobrede auf Vladimir den Heiligen* (Wiesbaden, 1962), 85 (=Slavistische Studienbücher, II).

dass er mit seinen langen Ausführungen eigentlich nur die Hl. Schrift wiedergeben wolle.

(b) Schwerpunkte der geistlichen Ausstrahlung Feodosijs

Vielleicht wird es gut sein, nach all diesen eher Anmerkungen eines wissenschaftlichen Forschungsberichts denn einer systematischen Darstellung gleichenden Ausführungen noch einige Schwerpunkte zu benennen, an denen sich die geistliche Ausstrahlung Feodosijs schon zu seinen Lebzeiten festmachen lässt. Ein wichtiges Symbol für das Mönchsleben, gerade in den Anfängen des Kiever Klosterwesens, ist zweifellos die Höhle als Ort der Finsternis und des Kampfes mit den Dämonen, wie er uns schon aus den Wüsten Ägyptens (vgl. *Vita Antonii* des Athanasios) berichtet wird. Zwar meint E. Benz in dem schon zitierten Artikel,[36] im Kiever *Paterik* sei keine »ausdrückliche Theologie der Höhle« entwickelt; doch die Spannung zwischen deren beiden entscheidenden Polen, dem Dunkel des Dämonenkampfes und der Erlösung durch das Einbrechen des göttlichen Lichtes, ist sowohl im »Žitie« wie auch an anderen Stellen (»Slovo 29«, vom Klausner Ioann) durchaus schon spürbar. Erst Kirill von Turov setzt dann in seiner ebenfalls schon gestreiften zweiten Mönchsrede in zugleich bildlicher und begrifflicher Sprache das Innere einer Höhle identisch mit dem Kanon der apostolischen Überlieferung bzw. des klösterlichen Lebens in vollkommenem Gehorsam.[37] Nestor nennt seinen Helden ferner einen »wahren Philosophen«; noch während seiner Jugendzeit zu Hause lässt er Feodosij das Backen von Hostienbroten (Prosphoren) der Mutter als »Arbeit am Leibe Christi« erklären. Die Entschlossenheit zur Nachfolge Christi drängt den suchenden Jüngling ferner dazu, sein Hab und Gut in Armut und Demut an Bettler weiterzugeben.[38] Prägend auf seine und spätere Mönchsgenerationen wirkte auch der siegreiche Kampf Feodosijs mit den lärmenden Dämonen, der ihm wiederum die Erfahrung zur geistlichen Leitung seiner Brüder gab. Schliesslich sei noch das Vermächtnis auf dem Sterbebett erwähnt, das die berühmt gewordene Zusicherung enthält, dass er (Feodosij) auch im Jenseits die Verantwortung für alle Sünden der zum Höhlenkloster gehörenden Mönche, selbst wenn sie in der Ferne sterben sollten, übernehmen wolle; später entwickelte sich daraus die

36 Benz, »Die hl. Höhle«, 424.

37 Podskalsky, *Christentum*, 151–154, besonders 153.—Zum ganzen Paragraphen: ebd., 123–126.

38 An diesen Stellen schlägt die Spiritualität der frühchristlichen Märtyrer durch: vgl. dazu Podskalsky, *Christentum*, 155, Anm. 678; K. Baus, »Das Gebet der Märtyrer«, in: *Trierer theol. Zeitschr.* 62 (1953): 19–32; M. Pellegrino, »L'imitation du Christ dans les Actes des Martyrs«, in: *Vie spirituelle* 98 (1958): 38–54.

Überzeugung, dass ein Begräbnis im Kiever Kloster fast einer Garantie der persönlichen Rettung gleichkomme.[39]

Auch die Nestorchronik hebt den demütigen Diensteifer und das stille Vorbild Feodosijs hervor, doch gleichzeitung auch seine regelmässigen Unterweisungen an die Mönche über das Jesusgebet, die gegenseitige Ehrfurcht und Bruderliebe, das Fasten; immer ging sein Beispiel den Worten voraus und gab diesen ihre Tiefenwirkung.[40]

Was die (vermutlich) eigenen Werke[41] Feodosijs angeht, so erinnern die fünf Mahnreden an die Mönche (»Brüder und Väter«) in Stil und Inhalt an ähnliche Paränesen des eigens erwähnten Theodoros Studites, Feodosijs Modellbild,[42] dessen Regeln er in einfachen Worten und mit vielen Schriftzitaten seiner Gemeinschaft einschärft, indem er zugleich abträgliche Untugenden (Müssiggang, Heuchelei, Habgier, usw.) tadelt; das letzte Poučenie spielt auch die häufig bei Tisch gelesenen Sprüche der Väter (*Apophthegmata*) an. Die beiden Trostworte erinnern in grosser Demut an das Jüngste Gericht und rufen die Mönche zu asketischen Grosstaten im Erdulden der vielfältigen Schmach auf, wobei ihnen der *strastoterpec* (ἀθλητής) Theodoros Studites als »Himmelsleiter« dienen könne. Das Wort an den Kellermeister deutet die Schlüsselübergabe im Anschluss an die Berufungsvision des Jesaja (Jes. 6). Das Gebet bittet schliesslich um Glaubensstärke für die Neubekehrten und die Bekehrung der Heiden. Eine besondere Fürbitte gilt dem Fürsten, der Stadt und ihrem Klerus. Angerufen werden die Gottesmutter, die 318 Väter von Nikaia (325), die »drei Hierarchen«, Nikolaos und Antonij, der »Erleuchter der ganzen Rus'«.—Insgesamt ist es also eine Folge von asketischen (Stufe der Reinigung) und an Einigungsmystik grenzende Themen, die Feodosij durch sein Leben den zeitgenössischen und nachgeborenen Mönchen weitergegeben hat.

(c) Nachleben und Nachwirkung Feodosijs

Abgesehen von den Anleihen bzw. Anklängen in sonstigen Heiligenviten der Kiever Epoche (besonders im »Žitie« des Avraamij von Smolensk)

39 Vgl. Čyževs'kyj, *Das Paterikon*, 104–106 (»Slovo 15«), 111–113 (»Slovo 19«); noch das von F. Prokopovyč redigierte »Duxovnyj reglament« (1721) tadelt die Vorstellung einer Heils-sicherheit ohne Reue bei den Kiever Mönchen: vgl. Ed. bei MANSI 37, 23 (Nr. II, 4); kommentierte engl. Übersetzung: A. V. Muller, *The Spiritual Regulation of Peter the Great* (Seattle-London, 1972).

40 Vgl. oben Anm. 5!

41 Vgl. Podskalsky, *Christentum*, 92.

42 Vgl. zu ihm oben Anm. 19!

bzw. der folgenden Mongolenherrschaft,[43] lässt sich das Nachleben Feodosijs am besten an den literarischen Zeugnissen im Zusammenhang seiner Kanonisation ablesen. An erster Stelle steht die wohl ebenfalls Nestor zu verdankende Erzählung von der Übertragung der Gebeine Feodosijs in die neuerbaute Hauptkirche (*Paterik*, »Slovo 9«),[44] die sich als Leitmotiv den Satz aus der Hl. Schrift (Jo 11, 25; Weish 3, 1) wählt: »(Der Gerechte) wird leben, auch wenn er stirbt; die Seelen der Gerechten sind in Gottes Hand«. Der Schüler preist dann den Vater und Lehrer als guten Hirten, der die Mönche vor dem Einbruch des Bösen bewahrte, und dessen Andenken seine Söhne durch ein neues Grabmal in die Mitte ihres Lebens, den Gottesdienst, zurückholen wollten. Die Auffindung des unverwesten (Zeichen der Heiligkeit!) Leichnams ist mit einer Lichterscheinung verbundern; ausserdem gehen prophetische Worte, die Feodosij zu seinen Lebzeiten gesprochen hatte, an seinem Grabe in Erfüllung. Nestor verherrlicht den Patron der Rus' und bittet zum Schluss auch für sich selbst.[45] Das folgende »Slovo« (Nr. 10)[46] berichtet von einem geistlichen Wunder; der Bojar Vasilij, der ihm anvertrautes Geld für die Neugestaltung des Feodosij-Grabes veruntreut hatte, wird durch Unglück und Krankheit zur Umkehr und Heilung gebracht. Die Poxvala (»Slovo 11«)[47] schliesslich, deren zweiter Teil nach der Tatareninvasion entstand (Serapion von Vladimir?), preist Feodosij wiederum als *xrabor Xristov* (ἀθλητὴς τοῦ Χριστοῦ) und Erleuchter der *russkaja zemlja*. Auch die *Služba*[48] knüpft an diesen Tenor an, wenn sie Feodosij als Erzieher der Mönche, leuchtenden Stern des russischen Landes sowie dessen Wundertäter und Hirte apostrophiert. Die übrigen Titel stammen aus der gewohnten Litanei der Epitheta für heiligmässige Fürsten und Mönche, deren feierliche Prozession von Feodosij angeführt wird: Lehrer der Orthodoxie für die Herrscher, Vater der Waisen, Fürsprecher der Witwen, Tröster der Betrübten, Schützer der Armen, Himmelsleiter für den Chor der Mönche. Mehrmals wird die prophetische Erwählung vom Mutterschosse an (Jer 1, 5) hervorgehoben; der schon als Junge das Herrengrab in Jerusalem sehen wollte, sah sich als Asket einer höheren Gottesschau gewürdigt. Durch den Erwerb der Studi-

[43] Vgl. dazu: Podskalsky, *Christentum*, 126, Anm. 577!

[44] Čyževs'kyj, *Das Paterikon*, 78–84; vgl. *PSRL* I, 209–214 (zu 1091).

[45] Vgl. G. Podskalsky, »Das Gebet in der Kiever Rus'—seine Formen, seine Rolle, seine Aussagen«, in: *Orth. Forum* 2 (1988): 177–191, hier: 180f.

[46] Čyževs'kyj, *Das Paterikon*, 84–86.

[47] Čyževs'kyj, *Das Paterikon*, 86–94.

[48] Ed.: Golubinskij, *Istorija*, I, 2, 513–517; vgl. Podskalsky, *Christentum*, 236f; ferner Hans Rothe, »Kontakien auf russische Heilige in altruss. Kondakar«, in: *Byz. Studies/Ét. byz.* 8 (1981); 11 (1984); 12 (1985): 333–341, bes. 333–335, 340 (= Fs. A. Dostál on the occasion of his 75th birthday).

tenregel wurde Feodosij schon als junger Mann zum (weisen) Vater. Die Künste des Teufels konnten ihm nichts anhaben; getränkt aus dem lebendigen Quell seines Lehrers Antonij, wurde Feodosij zur Speise für die hungrige Menge, wie die Getreidespeicher des ägyptischen Josef (Gen 41). Feodosij hat den von ihm erstellten Klosterbau mit Gebet, Psalmengesang und Fasten der Gemeinschaft, aber auch mit dem eigenen, demütigen Dienst an den Brüdern erfüllt.—Mit diesem Bild, das nach Jahrhunderten der Entfremdung erst wieder in der Erneuerungsbewegung des *Dobrotoljubie* (*Philokalia*/19. Jh.; zurückgehend auf die Athosmönche Makarios von Korinth und Nikodemos Hagioreites) seine Entsprechung finden sollte, hat sich Feodosij der Nachwelt eingeprägt.

C. DER HL. FEODOSIJ PEČERSKIJ: ERBE UND AUFTRAG

So tragen die literarisch-liturgischen Zeugnisse über Feodosij den Stempel des Erbes und Auftrages zugleich. Sie verbreiteten, zumindest für das Jahrhundert nach seinem Tode, den Ruhm des Höhlenklosters als Wiege des russischen Anachoretentums und regten wie selbstverständlich Mönche und Laien dazu an, es den Grosstaten des Kiever Mönchsvaters gleichzutun. In diesem Sinne sind sie auch nach einem Jahrtausend ostslavischen Christentums nicht überholt.

St. Georgen, Frankfurt-am-Main

Kirchenrechtliche Aspekte des Verhältnisses zwischen Metropoliten und Fürsten in der Kiever Rus'

CHRISTIAN HANNICK

An Untersuchungen zum Verhältnis zwischen Staat und Kirche in der Kiever Rus' besteht kein Mangel, wurde doch dieser Frage der ihr gebührende Raum in Abhandlungen zur russischen und ukrainischen Kirchengeschichte ab der zweiten Hälfte des vorigen Jh. geschenkt.

Es genügt hier neben der mehrbändigen Kirchengeschichte von Evgenij Golubinskij[1] an die Arbeiten von Timofej Barsov,[2] L. K. Götz,[3] Mixail Priselkov,[4] Pl. Sokolov,[5] zu erinnern. In den letzten Jahrzehnten wurde diese Problematik von Grund auf aufgerollt, v. a. in zahlreichen Beiträgen und Monographien von Ludolf Müller, Jaroslav Ščapov, Andrzej Poppe[6] oder neuerdings Vladimir Vodoff.[7] So konnte unter ständiger Bezugnahme auf die byzantinischen Quellen und die byzantinistische Forschung und durch eine kritische und umfassende Wertung der altrussische Quellen ein gesicherteres Bild der Entstehung und Entwicklung der kirchlichen Organisation auf dem Boden der Rus' vor dem Tatareneinfall entworfen werden.[8]

[1] E. Golubinskij, *Istorija russkoj cerkvi*, I (Moskva, ²1901), 257–332; vgl. über ihn N. N. Glubokovskij, *Russkaja bogoslovskaja nauka v ee istoričeskom razvitii i novejšem sostojanii* (Warszawa, 1928), 48–50 sowie G. Florovskij, *Puti russkogo bogoslovija* (Paris, ³1983), 371–373.

[2] T. Barsov, *Konstantinopol'skij patriarx i ego vlast' nad russkoju cerkoviju* (Sankt Peterburg, 1878; ND The Hague-Paris, 1968); vgl. über ihn die Einleitung von G. Florovskij zum Nachdruck 1970 von Sokolov (Anm. 5).

[3] L. K. Götz, *Staat und Kirche in Altrußland. Kiever Periode 988–1240* (Berlin, 1908).

[4] M. D. Priselkov, *Očerki po cerkovno-političeskoj istorii Kievskoj Rusi X–XII vv.* (Sankt Peterburg, 1913; ND The Hague, 1966).

[5] Pl. Sokolov, *Russkij arxierej iz Vizantii i pravo ego naznačenija do načala XV v.* (Kiev, 1913).

[6] Es sei hier nur auf folgende Monographien hingewiesen: L. Müller, *Zum Problem des hierarchischen Status und der jurisdiktionellen Abhängigkeit der russischen Kirche vor 1039* (Köln-Braunsfeld, 1959); Ja. N. Ščapov, *Knjažeskie ustavy i cerkov' v drevnej Rusi XI–XIV vv.* (Moskva, 1972); A. Poppe, *Państwo i kościół na Rusi w XI wieku* (Rozprawy Uniw. Warsz., 26) (Warszawa, 1968). Siehe dazu auch die knappen bibliographischen Angaben von L. A. Koča in *Sovetskaja istoriografija Kievskoj Rusi* (Leningrad, 1978), 172–176.

[7] V. Vodoff, *Naissance de la chrétienté russe. La conversion du prince Vladimir de Kiev (988) et ses conséquences (XIᵉ–XIIIᵉ siècles)* (Paris, 1988), bes. S. 108ff.

[8] Vgl. dazu allgemein den magistralen Überblick von A. Poppe, »Organizacja kościoła (Ruś)«, in *Słownik starożytności słowiańskich*, III (Ossolineum, 1967), 511–518.

Die im folgenden behandelte Frage des Verhältnisses zwischen Metropoliten und Kiever Fürsten auf dem Hintergrund der kirchenrechtlichen Gesichtspunkte wurde in den genannten Arbeiten bereits mehrfach berührt, jedoch nicht zusammenfassend erörtert.

Als Hauptquelle dienen selbstverständlich die altrussische Chroniken (namentlich die Nikon-Chronik), wobei spätere Redaktionen, wie z.B. die patriarchale sogenannte Nikon-Chronik aus dem 16. Jh.,[9] sich für die kirchenrechtlichen Auffassungen und ihren etwaigen Wandel von großer Bedeutung erweisen. Beachtung verdienen auch die Nachrichten in historischen Quellen nicht Kiever Herkunft wie den Novgoroder Chroniken[10] oder in der Troickaja letopis' aus dem Anfang des 15. Jh., die von Priselkov rekonstruiert wurde und der Tradition der Stadt Vladimir nahesteht.[11]

Was die umstrittene Chronologie der Metropoliten und Kiever Fürsten anbelangt, so werden hier die von Andrzej Poppe erzielten Ergebnisse übernommen,[12] die in wesentlichen Punkten von älteren Bearbeitungen, z.B. bei Ammann,[13] abweichen. Um den durch Poppe abgesicherten Boden der Chronologie nicht zu verlieren, beziehen sich die folgenden Ausführungen auf die Amtsperiode der Kiever Metropoliten bis Kyrillos II. (gest. 1281) einschließlich. Unter seinem Nachfolger, dem Griechen Maksim,[14] der sich gezwungen sah, wegen der Unterdrückung der Tataren Kiev zu verlassen und seinen Amtssitz zunächst nach Brjansk, danach in das Suzdaler Land verlegte (Lavr. let. s. a. 1300),[15] geschah 1303 oder 1304/1305 unter Patriarch Athanasios I. und durch χρυσόβουλλοι λόγοι Kaisers Andronikos II. sanktioniert, die Teilung der Kiever Metropolie und die Erhebung des Bistums von Halyč zur Metropolie.[16]

9 Vgl. dazu zusammenfassend, B. M. Kloss, in: »Drevnerusskie letopisi i xroniki«, *Trudy otdela drevnerusskoj literatury* (= *TODRL*), 39 (1985): 133f.

10 Herangezogen wird hier *Novgorodskaja pervaja letopis' staršego i mladšego izvoda*, hrsg. A. N. Nasonov (Moskva-Leningrad, 1950). Teilnachdruck mit deutscher Übersetzung und Indices bei J. Dietze, *Die erste Novgoroder Chronik nach ihrer ältesten Redaktion* (München, 1971).

11 M. D. Priselkov, *Troickaja letopis': Rekonstrukcija teksta* (Moskva-Leningrad, 1950); A. A. Šaxmatov, *Obozrenie russkix letopisnyx svodov XIV–XVI vv.* (Moskva-Leningrad, 1938), 39; Ju. A. Limonov, *Letopisanie Vladimiro-Suzdal'skoj Rusi* (Leningrad, 1967), 18; Ja. S. Lur'e, in »Drevnerusskie letopisi i xroniki«, *TODRL* 39 (1985): 150–152.

12 Vgl. den Anhang von A. Poppe: »Die Metropoliten und Fürsten der Kiever Rus' « bei G. Podskalsky, *Christentum und theologische Literatur in der Kiever Rus' (988–1237)* (München, 1982), 280–323.

13 A. M. Ammann, *Abriss der ostslawischen Kirchengeschichte* (Wien, 1950), 683f.

14 Vgl. dazu v. a. Sokolov, *Russkij arxierej*, 193ff.

15 *Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej* (= *PSRL*), I, 485.

16 F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches*, IV (München, 1960), Nr. 2270; V. Laurent, *Les regestes des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople I: Les actes des patriarches*, IV (Paris, 1971), Nr. 1592.

Die Einnahme Kievs durch die Tataren 1239 und die Versetzung des Kiever Reiches in den Status eines Vasallenstaates des mongolischen Imperium hat für die chronologische Abgrenzung unserer Betrachtung insofern Bedeutung, daß die Metropoliten ihr Amt durch ein *tarxannyj jarlyk* des mongolischen Chans bestätigen ließen. Ein Teil dieser Urkunden wurden am Ende des 14. bzw. Anfang des 15. Jh. ins Russische übersetzt und in zwei Redaktionen gesammelt.[17] Vom kirchenrechtlichen Standpunkt aus erweist sich diese durch einen andersgläubigen Herrscher ausgestellte Bestätigung als gegenstandslos, da sie die innerhalb des Bundes des orthodoxen Glaubens bestehenden Beziehungen nicht berührt.

Bei der Nominierung des Metropoliten blieben in der Kiever Periode bis auf die zwei berühmten Fälle des Ilarion (dazu s. unten) und des Klim Smoljatič[18] die Vorrechte des Konstantinopler Patriarchates unversehrt. Patriarch und Synode nominieren den künftigen Inhaber des Metropolitansitzes von Kiev und der ganzen Rus', der dann nach der Weihe in Konstantinopel nach Kiev geschickt wird.

In der Zeit, die uns hier interessiert, gilt im Konstantinopler Patriarchat als allgemein anerkannt, daß Patriarch und Synodos endemusa die Wahl des Metropoliten ohne Mitspracherecht der Suffraganbischöfe vornehmen, wie von Balsamon im Kommentar zum 6. Kanon des Konzils von Sardika, sicherlich aufgrund einer älteren Gepflogenheit, ausdrücklich vermerkt.[19] Hajjar betont mit Recht, daß dabei in der Praxis der Synodos endemusa große Entscheidungsbefugnis zukam.[20] Im Hinblick auf die besondere Lage der Kiever Metropolie außerhalb der Reichsgrenzen und somit in einem Gebiet, das dem byzantinischen Kaiser nicht unterstand, war es geboten,

[17] Vgl. dazu allgemein V. V. Grigor'ev, *O dostovernosti jarlykov, dannyx xanami Zolotoj Ordy russkomu duxovenstvu* (Moskva, 1842); M. D. Priselkov, *Xanskie jarlyki russkim mitropolitam* (Petrograd, 1916); L. V. Čerepnin, *Russkie feodal'nye arxivy XIV–XV vv.*, II (Moskva, 1951), 53–57; A. A. Zimin, »Kratkoe i prostrannoe sobranije xanskix jarlykov, vydannyx russkim mitropolitam«, *Arxeografičeskij ežegodnik za 1961 god* (Moskva, 1962), 28–40; A. K. Borovkov, »Opyt filologičeskogo analiza tarxannyx jarlykov, vydannyx xanami Zolotoj Ordy russkim mitropolitam«, *Izvestija AN SSSR, Serija literatury i jazyka* 25, no. 1 (1966): 13–24; M. A. Usmanov, »Oficial'nye akty xanstv Vostočnoj Evropy XIV–XVI vv. i ix izučenie«, *Arxeografičeskij ežegodnik za 1974 god* (Moskva, 1975), 117–135, bes. 120; A. P. Grigor'ev, *Mongol'skaja diplomatika XIII–XV vv. (Čingizidskie žalovannye gramoty)* (Leningrad, 1978).

[18] »Dva izvestnye slučaja izbranija i postavlenija mitropolitov v samoj Rossii«: Golubinskij, *Istorija*, I/1, 961.

[19] G. A. Rhalles–M. Potles. Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων, III (Athen, 1853), 245; vgl. dazu H. G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (München, 1959), 70; R. Potz, *Patriarch und Synode in Konstantinopel: Das Verfassungsrecht des ökumenischen Patriarchates* (Kirche und Recht, 10) (Wien, 1971), 41.

[20] J. Hajjar, *Le synode permanent (σύνοδος ἐνδημοῦσα) dans l'église byzantine des origines au XI^e s.* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 164) (Rom, 1962), 142.

sich der Zustimmung des ἄρχων, im vorliegenden Falle des Kiever Fürsten, im voraus zu vergewissern. Schriftliche Zeugnisse bezüglich der ἀποδοχή, der Zustimmung, sind nicht erhalten. Aus parallelen Fällen kann jedoch der Schluß gezogen werden, daß über die Person des nominierten Metropoliten vor seiner Entsendung nach Kiev eine Verständigung zwischen Patriarchen bzw. Kaiser und Kiever Fürsten angestrebt worden war. In einer solchen Angelegenheit wandte sich der Patriarch von Konstantinopel wiederholte Male an den Herrscher von Ainos in Thrakien, Nicolò Gattilusio (1384–1409):[21] ἔγραψα τῇ εὐγενείᾳ σου καὶ μίαν καὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς, ἵνα γράψῃς ἡμῖν, καὶ ποιήσωμεν μητροπολίτην μετὰ καὶ τοῦ θελήματος καὶ τῆς ἀποδοχῆς σου.[22]

Die einzigen Anhaltspunkte über de Verständigung des Kiever Fürsten bei der Nominierung des neuen Metropoliten liefern die Chronikberichte anläßlich der Ankunft des neuen kirchlichen Oberhauptes in Kiev.

In der frühen Periode wird die Einsetzung des Metropoliten nicht erwähnt, so daß kein Anhaltspunkt über die ἀποδοχή besteht. Erst ab Metropolit Johannes III. (1090–1091) berichten die Chroniken über eine Verständigung des Kiever Fürsten, insofern, daß Janka, die Tochter des Fürsten Vsevolod Jaroslavič, sich nach Byzanz begab (*v Greky ide*), um den designierten, bereits kranken Metropoliten auf dem Wege zu begleiten (*privede Janka mitropolita Ioanna*: Lavr. let. s.a. 1090).[23] Ohne weitere Begründung erwägt Vodoff als Ziel der Reise der Janka nach Griechenland die Initiation in das monastische Leben.[24] Kommentarlos fällt die Ankunft des Metropoliten Nikifor I. am 6. Dezember 1104 und seine Inthronisation (*na stolě posažen*) am Sonntag den 18. Dezember 1104 aus.[25]

Die Einsetzung seines Nachfolgers, Nikita (1122–1126), geschah nach einer Vereinbarung zwischen Fürsten und Kaiser, die sich darin äußerte, daß die Tochter Dobrodeja des Fürsten Mstislav Volodimerovič 1122, nach dem Tode ihrer Mutter, der Prinzessin Christina von Schweden am 18. Januar 1122,[26] nach Konstantinopel als Braut des Alexios, des ältesten

21 *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, II. Erstellt von E. Trapp (Wien, 1977), Nr. 3582.

22 F. Miklosich–J. Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi*, II (Wien, 1862), 338 (Nr. 540, s.a.).

23 *PSRL*, I, 208; *PSRL*, II, 200; *Novg*. I, 18; *Troick. let*., 166; *PSRL*, IX, 116—Zur Datierung vgl. N. G. Berežkov, *Xronologija russkogo letopisanija* (Moskva, 1963), 228.

24 Vodoff, *Naissance*, 159.

25 *PSRL*, I, 280; *PSRL*, II, 256; *Novg*. I, 19 (s. dazu Berežkov, *Xronologija*, 215); *Troick. let*., 200; *PSRL*, IX, 140.

26 Vgl. N. de Baumgarten, *Généalogies et mariages occidentaux des Rurikides russes du X^e au XIII^e siècle* (Orientalia Christiana, 35) (Rom, 1927), table V Nr. 7, 26—Der Name Christina ist in der 1. Novgoroder Chronik (Nasonov, 21) bezeugt.

Sohnes Kaiser Ioannes' II. Komnenos,[27] geschickt wurde. Dieses Ereignis und seine Verbindung mit der Entsendung des neuen Metropoliten wird in der Hypatios-Chronik sowie in noch klareren Worten im Moskovskij svod aus dem Ende des 15. Jh.[28] festgehalten, wobei in den Chronikberichten weder der Vorname der Tochter des Mstislav (Mstislavna)[29] noch der Vorname des Komnenenabkömmlings (*carevič*) mitgeteilt werden: »Im selben Jahr verstarb die Fürstin des Mstislav [= Christina] und die Tochter des Mstislav wurde nach Byzanz zum Thronfolger geführt und nach Rus' kam aus Byzanz Metropolit Niketas« (Mosk. svod s.a. 1122).[30]

Die Amtsentfernung des Klim Smoljatič am Anfang des Jahres 1155 und die Ernennung des Nachfolgers, Konstantinos I., im Herbst desselben Jahres entsprachen dem Machtwechsel in Kiev nach dem Tode des Fürsten Izjaslav, des Beschützers des Metropoliten Klim. Wie häufig in Byzanz mußte der Günstling des gestürzten bzw. gestorbenen Herrschers sein Amt räumen. Es besteht daher kein Zweifel darüber, daß Metropolit Konstantin die Zustimmung (ἀποδοχή) des neuen Fürsten Jurij (Dolgorukij) Volodimerovič erhalten hatte. Das verlorene Ernennungsschreiben Patriarch Konstantinos' IV. Chliarenos, das auf die ersten Wochen des Jahres 1156 zu datieren ist,[31] ist lediglich in der Hustyn letopis' aus dem Ende des 16.–Anfang des 17. Jh. erwähnt, als dessen Verfasser Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj angeführt wird.[32] Der Wortlaut der Kiever Chronik weicht in der Ausführlichkeit von den bisherigen Berichten über den Empfang des neuen Metropoliten ab: »Im selben Jahr kam aus Konstantinopel Metropolit Konstantin; und der Fürst empfing ihn mit Ehre zusammen mit dem ganzen Volk (*ljud'e vsi*)« (Lavr. let. s.a. 1156).[33] Der Bericht in der Hypatios-Chronik (s.a. 1156) fällt noch detaillierter aus:

[27] X. Loparev, »Brak Mstislavny (1122)«, *Vizantijskij vremennik* 9 (1902): 418–445; S. Papadimitriu, »Brak Mstislavny s Alekseem Komninom«, *Vizantijskij vremennik* 11 (1904): 75–98 identifiziert Alexios mit dem Sohn des Sebastokrator Isaak und Bruders des Kaisers; allgemein dazu M. V. Levčenko, *Očerki po istorii russko-vizantijskix otnošenij* (Moskva, 1956), 477.

[28] *PSRL*, II, 286; *PSRL*, XXV, 28.

[29] Zur Bildung des Patronymicum vgl. T. Skulina, *Staroruskie imiennictwo osobowe* II (Prace onomastyczne, 21) (Ossolineum, 1974), 83ff.

[30] *PSRL*, XXV, 28.

[31] V. Grumel, *Les regestes des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople I: Les actes des patriarches* III (Kadiköy, 1947), Nr. 1040 (neue, durch J. Darrouzès besorgte Ausgabe, Paris, 1989).

[32] Zu dieser Quelle vgl. S. L. Peštič, »'Sinopsis' kak istoričeskoe proizvedenie«, *TODRL* 15 (1958): 284–298; E. M. Apanovič, *Rukopisnaja svetskaja kniga XVIII v. na Ukraine. Istoričeskie sborniki* (Kiev, 1983), 66–77.

[33] *PSRL*, I, 347; *Troick. let.*, 240.

Als Metropolit Konstantin aus Konstantinopel kam, empfing ihn Fürst Jurij mit Ehre zusammen mit dem Bischof von Polock und Manuil, Bischof von Smolensk, der vor Klim geflohen war. Nachdem sie den Namen des Klim aus den Diptychen gestrichen (*isprovergъši Klimovu službu*) und seine Amtshandlungen (*stavlenija*) aufgehoben hatten, vollzogen sie die göttliche Liturgie und segneten Fürst Jurij Volodimirovič.[34]

Der Kompilator der Nikon-Chronik fügt nur schmückende Elemente hinzu:

Im selben Jahr kam aus Konstantinopel Metropolit Konstantin auf den Metropolitenthron von Kiev und ganz Rus'. Der Kiever Großfürst Jurij Dolgorukij ging selbt ehrenvoll ihm entgegen mit seinen Kindern und den Bojaren und an diesem Tag fand ein herrliches Fest und eine große Ehre für den Hierarchen statt. . . .[35]

Sokolov betont mit Recht das gnadenlose Vorgehen des griechischen Metropoliten: erst nachdem alle Reste des durch Klim Smoljatič verursachten Schismas beseitigt sind, und wahrscheinlich nach einer neuen Einweihung der Sophien-Kathedrale, segnet der Metropolit daselbst den Fürsten.[36]

Folgt man der von Grumel auf der Grundlage der Synodalakten über den Opfercharakter der Eucharistie, die am 26. Januar 1156 auf Antrag des designierten Metropoliten von Kiev, Konstantin, einberufen wurde,[37] so erklärt sich, daß Bischof Nifont von Novgorod, ein erklärter Gegner des Metropoliten Klim Smoljatič, über Kaufleute Nachricht von der bevorstehenden Ankunft des Konstantin in den ersten Wochen des Jahres 1156 erhielt und sich daraufhin auf den Weg nach Kiev begab, um dem neuen Metropoliten bei seinem Empfang seine Treue zu erweisen. Nifont erkrankte jedoch und verstarb in Kiev am 21. April (Novg. let. I 29) noch vor der Ankunft Konstantins.[38]

Dem vorzeitigen Tod des Metropoliten Konstantin im Jahre 1159, deren Umstände noch erörtert werden, folgte eine Auseinandersetzung zwischen den um den Senioratsthron von Kiev rivalisierenden Fürsten. Der Sieger Rostislav Mstislavič wandte sich 1160 an das Patriarchat mit der Bitte um Entsendung eines Metropoliten seiner Wahl: »Im selben Jahr kam Metropolit Theodoros aus Konstantinopel im Monat August; Fürst Rostislav hatte seine Entsendung erbeten (*bjašet' bo posylal po n'*: Hyp. let. s.a. 1160)«.[39]

34 *PSRL*, II, 485; *PSRL*, XXV, 61.
35 *PSRL*, IX, 207.
36 Sokolov, *Russkij arxierej*, 90.
37 V. Grumel, *Les regestes des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople I: Les actes des patriarches* III: *Les regestes de 1043 à 1206* (Chalkedon, 1947), Nr. 1038.
38 *PSRL*, II, 483; *PSRL*, IX, 205.
39 *PSRL*, II, 514; *PSRL*, XXV, 70.—Zur umstrittenen Chronologie der Amtsjahre des Theodoros vgl. Berežkov, *Xronologija*, 175, 334 (A. 110).

Die sogenannte Nikon-Chronik bringt wiederum einen deutlicheren Wortlaut:

Im selben Jahr kam aus Konstantinopel Theodor, Metropolit von Kiev und ganz Rus', den der Patriarch von Konstantinopel eingesetzt hatte, nachdem der Kiever Großfürst Rostislav Mstislavič seine Entsendung vom Patriarchen erbeten hatte. Der Großfürst Rostislav Mstislavič ging aus der Stadt Kiev hinaus, um ihn zu empfangen, und er empfing ihn mit großer Ehre und die Freude war groß in Kiev.[40]

Durch die Zusätze im Vergleich zur Hypatios-Chronik und zum Moskauer Svod (*poslal bo bě Rostislav v Car'gorod po nego*: *PSRL*, XXV, 70) will der Kompilator der Nikon-Chronik die Entscheidungsbefugnis des Patriarchen bei Nominierung und Einsetzung unterstreichen. Dem Kiever Fürsten kommt nur Vorschlagsrecht zu.

Nach dem Tode des Theodoros im Juni 1163 entstand wiederum eine Auseinandersetzung zwischen Fürsten und Patriarchen in bezug auf die Nominierung des Nachfolgers im Amt des Kiever Metropoliten. Von Konstantinopel wurde Metropolit Johannes IV. entsandt. Fürst Rostislav Mstislavič wollte dieser Ernennung zuvorkommen, indem er seinen Gesandten Gjurat Semkovič nach Konstantinopel schickte, um die Wiedereinsetzung des Klim Smoljatič in das Amt des Metropoliten zu erlangen.[41] Da die Pläne Rostislavs im Patriarchat bald bekannt wurden, unternahm man alles, um Rostislav vor vollendete, nicht widerlegbare Tatsachen zu stellen: Johannes wurde zum Metropolit geweiht und begab sich sofort auf den Weg nach Kiev, noch vor der Ankunft in Konstantinopel der Gesandtschaft des Gjurat Semkovič. Eine verlorene, von Tatiščev benutzte Chronik läßt den Großfürsten dem Gesandten des Kaisers antworten, der ihm Geschenke überbrachte: Wenn der Patriarch förderhin ohne unsere Zustimmung (*bez vedoma i opredelenija našego*) und gegen die Kanones der hl. Apostel einen Metropoliten für die Rus' einsetzt, dann nicht nur werde ich ihn nicht empfangen, sondern werden wir ein für allemal beschließen, daß die Nominierung (*izbirat'*) und die Einsetzung (*postavljat'*) der Metropoliten durch die Bischöfe der Rus' im Benehmen mit den Großfürsten geschieht.[42] Der Kompilator der Nikon-Chronik unterschlägt die Auseinandersetzung um die Personen des Johannes und des Klim und berichtet toposmäßig von dem Empfang des Metropoliten durch

40 *PSRL*, IX, 218.

41 *PSRL*, II, 522.

42 V. N. Tatiščev, *Istorija rossijskaja*, III (Moskva-Leningrad, 1964), 79; Levčenko, *Očerki*, 483. Vgl. auch Poppe bei Podskalsky, *Christentum und theologische Literatur*, 291f. (mit Hinweis auf Johannes Kinnamos).

Großfürsten, Bischöfe, Bojaren und das ganze Volk.[43]

Der ähnliche Wortlaut in der Nikon-Chronik bei der Einsetzung des Metropoliten Konstantinos II. im Jahre 1167,[44] dessen Ankunft lediglich die erste Novgoroder Chronik kommentarlos erwähnt (Nasonov 32), erlaubt keine Rückschlüsse über eine etwaige Vereinbarung zwischen dem Kiever Fürsten und Konstantinopel. Aus der Reihenfolge der Nachrichten in der ersten Novgoroder Chronik geht hervor, daß Metropolit Konstantinos nach dem Tode des um seine Vorrechte bei der Nominierung von Metropoliten bedachten Rostislav Mstislavič (14. März 1167) in Kiev eintraf, als Mstislav Izjaslavič nach Beseitigung des Bruders Rostislavs, Volodimer, den Kiever Thron bestiegen hatte.[45] Der Mangel an Nachrichten über die Einsetzung der folgenden zwei Metropoliten, die die Kiever Kirche jeweils über lange Jahre leiten durften, weist auf eine konfliktlose Situation hin. Bei Kyrillos I. (1224/25–1233), der als sehr gelehrt galt (*učitelen zelo*: Lavr. let. s.a. 1224),[46] weicht der Wortlaut der Chroniken von der üblichen Berichterstattung ab. Wie bereits von Levčenko bemerkt,[47] wird hier statt der üblichen Wendung »er kam von Konstantinopel nach Kiev« ausdrücklich vermerkt: »es wurde eingesetzt (*postavlen byst'*) als Metropolit in der Kiever heiligen Sophia der selige Kyrill, ein Grieche, am 6. Januar, am Fest der Theophanie« (Lavr. let. s.a. 1224).[48] Dies führt Levčenko zur Annahme, daß Kyrillos in der Rus' selbst als Metropolit inthronisiert wurde, und daß er anschließend die Bestätigung aus Nikaia erhielt. Daß Kyrillos aus Nikaia geschickt wurde, vermerkt die erste Novgoroder Chronik s.a. 1233: *priveden byst' iz Nikěja* (ed. Nasonov, 72).

Es soll zunächst der Begriff, woraus Levčenko eine Inthronisation in Kiev ableitet, untersucht werden. Im Sprachgebrauch der Chroniken aus der Kiever Rus' erweist sich der Begriff *postaviti* als nicht selten.[49] Die rund sechzig Bezeugungen in der Laurentius-Chronik in den Artikeln bis 1116 verdeutlichen, daß *postaviti* auch im kirchenrechtlichen Sinn keinen monosemischen Ausdruck darstellt. Es kann sich um folgende Begriffe handeln:

(a) Einsetzung eines Bischofs in sein Amt vonseiten des Herrschers (*Kocel' knjaz' postavi Mefed'ja episkopa v Panii na stolě*

43 *PSRL*, IX, 232.
44 *PSRL*, IX, 234.
45 *PSRL*, I, 353.
46 *PSRL*, I, 447.
47 Levčenko, *Očerki*, 505.
48 *PSRL*, I, 447.
49 O. V. Tvorogov, *Leksičeskij sostav »Povesti vremennyx let' «: (Slovoukazateli i častotnyj slovnik* (Kiev, 1984), 112.

Ondronika apostola: Lavr. let. s.a. 898 = *PSRL*, I, 28, f. 9^v = *PSRL*, IX, 17);

(b) Nominierung eines Bischofs bzw. Metropoliten durch den Herrscher (*Jaroslav. . . episkopa postavi Židjatu*: ibid. s.a. 1036 = *PSRL*, I, 150, f. 51^r = *PSRL*, IX, 80); *postavi Jaroslav Lariona mitropolitom. . . i postavi i mitropolitom v svjatěi Sof'i*: ibid. s.a. 1051 = *PSRL*, I, 155–156, f. 52^v = 1. Novg. let., ed. Nasonov, 16);

(c) Ernennung zum Igumen vonseiten der Klostergemeinschaft (*postaviša Feodos'ja igumenom*: ibid. s.a. 1051 = *PSRL*, I, 159, f. 54^r);

(d) Ernennung zum Igumen vonseiten des vorigen Amtsinhabers[50] (*poim s soboju Klimenta jegože igumena postavi v svoje město*: ibid. s.a. 1091 = *PSRL*, I, 211, f. 70^v);

(e) Einsetzung von Bischöfen vonseiten des Metropoliten (*postavi mitropolit episkopa Amfilofija Volodimerju mesjacja avgusta v 27 den'*: ibid. s.a. 1105 = *PSRL*, I, 280, f. 94^v = *PSRL*, XXV, 26 und 388);

(f) Einsetzung des Bischofs und wahrscheinlich Weihe durch mehrere Amtsbrüder (*postaviša episkopa Danila Gurgevu a Bělugorodu Nikitu*: Hyp. let. s.a. 1113 = *PSRL*, II, 277, f. 103^r)

Eine Stelle in der Hypatios-Chronik unter dem Jahre 1112 verdeutlicht, wie vielschichtig der Begriff *postaviti* ist: Als dieses Jahr zu Ende ging,[51] wurde Feoktist, der Igumen des Höhlen-Klosters, zum Bischof von Černihiv am 12. Januar ernannt (*postaviša*) und am 19. inthronisiert (*posažen na stolě*). . . und die Mitbrüder blieben ohne Igumen. Nachdem die ganze Bruderschaft zusammengetroffen war, nominierten (*narekoša*) sie unter sich als Igumen den Priester Proxor und teilten dies dem Metropoliten und dem Fürsten Svjatopolk mit. Der Fürst ersuchte dann den Metropoliten, ihn mit Freude als Igumen einzusetzen (*postaviti*). Und er wurde eingesetzt (*postavlen byst'*) am 9. Februar. . . .[52]

Gegen eine Weihe (χειροτονία = *postavlenie*) in Kiev spricht auch die Tatsache, daß Kyrillos I. das in der Chronistik aus der Kiever Rus' neben dem Namen des Metropoliten selten verwendete Epitheton *blaženyi* trägt. Man vergleiche hier z.B. auch die Nennung des Metropoliten Johannes II.

50 Pl. De Meester, *De monachico statu iuxta disciplinam byzantinam* (Vatikan, 1942), § 33.1; Ad. Hergès, »Election et déposition des higoumènes au 12e siècle«, *Échos d'Orient* 3 (1899–1900): 40–49.

51 Vgl. dazu Berežkov, *Xronologija*, 45 (ul'tramartovskij god) und 309, Anm. 7.

52 *PSRL*, II, 274, f. 102^r = *PVL*, I, 398.

Prodromos (Lavr. let. s.a. 1086).[53] Als Ehrentitel für einen Hierarchen des Ranges eines Metropoliten begegnet der Ausdruck μακάριος bzw. im Superlativ μακαριώτατος in der Anrede einer Antwort Patriarch Germanos' II. von Konstantinopel an Demetrios Chomatenos, Erzbischof von Bulgarien, aus dem Jahre 1226–1229.[54] Ein solcher Ehrentitel konnte einem Metropoliten sowie auch einem Bischof, wie Mitrofan von Vladimir (vom Metropolit Kyrill 1227 eingesetzt, mit dem Ehrentitel *blaženyj* genannt),[55] erst nach seiner Weihe (χειροτονία) zuerkannt werden, so daß kein Zweifel mehr bestehen kann, daß Kyrillos I.—wie alle anderen griechischen Metropoliten von Kiev—,an den der Patriarch Germanos II. im Mai 1228 ein in der Originalsprache verlorenes Synodalschreiben richtete,[56] erst nach der Weihe in Nikaia nach Kiev geschickt wurde.

In diesem Zusammenhang ist es am Platze, auf die Umstände der Nominierung und Einsetzung jener zwei Kiever Metropoliten, die angeblich ohne Bestätigung des Konstantinopler Patriarchats durch die Macht des Kiever Fürsten eingesetzt wurden, nämlich Ilarion unter Jaroslav Mudryj 1051 und Klim Smoljatič unter Izjaslav Mstislavič 1147, hinzuweisen.[57] Das Augenmerk gilt vielmehr der kanonischen Begründung des Aktes und der späteren Legitimation mit kanonischen Argumenten, als die Fälle längst beigelegt waren. Da die Quellenlage anders ausfällt, zumal Ilarion eine Apologie verfaßte, empfiehlt es sich, die zwei Fälle zunächst getrennt zu betrachten.

Es ist das Verdienst Ludolf Müllers an diesem Kongreß mit der genügenden Deutlichkeit nachgewiesen zu haben, daß die Nachschrift des Ilarion zu seinem Glaubensbekenntnis[58] jeden angeblichen Willkürakt des Jaroslav bzw. jede einseitige Entscheidung der Synode der Bischöfe der Rus' bei der Einsetzung des Ilarion ausschließt. Dort heißt es aus dem Munde des Betroffenen: Ich durch die Gnade des menschenliebenden Gottes Priestermönch Ilarion, durch seine Bestimmung (*izvolenie* = προαίρεσις) wurde ich durch die gottehrenden Bischöfe konsekriert (*svjaščen bych* = χειροτονία), und in der großen und von Gott beschützten Stadt Kiev wurde ich eingesetzt (*nastolovan* = ἐγκαθίδρυσις). Der Begriff izvolenie weist eindeutig auf die kanonische πρόβλησις bzw. προβίβασις

[53] *PSRL*, I, 206.
[54] Laurent, *Regestes*, Nr. 1244.
[55] *PSRL*, XXV, 122, 126.
[56] Laurent, *Regestes*, Nr. 1247.
[57] Dazu vgl. u.a. Ch. Hannick, »Das russich-orthodoxe Christentum und der Einfluß von Byzanz bis zum Tatarensturm«, in: *Das heilige Rußland—1000 Jahre russisch-orthodoxe Kirche* (Freiburg-Basel-Wien, 1987), 18f., 21.
[58] Ediert bei L. Müller, *Des Metropoliten Ilarion Lobrede auf Vladimir den Heiligen und Glaubensbekenntnis* (Slavistische Studienbücher, 2) (Wiesbaden, 1962), 143 sowie bie Sokolov, *Russkij arxierej*, 41.

hin und schließt eine Machtentscheidung des Jaroslav aus. Durch falsche Interpunktion und Zusammenziehung der Partizipia *svjaščen* und *nastolovan* wurde dieser Text oft mißverstanden.[59]

Bereits 1972[60] schlug L. Müller gegen die bisherige Meinung v.a. sowjetischer[61] sowie anderer namhafter Forscher vor,[62] in der Erhebung des Ilarion, wegen des Schweigens der Quellen einen ganz normalen Vorgang zu erkennen, trotz der Unterschiede im Wortlaut der Chronikberichte zu anderen Metropoliteneinsetzungen. Neben den gelegentlich ausführlichen Berichten über mehr als 10 der 23 Metropoliten der Kiever Rus' fällt der Bericht im Falle des Ilarions in der Tat knapp aus: »Jaroslav setzte Ilarion, einen Rusin, als Metropoliten in der Heiligen Sophia ein, nachdem er die Bischöfe zusammengerufen hatte« (Lavr. let., Hyp. let. und 1. Novg. Chronik s.a. 1051).[63] Die Nikon-Chronik[64] verdeutlicht und begründet den Akt, indem auf Kriege und Unstimmigkeiten (*nestroenija* = ἀκαταστασία)[65] mit den Griechen hingewiesen wird, sowie auf Can. 1. Apost.[66] Es besteht kein Zweifel, daß dieser Kanon als Begründung für die angebliche Übergehung der Patriarchatsvorrechte galt, zumal Jaroslav selbst im Prooimion seines »Ustav« die zusammen mit Ilarion hergestellte Übertragung des griechischen Nomokanon ausdrücklich vermerkt.[67] Hinweise auf andere, in unserem Zusammenhang nicht genannte Kanones

[59] So z.B. bei A. Poppe, »La tentative de réforme ecclésiastique en Russie au milieu du XI^{e} siècle«, *Acta Poloniae Historica* 25 (1972): 6f. (Nachdruck in: Ders., *The Rise of Christian Russia* (London, 1982).

[60] L. Müller, »Staat und Kirche in der Rus' im 11. Jh. Bemerkungen zu einem Buch von Andrzej Poppe«, *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 20 (1972): 243f., dazu Podskalsky, *Christentum und theologische Literatur*, 29.

[61] Vgl. zuletzt A. S. Xorošev, *Političeskaja istorija russkoj kanonizacii (XI–XVI vv.)* (Moskva, 1986), 18.

[62] Poppe, *Państwo i kościół*, 131–151.

[63] *PSRL*, I, 155; *PSRL*, II, 143; I Novg. Let. ed. Nasonov, 16.

[64] *PSRL*, IX, 83: Wortlaut bei Hannick, »Das russisch-orthodoxe Christentum«, 18.

[65] Siehe dazu Ch. Hannick, »Die Metropoliten von Moskau und Kiev nach dem Konzil von Florenz im Lichte der Metropolitan-Urkunden«, in: *Sprache und Literatur Altrußlands*, hrsg. von G. Birkfellner (Studia slavica et baltica, 8) (Münster, 1987), 59, Anm. 32.

[66] Vgl. V. N. Beneševič, *Drevne-slavjanskaja kormčaja XIV titulov bez tolkovanij* I (St. Peterburg, 1906; ND Leipzig, 1974), 62.

[67] »Sgadal esm' s mitropolitom kievskim i vseja Rusi Ilarionom složixom grečeskyi nomokanon«, *Drevnerusskie knjažeskie ustavy XI–XV vv.*, ed. Ja. N. Ščapov (Moskva, 1976), 86; Beneševič, *Drevne-slav. kormčaja*, II, ed. Ja. N. Ščapov (Sofia, 1987), 286; kommentierte Übersetzung bei M. Szeftel–A. Eck, *Documents de droit public relatifs à la Russie médiévale* (Bruxelles, 1963), 251 f.

ließen sich leicht anführen, so etwa Ant. 19[68] oder I Nic. 4.[69] Alle diese Kanones beziehen sich jedoch auf die Weihe des Bischofs, nicht des Metropoliten. Lediglich can. Chalc. 28 vermerkt das Patriarchatsrecht bei der Metropoliteneinsetzung. Aus den Quellen aus der Kiever Rus' ist es aber nicht bezeugt, daß irgend jemand an dem Vorgehen von Jaroslav Anstoß nahm. Bei der Einsetzung des Klim Smoljatič neunzig Jahre später wird auf einen etwaigen Präzedenzfall mit Ilarion nicht zurückgegriffen.[70] Dadurch gewinnt die von L. Müller vorgeschlagene Deutung des Vorfalls noch an Wahrscheinlichkeit; ein Rückgriff auf die alte Ordnung, die allerdings im 11. Jh. nicht mehr üblich war, nämlich auf die im Jahre 546 unter Patriarch Menas erlassene Novelle 123 Kaisers Justinian,[71] erweist sich daher als unzutreffend.

Anders verhält es sich im Falle des Klim Smoljatič um die Mitte des 12. Jh. Wiederum stechen hier die Berichte der Kiever Chronik, in der Laurentius- und der Hypatios-Abschrift, durch ihren knappen Wortlaut hervor: »Izjaslav setzte als Metropolit den Mönch Klim, einen Rusin (aus der Rus' gebürtig), zusammen mit 6 Bischöfen[72] am 27. Juli ein« (Lav. let. s.a. 1147).[73] Die Hypatios-Chronik bezeugt die unterschiedlichen Auffassungen innerhalb des Kiever Episkopats. Demnach wandten sich zwei Bischöfe, Nifont von Novgorod und Manuil von Smolensk, gegen die in ihren Augen unkanonische Weihe und sagten:

> Es entspricht nicht dem Gesetz, daß Bischöfe einen Metropoliten ohne den Patriarchen weihen, sondern es muß der Patriarch den Metropoliten weihen, und weder ehren wir dich noch werden wir mit dir konzelebrieren, da du den Segen in der Heiligen Sophia vom Patriarchen nicht erhalten hast. Wenn du richtig handelst und den Segen vom Patriarchen empfängst, dann werden wir dich ehren. Wir haben vom Metropoliten Mixail [I. 1130–1145] als Vermächtnis erhalten, daß es uns nicht ziemt, ohne Metropoliten in der Heiligen Sophia zu zelebrieren.[74]

Als Begründung des Vorgehens der anderen Bischöfe führte Onufrij von Černihiv an, die Synode der Rus' verfüge über die Reliquie des Kopfes des hl. Klim, genau wie die Griechen über die Hand des hl. Johannes (des

68 Beneševič, *Drevne-slav. kormčaja*, I, 261.
69 Beneševič, *Drevne-slav. kormčaja*, I, 84.
70 Sokolov, *Russkij arxierej*, 70.
71 Sokolov, *Russkij arxierej*, 1f., 46ff.
72 Nach der Hypatios-Chronik (*PSRL*, II, 341), die die Namen der Mitglieder des Kiever Episkopates anführt, waren es nur 5 Bischöfe, die dem Wunsch des Großfürsten folgten.
73 *PSRL*, I, 315.
74 *PSRL*, II, 341.

Täufers).[75] Die erste Novgoroder Chronik nimmt Partei für das Oberhaupt der Novgoroder Kirche und läßt erkennen, daß der Chronist den Standpunkt des Erzbischofs übernimmt:

Erzbischof Nifont von Novgorod ging in die Rus', da er von Izjaslav und Metropolit Klim geladen worden war; Izjaslav hatte ihn (= Klim) mit den Bischöfen des Gebietes der Rus' einsetzen lassen, ohne auf Konstantinopel zu achten. Und Nifont erwiderte: er übt nicht sein Amt kanonisch aus, weder wurde er von der Großen Synode gesegnet noch eingesetzt (ed. Nasonov, 28).[76]

Zur Begründung des unkanonischen Vorfalls weist Sokolov auf ein Interregnum im Konstantinopler Patriarchat in den Jahren 1147 und 1149 zwischen Kosmas II. Attikos und Nikolaos IV. Muzalon im Zusammenhang mit dem 2. Kreuzzug hin.[77] Die Sedisvakanz dauerte jedoch nur vom Ende Februar bis Dezember 1147. Allerdings wandte sich Patriarch Nikolaos IV. erst um 1149 an Nifont, um ihn in seiner Ablehnung des Klim Smoljatič zu bestärken.[78]

In engem Zusammenhang mit der Kanonizität der Amtsausübung des Metropoliten, die bisher auf der Grundlage der Einsetzung behandelt wurde, steht die Frage des Verlassens des Amtssitzes über einen längeren Zeitraum. Abgesehen von dem Fall des Metropoliten Maksim, der angeblich wegen der wiederholten Tatareneinfälle 1299 den Metropolitansitz in das Suzdaler Land verlegte,[79] trat nur im Falle des Metropoliten Konstantinos I. eine Lage ein, die kanonische Folgen nach sich zog. Der Nachfolger des Klim Smoljatič, Metropolit Konstantinos I. (1156–1158/59), der nach der Machtübernahme des Jurij Dolgorukij in Kiev (1155) auf dessen Ersuchen eingesetzt worden war, sah sich gezwungen, als Mstislav Izjaslavič am 22. Dezember 1158 Kiev für sich gewann und nachdem sein Beschützers gestorben war, seinen Amtssitz nach Černihiv zu verlegen.[80] Da Konstantinos nicht früher als Mitte 1159

75 Zur Geschichte dieser Reliquie vgl. J. Ebersolt, *Sanctuaires de Byzance* (Paris, 1921), 80f. sowie Ch. Hannick, »Theodoros Daphnopates als Hymnograph«, *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 35 (1985): 185.

76 Vgl. die Darlegung der Auseinandersetzung bei Sokolov, *Russkij arxierej*, 55ff.; Vodoff, *Naissance*, 118f.

77 Sokolov, *Russkij arxierej*, 59.

78 Grumel, *Regestes*, III, Nr. 1027; Sokolov *Russkij arxierej*, 85.

79 *PSRL*, XXV, 392; vgl. dazu Sokolov, *Russkij arxierej*, 193ff.; Ju. A. Limonov, *Letopisanie Vladimiro-Suzdal'skoj Rusi* (Leningrad, 1967), 110; A. S. Xorošev, *Političeskaja istorija russkoj kanonizacii (XI–XVI vv.)* (Moskva, 1986), 92; N. S. Borisov, *Russkaja cerkov' v političeskoj bor'be XIV–XV vv.* (Moskva, 1986), 36f.

80 Ausführliche Darstellung der Auseinandersetzungen um die Person des Konstantinos in *PSRL*, XXV, 66; Vodoff, *Naissance*, 120 spricht vom Tode des Konstantinos »dans des conditions assez particulières«.

verstarb,[81] blieb er also mindestens 6 Monate von seinem Metropolitansitz fern und handelte somit gegen die Kanones, die bei Abwesenheit des Bischofs von seinem Bischofssitz über sechs Monate die Amtsenthebung desselben und die Einsetzung eines Nachfolgers rechtfertigen,[82] während die frühere Legislation eine Abwesenheit noch bis zu einem Jahr zuließ.[83] Die Fülle der diesbezüglichen Kanones (Apost. 14; Ankyra 18; Ant. 3, 13, 22; usw.) zeigt, wie ernst diese Bestimmung genommen wurde. Das Konzil in Trullo can. 18 nennt als einzige Begründung eines zeitweiligen Verlassens des Amtssitzes Barbareneinfälle. Noch vor dem Tode des Metropoliten Konstantinos übernahm der Fürst von Smolensk, Rostislav Mstislavič, die Herrschaft in Kiev (12. April 1159) und versuchte unter Hinweis auf die kanonische Weihe des Konstantinos, durch den Patriarchen und die Heilige Synode von Konstantinopel, ihn wieder in sein Amt einsetzen zu lassen.[84] Die Gegenpartei der Anhänger des Klim Smoljatič verhinderte es, vermutlich unter Hinweis auf die durch die Abwesenheit vom Amtssitz eingetretene Amtsenthebung, so daß Rostislav sich mit der Bitte um Entsendung eines neuen Metropoliten an das Patriarchat wandte. Ohne die Geltendmachung dieses unkanonischen Zustandes vonseiten der Anhänger des Klim Smoljatič ist es nicht erklärbar, warum Rostislav die Rückkehr des Metropoliten Konstantinos aus Černihiv nicht erwirken konnte. Als Eingeständnis des schuldhaften Verhaltens gilt die Äußerung des letzten Willens des Konstantinos, man solle seinen Leichnam vor die Hunde werfen.[85] Der Kompilator der Nikon-Chronik versucht hier nochmals die Handlung wenigstens theologisch — kirchenrechtliche Argumente lassen sich nicht anführen — zu rechtfertigen und bietet eine Reihe von Zitaten aus dem Alten und dem Neuen Testament, die das Verlassen der Metropolitanstadt in ein günstigeres Licht rücken lassen: Mt 10, 23. 17.18.16; Prv 6, 5; Jac 1, 20; Rm 12, 19; Eccl 7, 9; Prv 11, 25; Sir 1, 22; Eph 4, 26.31; Mt 26, 41. Diese Reihe von biblischen Belegen wird durch zwei weitere Beispiele einer notwenigen und daher gerechtfertigten Flucht abgeschlossen: Wie Paulus in einem Korb über die Mauer der Stadt Damaskus floh (Act 9, 25), flohen auch Maria und Josef mit dem Kind

[81] *PSRL*, I, 349.
[82] Kanon 16 des photianischen Konzils von 861 (Grumel, *Reg.*, 468): J. B. Pitra, *Juris ecclesiastici Graecorum historia et monumenta*, II (Roma, 1868), 140.
[83] Photios, *Nomokanon*, VIII, 2: Beneševič, *Drevne-slav. kormčaja*, I, 22; Rhalles–Potles, I, 150f.; Coll. 93 capp. 3: Beneševič, *Drevne-slav. kormčaja*, I, 741f.
[84] *PSRL*, IX, 213.
[85] *PSRL*, XXV, 66.

Jesus vor dem Verfolger Herodes nach Ägypten (Mt 2, 13–15).[86]

Zu Konflikten zwischen Fürsten und Metropoliten kam es nicht selten anläßlich der Einsetzung eines Bischofs, wobei in dieser Frage mehrere Komponenten kirchenrechtlicher oder politischer Natur zu berücksichtigen sind. Zum ersten erfuhr das byzantinische Kirchenrecht in bezug auf die Nominierung und Einsetzung der Bischöfe im Laufe der Jahrhunderte eine Entwicklung, die dazu führte, daß Theorie und Praxis nicht immer in Einklang blieben. Weiters versuchten zivile Herrscher, ἄρχοντες, so oft es ging, ihre Vorstellungen durchzusetzen, wobei die Quellen nur darüber berichten, wenn der Metropolit sich bei seiner eventuellen Abwehr Erfolgschancen ausrechnen konnte. Außerdem muß im Falle der Kiever Rus' zwischen den Bistümern unterschiedlich gewertet werden: eine zivile Einmischung in der Wahl des Bischofs galt in Novgorod als nicht geschriebenes Recht, in anderen Städten nicht.

Da in der sowjetischen Forschung[87] des öfteren behauptet wird, die Novgoroder Volksversammlung *veče* verfüge seit 1156 über das Nominierungsrecht des Bischofs, erweist es sich als nötig, zunächst die Kompetenz des Metropoliten in dieser Angelegenheit anhand der Chronik zu überprüfen. Während die ersten Amtsinhaber des unter Volodimer errichteten Bischofssitzes von Novgorod im Dunkel bleiben,[88] liefern die Chroniken aus der Kiever Rus' erst für Luka Židjata Anhaltspunkte für eine Datierung und die Art der Einsetzung. Demnach wurde Luka vom Fürsten Jaroslav Volodimerovič 1036 nominiert und daraufhin eingesetzt (*postavi*), wobei die unerläßliche Mitwirkung des Metropoliten Theopemptos nicht erwähnt wird.[89] Im Jahre 1096 ragt aus der Liste der Novgoroder Bischöfe Nikita heraus, der gemäß der Nikon-Chronik vom Kiever Metropoliten eingesetzt wurde.[90] Unter dem Kiever Fürsten Mstislav Volodimerovič wurde von Metropoliten Mixail I. Bischof Nifont von Novgorod, ein Grieche, 1130 eingesetzt.[91] Metropolit Mixail auferlegte anläßlich des Feldzuges der Novgoroder gegen Suzdal' und Rostov 1135 eine Strafe (*zapreščenie* = ἐπιτίμιον) den Novgorodern, weshalb Fürst Vsevolod

86 *PSRL*, IX, 214.

87 Vgl. u.a. *Sovetskaja istoričeskaja ènciklopedija*, hrsg. von E. M. Žukov, 10 (Moskva, 1967): 268.

88 Podskalsky, *Christentum und theologische Literatur*, 31f.

89 *PSRL*, I, 150; *PSRL*, II, 138; *Troick. let.*, 134; *PSRL*, IX, 79; *PVL*, I, 101; II, 374.

90 *PSRL*, IX, 125.

91 *PSRL*, IX, 156; Priselkov, *Očerki*, 341ff.; O. V. Tvorogov, in: *Slovar' knižnikov*, 281f.

Mstislavič und Bischof Nifont von Novgorod sich in einem Bittschreiben (*čelobitie*) an den Metropoliten wandten.[92]

Obige Ausführungen haben gezeigt, wie oft Theorie und Praxis im Verhältnis zwischen ziviler und religiöser Gewalt in der Kiever Rus' auseinanderklaffen konnten. Um der historischen Wirklichkeit näher zu kommen, erweist es sich als notwendig, die Texte aus der Epoche der alten Rus' auf dem Hintergrund der byzantinischen Diktion vor allem in bezug auf Fachausdrücke des Kirchenrechtes und der Kirchenverwaltung zu lesen. Darüber hinaus darf nicht außer acht bleiben, daß viele byzantinische institutionelle Gedanken durch die griechischen Hierarchen in Kiev eine feste Verankerung in der Kiever Rus' erfuhren.

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92 *PSRL*, IX, 158.

Voprošanie Kirikovo: Remarques sur la vie d'une communauté paroissiale dans la Rus' kiévienne du XII^e siècle

GIANFRANCO GIRAUDO

Le christianisme, du moins dans les formes qu'il prend dans le haut Moyen Age, est une doctrine totalisante,[1] nous aimerions dire «totalitaire», si nous ne craignions pas que ce terme n'engendre des malentendus à cause de l'usage trop fréquent et vague qu'on en fait de nos jours. La doctrine chrétienne embrasse non seulement tous les aspects de la vie politique, mais aussi ceux de la vie sociale et familiale et cela pour chaque individu. Plusieurs de ces aspects sont classés de nos jours dans la catégorie du *behaviour*, ou comportement, et les différentes églises chrétiennes ont depuis longtemps cessé de les considérer comme des «péches», tandis que les codifications du droit ont cessé de voir en eux des «délits».[2] Tant le droit civil que le droit canon des pays qu'on appelle conventionnellement «chrétiens» considèrent comme juridiquement insignifiants nombre d'actes de la vie quotidienne, qui, au contraire, étaient minutieusement réglementés dans ces mêmes pays, quand ils étaient totalement chrétiens. C'est moins le sentiment de la divinité qu'ont perdu les Européens au cours des siècles que le sentiment de la sacralité, du cérémonial, qui était justement l'élément «totalitaire», c'est-à-dire, unifiant de la société médiévale, tant dans la vie

[1] Nous empruntons volontiers à Günther Stöckl son expression «die massive christlich-politische Totalität des Mittelalters»; voir G. Stöckl, *Der russische Staat in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit* (Wiesbaden, 1981), p. 51. A propos de Charlemagne et de ses successeurs, il parle d'un «Traum vom 'Reich' als einem christlichen Totalstaat», *ibid.*, p. 39. Sur un plan moins abstrait, il est vrai aussi que «non capiremo nulla della cultura medievale se ci limiteremo a pensare che regnavano allora l'ignoranza e l'oscurantismo poiché tutti credevano in Dio; senza quest' 'ipotesi', che per l'uomo del Medioevo non era affatto un 'ipotesi' ma un postulato, l'esigenza più profonda in tutta la sua visione del mondo e il suo senso morale, egli era incapace di spiegare il mondo e di orientarvisi. Ciò che è sbagliato dal nostro punto di vista, non lo era per gli uomini del Medioevo, costituiva anzi la realtà suprema intorno alla quale si raggruppava ogni loro concezione e idea, alla quale erano correlati tutti i loro valori culturali e sociali» cf. A. Ja. Gurevič, *Le categorie della cultura medievale* (Torino, 1983), p. 5.

[2] Ce sont surtout les chrétiens d'Orient qui sont censés confondre les notions de «droit canon» et de «droit civil»; cf. *Iuris ecclesiastici Graecorum historia et monumenta*, éd. I. B. Pitra, II (Rome, 1868), p. 433; V. V. Esipov, *Grex i prestuplenie...*, (Saint-Pétersbourg, 1894), pp. 20–22, 101–102.

publique que dans la vie privée, tant en Orient qu'en Occident, et en Orient, dans la Rus' en particulier, plus longtemps qu'en Occident. En ce qui concerne ces microcosmes que représentent les communautés les plus petites de la société médiévale, A. Ja. Gurevič a raison, lorsqu'il dit que c'était dans la paroisse que se concentrait la vie des hommes et que le curé exerçait sur eux un contrôle sévère.[3] Mais le pasteur, aussi bien que ses ouailles, vivaient une vie spirituelle fort complexe: l'église du village et son parvis étaient les seuls points de rencontre des fidèles entre eux et avec leur clergé; l'Église officielle imposait aux uns et autres, de haut et de loin, sa vision du monde et ses règles de vie quotidienne. Toute la communauté du village croyait en Dieu et avait oublié les idoles et les rites païens, puisque toutes les Églises officielles avaient vite fait, même (ou surtout) dans les pays de christianisation récente, de détruire tous les simulacres des religions précédentes; en outre, elles avaient classé toute manifestation de la vie humaine concurrentielle, ou simplement non conforme, à leur idéologie, sous l'étiquette de «païenne», ou «diabolique» (les deux termes sont souvent synonymes), ce qui signifiait «péché mortel». Mais les bons paysans, pieux faute d'alternative, se trouvent parfois être païens sans le savoir,[4] et leur curé, paysan lui aussi par son origine, a une rude tâche à accomplir, celle d'être le médiateur entre une morale ascétique irréalisable et la réalité quotidienne de la transgression inévitable, ou bien, comme on

[3] A. Ja. Gurevič, *Contadini e santi, Problemi della cultura popolare nel Medioevo* (Turin, 1986), pp. 126–27.

[4] V. E. Golubinskij, *Istorija russkoj cerkvi*, I/1 (Moscou, 1904), pp. 837–39, 849–57. Si, pour Golubinskij, la majorité des habitants de la Rus' kiévienne, représentée par les couches inférieures de la société, s'est tenue longtemps à la «double foi» (*dvoeverie*) par ignorance et, surtout, par manque de maîtres, l'aristocratie seule prit le christianisme «v podlinnom značenii edinoj very istinnoj, imevšej ne stat' rjadom s jazyčestvom, a zamenit' ego» [dans sa signification authentique de foi unique et vraie, qui devait non pas se trouver à côté du paganisme, mais le remplacer]; *ibid.*, p. 852; cf. aussi pp. 858, 880–81. Une manière tout à fait différente d'étudier la coexistence, dans la Rus', du christianisme avec le paganisme (c'est-à-dire la magie, mais il ne faudrait pas oublier la sexualité, cf. Gurevič, *Contadini*, pp. 149–51), nous est suggérée par Ju. Lotman et B. Uspenskij, «Novye aspekty izučenija kul'tury drevnej Rusi», *Voprosy literatury*, XXI (1977), 3, p. 155: «Srednevekovyj čelovek mog obespečivat' sebe uspex, bezopasnost' i udaču dvumja sposobami: molitvoj, obraščeniem k zastupničestvu ugodnikov i cerkvi, s odnoj storony, i sistemoj 'černyx' dejstvij: koldovstvom, oberegami, zagovorami, s drugoj. Oba èti sposoby naxodilis' v otnošenii dopolnitel'nosti i povtorjali drug druga kak dve zerkal'no simmetričeskie sistemy» [L'homme médiéval avait deux moyens pour s'assurer succès, tranquillité et chance: par la prière, par le recours à l'intercession des Saints et de l'Église; ou bien par la magie noire—sortilèges, conjurations, formules magiques. Ces deux moyens étaient complémentaires, se répétaient l'un l'autre comme deux systèmes spéculaires]. En général, sur les rapports entre christianisation et survie des cultes païens dans la Rus', cf. N. M. Gal'kovskij, *Bor'ba xristianstva s ostatkami jazyčestva v drevnej Rusi* (Moscou, 1913); E. V. Aničkov, *Jazyčestvo i drevnjaja Rus'* (Saint-Pétersbourg, 1914); B. A. Rybakov, *Jazyčestvo drevnej Rusi* (Moscou, 1987).

disait en ce temps-là, du «péché», conséquence non moins inévitable de la faute d'Adam.

D'ailleurs, tout système de valeurs non seulement connaît des *dopustimye anomalii*, selon l'expression de Lotman et Uspenskij,[5] mais suppose aussi l'existence d'un système d'anti-valeurs, qui n'est que l'*utverždenie putem otricanija* de la vision du monde et des normes de comportement d'une culture donnée.[6] Si l'on traduit cela dans la langue du christianisme du Moyen Age, on dira respectivement «vie chrétienne», «péché véniel», «péché mortel». Tout cela constitue encore *nekotoryj celostnyj kul'turno-ideologičeskij kosmos*.[7]

C'est dans un contexte de ce type qu'un curé quelconque d'un village quelconque du *Hinterland* novgorodien[8] doit exercer sa mission pastorale, dans un pays qui a été christianisé tout à fait récemment et qui n'est pas homogène ethniquement. Les problèmes auxquels il doit faire face le plus souvent, outre celui de faire respecter nombre de normes rituelles, sont ceux de la manifestation d'une sexualité qui ne connaît pas encore le péché[9] et

[5] Lotman et Uspenskij, «Novye aspekty», p. 150.

[6] Lotman et Uspenskij, «Novye aspekty», p. 155. Il ne faut pas, cependant, oublier que si au Moyen Age, comme le prétend Gurevič, «invece di penetrare nella varietà dei fenomeni, si parte dall'irreconciliabile contrapposizione tra il sublime e l'infimo, tra l'alto e il basso, collocando ai poli opposti il bene assoluto ed il male assoluto», on croyait aussi, consciemment ou non, que l'existence du mal (le corps, le péché, le *saeculum*) est une condition nécessaire pour l'existence du bien (l'esprit, l'état de grâce, la vie éternelle), d'où la tentation de tomber dans des hérésies dualistes (manichéisme, bogomilisme).

[7] Lotman et Uspenskij, «Novye aspekty», p. 151.

[8] S'il est probable que Kirik soit un *popin černec* (ἱερομόναχος) résidant dans la cour épiscopale de Novgorod (cf. L. K. Goetz, *Kirchenrechtliche und kulturgeschichtliche Denkmäler Altrusslands* [Stuttgart, 1905], pp. 176–77) et que nous ne disposions que de très peu de renseignements sur l'organisation diocésaine (cf. A. Poppe, «L'organisation diocésaine de la Russie aux XI^e^–XII^e^ siècles», *Byzantion*, XL [1970], pp. 165–217) et d'aucun sur l'organisation des paroisses urbaines et rurales, il nous semble que la plupart des questions de Kirik, aussi bien que quelques réponses de Nifont, qui justifient certaines violations des normes généralement acceptées par l'état de nécessité, visent une réalité qui semble être moins celle de la ville de Novgorod que celle des paroisses rurales. Citons deux exemples particulièrement significatifs: en *K* 19 on permet à un prêtre de faire des prières sur sa femme, ce qui est interdit en principe «dans la terre grecque (*po vsej gr'čestěj zemli i oblasti*)», s'il n'y a pas d'autres prêtres dans les environs, ce qui n'est certes pas le cas dans une paroisse urbaine; en *K* 89, on permet à des *smerdy* vivant dans des villages (*po selom*) de manger certaines viandes impures. Encore, en *I* 16, on interdit aux parents d'emmener leurs enfants chez les «prêtres varègues». Soit qu'il s'agisse de catholiques allemands, comme le prétend L. K. Goetz (v. *infra*, n. 63), ou de normands mi-orthodoxes, il est évident qu'on parle ici de villageois qui se rendent en ville pour y rencontrer des prêtres qu'ils ne pourraient pas rencontrer dans leurs villages.

[9] L'idée de cette innocence d'avant le péché originel (ou, peut-être, d'avant le christianisme) est bien exprimée dans *Les fleurs du mal*: «Alors l'homme et la femme en leur agilité / jouissaient sans mensonge et sans anxiété»; cf. Ch. Baudelaire, *Oeuvres*, texte établi et annoté par Y.-G. Le Dantec (Paris, 1951), p. 85.

du recours à la magie en alternative à la prière. Ce n'est pas par hasard que Volodimer Svjatoslavič met à l'épreuve le Dieu des chrétiens et n'accepte le baptême qu'après avoir constaté qu'il est plus fort que ses idoles;[10] ce n'est pas par hasard non plus que ce même Volodimer, tout de suite après le baptême, confie à l'Église la répression des forfaits découlant du libre exercice de la sexualité et des cultes préchrétiens.[11]

Le *Cerkovnyj ustav* de Volodimer Svjatoslavič[12] ne prévoit pas de peines, tandis que celui de Jaroslav Volodimerovič prévoit des peines pécuniaires, l'une perçue par le métropolite, l'autre en qualité de dédommagement, quand il s'agit de délits envers des personnes; en outre, le prince se réserve le droit de punir les coupables selon le droit coutumier (*a knjaz' kaznit*). De la même manière, le *Zakon sudnyj ljudem*[13] distingue entre les peines fixées par le droit civil (*po zakonu ljudskomu*) et par le droit canon (*po zakonu cerkovnomu*).[14]

Si l'Église admet les peines pécuniaires, elle n'accepte qu'en cas d'extrême nécessité les châtiments corporels, mais exclut la peine de mort et les mutilations: «*jaro kazniti na vъzbranenьe zlu, no ne do smerti ubivati, ni obrezati six telese: ne bo prinimaet sego cerkovnoe nakazanьe i učenьe*».[15]

10 *Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej*, éd. E. F. Karskij, I (Leningrad, 1926), p. 47.

11 Selon le *Cerkovnyj ustav* (dernière édition, *Drevnerusskie knjažeskie ustavy* [cité *infra DRKV*], Ja. N. Ščapov, éd. [Moscou, 1976], pp. 13–84), la juridiction du tribunal ecclésiastique s'étend sur plusieurs matières ayant rapport à la défense de la foi chrétienne et de la moralité publique et privée. Le fait que l'on confie à l'Église, en outre de la tutelle de l'institut du mariage, aussi la tâche de juger en matière de succession et le droit de percevoir les dîmes a des implications économiques et politiques qui ne concernent pas la présente étude.

12 Publié en *DRKV*, pp. 85–139.

13 D'après l'édition: *Zakon sudnyj ljudem kratkoj redakcii* (cité *infra ZSL*), M. N. Tixomirov, L. V. Milov, éds. (Moscou, 1961). Sur l'histoire de la diffusion de ce texte dans la Rus', par l'intermédiaire de la Bulgarie, cf. N. S. Suvorov, *Sledy zapadno-katoličeskogo prava v pamjatnikax drevnego russkogo prava* (Jaroslavl', 1888); O. Lotoc'kyj, *Ukrajins'ki džerela cerkovnoho prava* (Varsovie, 1931); M. Andreev, «Kăm văprosa za proisxoda i săštnostta na Zakonŭ sudnyj ljudimĭ», *Godišnik na Sofijskija universitet, juridičeski fakultet*, IL (1958), pp. 1–60; V. Ganev, *Zakonă sudnyj ljudimă, Pravno-istorični i pravno-analitični proučvanija* (Sofia, 1959).

14 Sur les procédures judiciaires et sur la distinction entre peines civiles et canoniques, cf. N. Suvorov, *O cerkovnyx nakazanijax. Opyt issledovanija po cerkovnomu pravu* (Saint-Pétersbourg, 1876); Ard. Popov, *Sud i nakazanija za prestuplenija protiv very i nravstvennosti* (Kazan', 1904).

15 «Kanoničeskie otvety mitropolita Ioanna II», *Russkaja istoričeskaja biblioteka* (cité *infra RIB*), VI, col. 4 [punir cruellement pour empêcher le mal, mais ne pas les (*scil.*: les magiciens) battre jusqu'à la mort, ni mutiler leurs corps, parce que l'enseignement et la doctrine de l'Église n'acceptent pas cela].

Le texte que nous allons examiner, connu sous le nom de *Voprošanie Kirikovo*,[16] ne prévoit que des peines canoniques mineures (exclusion temporaire de l'eucharistie, jeûnes, prosternations pour les laïcs; pour les religieux, la suspension *a divinis* pour des périodes assez brèves); il ignore tant les peines pécuniaires que les sanctions canoniques majeures comme l'excommunication (*otlučenie* et *anafema*);[17] en outre, il suppose la confession spontanée des péchés de la part des membres de la communauté et ne mentionne le devoir chrétien de dénoncer ses frères que dans le cas d'un prêtre qui aurait découvert des forfaits d'un autre prêtre.[18]

D'un point de vue extérieur, il est assez difficile de classer ce texte comme une de ces compilations de canons pénitentiaux qui ont circulé longtemps dans la Rus' (*voprosnye stat'i*)[19] parce qu'il n'en a pas le

[16] On cite d'après l'éd. d'A. Pavlov en *RIB*, VI, col. 21–62. Autres édd.: K. Kalajdovič, *Pamjatniki rossijskoj slovesnosti XII v.* (Moscou, 1821), pp. 167–203; S. Smirnov, *Materialy dlja istorii russkoj pokajannoj discipliny* (Moscou, 1912), pp. 1–27; Goetz, *Kirchenrechtliche*, pp. 209–342. En outre des question de Kirik (v. *supra*, n. 8), le texte comprend les questions de deux autres prêtres, nommé Savva et Il'ja, ainsi que les réponses de Nifont, évêque de Novgorod. Par la suite, les citations de ce texte seront accompagnés des indications de la lettre initiale du nom de l'un de ces prêtres (*K*, *S*, *I*) et du numéro de la question.

[17] Sur la signification de ces termes, cf. Suvorov, *O cerkovnyx nakazanijax*, pp. 148–57.

[18] *K* 66: «Prašax i sego: aže popa uvědaet nedostoině služašča, a budet' emu syn, čto podobaet emu tvoriti? A vsjak, reče, pop brat est' popu; zapreti emu pervoe i drugoe: 'ostanisja brate'; ašče tebe ne poslušaet, pověz' mně; ože ne pověsi, s nim' osudišisja» [Je lui demandai: si (un *pop*) apprend qu'un *pop* exerce son ministère indignement et qui'il soit son fils (spirituel), qu'est ce qu'il convient qu'il fasse? Chaque *pop*, dit-il, est frère du *pop*; interdis-le lui une première fois et une deuxième fois: arrête, mon frère; s'il ne t'obéit pas, communique-le-moi; si tu ne me le communiques pas , tu seras condamné avec lui]. Comme on le verra ci-dessous, Nifont se préoccupe souvent moins du secret de la confession que du danger que provoquerait la révélation de certains forfaits. Le contrôle que la communauté paroissiale exerçait sur ses membres (cf. Suvorov, *O cerkovnyx nakazanijax*, pp. 124–25) est inconnu dans le *Hinterland* novgorodien au XII^e siècle, où, évidemment, le christianisme ne s'était pas encore, selon l'expression de Suvorov, «enraciné assez profondement».

[19] Nous avons examiné dix-huit de ces questionnaires (parmi ceux qui sont publiés dans: A. Almazov, *Tajnaja ispoved' v pravoslavnoj vostočnoj cerkvi: Opyt vnešnej istorii*, III (Odessa, 1904), «Priloženija», pp. 144–86), datés des XIV^e–XVI^e siècles, en excluant ceux qui concernent la confession des grands personnages laïcs ou ecclésiastiques. Il est peut-être intéressant de faire une analyse quantitative de ces questionnaires et de les confronter avec le *Voprošanie Kirikovo* et des textes analogues occidentaux. La classification des articles du *Voprošanie Kirikovo* présente quelques difficultés, parce que certains traitent de matières n'ayant pas de rapports évidents entre elles et que, dans certains cas, nous avons dû, plus ou moins arbitrairement, établir quel était le thème prédominant dans un tel article. Toute réserve faite, le thème des sacrements et de la discipline de la vie ecclésiastique est le plus important (69–46%), suivi de: sexualité (33–22%) et vie des prêtres, y compris les rapports entre leur vie sexuelle et leurs fonctions (33–22%). En ce qui concerne les questionnaires édités par Almazov, dans dix cas sur dix-huit le thème de la sexualité a la majorité absolue—ou enregistre même un 100% (n. 11, XV^e siècle, femmes mariées); dans six cas—majorité relative, dans deux cas la majorité relative revient au thème: péchés contre les dogmes et la discipline de l'Église (n. 14, XVI^e siècles, femmes mariées et non—31%; n. 29, XV^e ou XVI^e siècle, prêtres et diacre—30%).

caractère systématique et qu'il y introduit des remarques d'«exégèse» et d'«histoire»[20] qui sont tout à fait étrangères à ce type de litérature.

Si l'on confronte le *Voprošanie Kirikovo* à d'autres ouvrages semblables, qui jouissaient d'un grand prestige dans la Rus' du XII^e^ siècle (et qui ont été insérés dans les différentes rédactions de la *Kormčaja Kniga*[21] tout comme notre texte), on remarquera qu'il n'a ni le style élevé des *Réponses*

Bien qu'il ne soit pas possible d'indiquer une ligne précise, la tendance prédominante semble celle d'une perte progressive d'intérêt pour les questions sexuelles, ou plutôt un regain d'intérêt pour les autres péchés (comme, d'ailleurs en Occident, v. Delumeau, *Le péché et la peur* [Paris, 1984], pp. 470–97), au fur et a mesure que l'on se rapproche de l'âge moderne et que les rapports sociaux sont de plus en plus minutieusement réglementés. Dans les livres pénitentiaux occidentaux jusqu'au IX^e^ siècle (cf. P. J. Payer, *Sex and the Penitentials: The Development of a Sexual Code, 550–1150* [Toronto, Buffalo, Londres, 1984], pp. 52–53) le nombre des *sexually related canons* varie de 24 à 45%, sans que cela ait un rapport évident avec le lieu d'origine ou l'époque de leur élaboration. Malheureusement, l'auteur ne nous offre pas la possibilité de confronter ces données avec celles relatives aux péchés autres que le sixième. Tandis que les livres pénitentiaux orthodoxes semblent n'avoir qu'assez peu intéressé les historiens: M. I. Gorčakov, *K istorii epitimijnyx nomokanonov (penitencialov) pravoslavnoj cerkvi* (Saint-Pétersbourg, 1874); A. Spaldák, «De Sacramento poenitentiae», in *Slavorum litterae theologicae*, II (1906), pp. 61–76, 195–232; III (1907), pp. 72–86, 332–68; IV (1908), pp. 49–71, 125–37; V (1909), pp. 31–51, 89–115, 205–45; VI (1910), pp. 161–83, 203–52; P. Silin, *Pravoslavnata ispoved' (Tajnstvoto na pokajanieto)* (Šumen, 1910); W. Służałek, *Nauka cerkwi Rosyjskiej o Sakramencie pokuty* (Kraków, 1912). La bibliographie sur leur homologues occidentaux (surtout du point de vue de l'histoire de l'éthique sexuelle) est copieuse; cf., par exemple, H. J. Schmitz, *Die Bußbücher und die Bußdiszipline der Kirche*, 12 vols. (Graz, 1958); réimpr. de l'éd. 1883–1892); P. Fournier, «Études sur les pénitentiels», *Revue d'Histoire et Littérature religieuses*, VI (1901), pp. 289–317; V (1902), pp. 59–70, 121-27; VIII (1903), pp. 528–53; IX (1904), pp. 97–103; P. Browe, *Beiträge zur Sexualethik des Mittelalters* (Breslau, 1932); J. A. Jungmann, *Die lateinischen Bußriten in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (Innsbruck, 1932); J. T. Mcneill et M. H. Gamer, *Medieval Handbooks of Penance* (New York, 1938); R. C. Mortimer, *The Origin of Private Penance in the Western Church* (Oxford, 1939); J.-C. Sagne, *Péché, culpabilité, pénitence* (Paris, 1971); *Famille et parenté dans l'Occident médiéval*, G. Duby et J. Le Goff, éds. (Rome, 1977); *L'érotisme au Moyen Age: Études présentées au III^e^ Colloque de l'Institut d'études médiévales*, B. Roy, éd. (Montréal 1977); C. Vogel, *Les «Libri penitentiales»* (Turnhout, 1978).

[20] Dans *K* 23, il explique que le *zerno gorjuščnoe* de Lc 17, 6 (ou bien Mt 13, 31; Mc 4, 30; Lc 13, 19: κόκκος σινάπεως) n'est qu'un grain de moutarde, ce qui serait tout à fait superflu dans tout milieu autre que celui d'un village; dans *K* 37, il affirme que la croix de la Crucifixion n'est jamais arrivée à Constantinople, ce qui est curieux, puisque, à peu près à la même époque, Ilarion écrit qu'elle avait été emportée par Constantin le Grand de Jérusalem à Constantinople et de là à Kiev par Volodimer Svjatoslavič; cf. A. M. Moldovan, «*Slovo o zakone i blagodati*» *Ilariona* (Kiev, 1984), p. 126.

[21] Sur l'histoire de la diffusion du *Nomokanon* dans la Rus', cf. N. V. Kalačov, *O značenii Kormčej v sisteme drevnerusskogo prava* (Moscou, 1850); A. Pavlov, *Slavjano-russkij Nomokanon* (Kazan', 1869); I. I. Sreznevskij, *Obozrenie drevnix russkix spiskov Kormčej knigi*, (Saint-Pétersbourg, 1897); V. N. Beneševič, *Drevne-slavjanskaja kormčaja XIV titulov bez tolkovanij* (Saint-Petersbourg, 1906); I. Žužek, *Kormčaja Kniga: Studies on the Chief Code of Russian Canon Law* (Rome, 1964).

canoniques du métropolite Ioann II, ni la rigidité des *Zapovedi* du métropolite Georgij.[22]

Si l'on considère l'attitude générale des réponses de l'évêque Nifont, on remarquera qu'il applique jusqu'à ses conséquences extrêmes le principe basilien, selon lequel la pénitence doit être proportionnée moins à la gravité de la faute qu'à la capacité du pénitent à la supporter;[23] ou bien, peut-être Nifont s'en tient-il à la formulation moins abstraite et plus condescendante de Jean le Jeûneur,[24] qu'il cite volontiers. Son attitude se distingue nettement de celle du métropolite Ioann II, le *voinstvujuščij cerkovnik*, qui est sûr de son bon droit de convertir tous ses sujets, de les obliger à observer les préceptes de l'Église par n'importe quel moyen et de considérer qui-

22 On cite d'après Golubinskij, *Istorija*, I/1, pp. 530–51, citées par la suite *Zap G.* Autres édd.: N. Tixonravov, *Pamjatniki otrečennoj russkoj literatury*, II (Moscou, 1863), pp. 289–310; S. Smirnov, *Materialy*, pp. 112–32. L'attribution de ce texte au métropolite Georgij a été périodiquement proposée et repoussée; v. la bibliographie relative en F. J. Thomson, «The Ascription of the Penitential *Zapovědi svjatyx otec' k ispovědajuščemsja synom i d''ščerem* to Metropolitan George of Kiev», *Russia Mediaevalis*, IV (1979), pp. 5–15. Ce dernier, après avoir constaté (p. 9) que «the ascription of the penitential to metropolitan George is based upon the theory that it was several times quoted by Ciricus [*sic!*...] in his canonical questions addressed to his bishop, Nephon (Nifont) of Novgorod» et que Kirik pouvrait avoir utilisé comme sources deux autres textes contenant les mêmes normes (pp. 10–15), bien qu'il reconnaisse fort correctement que (p. 15, n. 1) «by their very nature the contents of the penitentials are very fluid and permit of almost random additions and omissions» et que «it cannot be shown that Cirycus [*sic!*] was acquainted with these two penitentials in the precise form in which they have survived», arrive à la curieuse conclusion que Nifont n'aurait pu «reject some of its precepts» (ou bien traiter le texte en livre à brûler), s'il «enjoyed the metropolitan's personal authority» (p. 15). A ce propos, il faut observer qu'aucune église n'à jamais été si monolithique que F. Thomson semble le croire, tandis que c'est justement dans les systèmes «totalitaires» que le débat à l'intérieur de la caste dominante se déroule en toute liberté et admet toute forme d'attaque personnelle, pourvu que rien ne ternisse l'image de monolithisme à l'extérieur. Or, les livres pénitentiaux étaient destinés moins que n'importe quel livre à être rendus publiques, et l'évêque de Novgorod, un des diocèses les plus prestigieux de la Rus' kiévienne (cf. Poppe, «L'organisation diocésaine», pp. 174–76) était mieux placé que n'importe quel prélat pour opposer son interprétation de la loi à celle de feu le métropolite Georgij, pour prestigieux qu'il fût.

23 Cf. V. N. Bux, *Confessione, penitenza e comunione nelle epistole canoniche di San Basilio* (Milan, 1983), pp. 7–11.

24 En se référant à Saint Basile, Jean le Jeûneur (Ἰωάννης ὁ Νηστευτής, Ivan Postnik) affirme: «Οὐ γάρ μόνον ὀφείλει διδόναι ὁ ἐπιτιμῶν τὸ ἐπιτίμιον, οὐδε ὃ πρέπει ἀπαιτεῖ, ἀλλ'ὃ φυλάξαι προαιρεῖται ὁ ἐπιτιμώμενος»; cf. *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Graeca* (cité *infra PG*), éd. J.-P. Migne, LXXXVIII, col. 1925. Ce n'est évidemment pas par hasard que Nifont se réfère à un auteur qui a été souvent accusé d'avoir montré une indulgence coupable envers les pécheurs (*PG*, LXXXVIII, col. 1887–1888). En général, sur Jean le Jeûneur et sur sa fortune dans la Rus' cf.: N. A. Zaozerskij, A. S. Xaxanov, *Nomokanon Ioanna Postnika v ego redakcijax: gruzinskoj, grečeskoj i slavjanskoj* (Moscou, 1902); A. I. Almazov, *Kanonij monaxa Ioanna: K voprosu o pervonačal'noj sud'be nomokanona Ioanna Postnika* (Odessa, 1907).

conque les renie comme ennemi du peuple chrétien.[25] L'attitude de Nifont se distingue aussi de celle que réflètent d'autres textes officiels de l'Église du siècle suivant. Dans une instruction à un prêtre qui vient d'être ordonné, on lit: «*A duxovnyě děti i uči, ispravljaj po měrě grěxov, zaprěščaj, epitimiju davaj, otlučaj; nepokornika, v grěxy vъpadajušča, ot cerkve otluči, ot sebja otženi, dondeže obratitьsja k tobě*»;[26] dans une instruction au clergé diocésain, on trouve un formulation plus souple: «*Razuměite, kako deržati děti duxovnyja: ni slabo, da ne lěnivy budut, ni žestoko, da ne otčajutьsja*».[27]

Avant d'examiner ce que contient le *Voprošanie Kirikovo*, il est peut-être intéressant de signaler ce qu'on n'y trouve pas: on remarquera l'absence de toute mention des dîmes et des aumônes,[28] de l'interdiction (pour les religieux et les femmes surtout) de prendre part à des banquets ou à toute autre activité de divertissement de groupe,[29] aussi bien que de

25 *RIB*, VI, col. 3–4: «Podobaet vsjakim obrazom napravljati i v''zbranjati tu zlobu nakazan'em i učen'em v''zvraščati na pravovernoe učen'e, i potružen'em, jako ne krest'janu suščju, da tem straxom ostanut'sja toja zloby i na veru blagoobraznuju priložat'sja; i ne priložajuščjusja, ne dajati im svjatago pričaščen'ja, no jako inoplemennika voistinu i vera našeja protivnika postaviti» [Il convient de les corriger de toutes les manières et d'empêcher ce mal et, par l'enseignement et la doctrine, de les faire revenir à la vraie foi, et par la contrainte, comme s'ils n'étaient pas des chrétiens, pour qu'ils abandonnent le mal grâce à la peur et s'adaptent à une foi honnête. Si quelqu'un reste (dans le péché) et ne s'adapte pas, on ne lui donnera pas la sainte eucharistie et on le considérera en vérité comme un étranger et un ennemi de notre foi]; cf. aussi col. 8.

26 *RIB*, VI, col. 107 [«Instruis tes fils spirituels et corrige-les à la mesure de leur péchés, interdis, donne leur des pénitences, excommunique-les; excommunique le récalcitrant tombé dans le péché, chasse-le de toi, jusqu'à ce qu'il revienne à toi»].

27 *RIB*, VI, col. 114 [«Entendez comment tenir vos fils spirituels—ne soyez pas faibles, pour qu'ils ne soient pas paresseux; ne soyez pas cruels, pour qu'ils ne tombent pas dans le désespoir].

28 Il est curieux d'observer qu'après son baptême Volodimer Svjatoslavič aurait fait construire l'église de la *Bogorodica Desjatinnaja* (Notre-Dame des Dîmes); cf. *DRKU*, pp. 18, 23, 30, 37, 43, 46, 54. Dans un *poučenie* pour les pénitents du XII^e^ siècle, on lit: «Desjatinu že ot vsego iměnija svoego, luč'šee ot'em, daž' Bogovi, s''kupi že ju, d'rži u sebe, da ot togo daeši sirotě, i vdovici, i stran'nu, i popom, i čern'cem, i ubogym» [Donne à Dieu la dixième partie de tout ton avoir, après en avoir pris la partie la meilleure; ramasse-la et garde-la près de toi pour en donner aux orphelins, aux veuves, aux pèlerins, aux prêtres, aux moines et aux pauvres]; cf. *RIB*, VI, col. 125.

29 Les religieux peuvent participer à un banquet jusqu'au moment où commencent les danses ou d'autres jeux; ils doivent alors se lever «da ne oskvernjat' čjuvstva videniem i slušan'em» [pour ne pas souiller leur sens par le vue et l'ouïe]; cf. *RIB*, VI, col. 8 (rép. can. de Ioann II, art. 16); cf. aussi *RIB*, VI, col. 104: «otxodi prežde viděnija» [éloigne-toi avant de voir], suggère l'évêque à un jeune prêtre. La participation aux banquets est dangereuse pour les laïcs aussi à cause de l'ivresse, qui provoque à son tour de lourdes conséquences: «nev''zderžan'e, nečistota, blud, xulenie, nečistoslov'e, da ne reku zloděјan'e, k sim i bolězn' tělesnaja» [incontinence, saleté, adultère, blasphème, obscénité, pour ne pas dire forfaits; et ajoutes-y la maladie du corps]; cf. *RIB*, VI, col. 16–17 (rép. can. de Ioann II, art. 29); cf. B. A. Romanov, *Ljudi i*

l'expression *strax i trepet*, crainte et tremblement, (φόβος καὶ τρόμος) qui mieux que toute autre indique l'attitude du pénitent, et du chrétien en général, envers Dieu et sa loi.[30]

En inspirant le *strax Božii*, le prêtre peut s'assurer que chaque membre de sa communauté s'en tienne au principe selon lequel, pour citer Golubinskij, «les obligations morales chrétiennes de l'homme envers lui-même sont avant tout: la sobriété et la pureté du corps ou virginité».[31] A propos de la *trezvost'*, on mentionne dans le *Voprošanie Kirikovo* son contraire, le *p'janstvo*, bien plus souvent que dans les sources dont s'inspirent ses règles. Plusieurs règles précisent les rituels de purification, mais cela ne concerne que le corps, tandis que le *cělomudrie* (terme que Nifont préfère à son correspondant physique *děvstvo*) est plutôt une qualité de l'esprit, celle de l'homme qui est en même temps *cělyj* «sain», «intact» et *mudryj* «σοφός».[32] Ajoutons plusieurs règles sur les devoirs «extérieurs» du prêtre et le sacrement de l'eucharistie, les rituels connexes et la qualité des personnes qui veulent le recevoir: évidemment Nifont ne considère ses Kirik, Savva et Il'ja que comme «ceux qui administrent les sacrements et célèbrent les offices pour le peuple».[33]

Ce n'est pas par hasard que le *Voprošanie Kirikovo* commence par une question concernant l'eucharistie et l'ivresse, les laïcs et les religieux: «*ašče čelovek bljuet pričaščavsja? Ašče, reče, ot objadenija, ili ot*

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nravy drevnej Rusi (Leningrad, 1947), pp. 218–20. Pour le métropolite Georgij le jeu et tout ce qui fait rire est interdit (*Zap G*, 114). Selon le *Cerkovnyj ustav* de Jaroslav Volodimerovič (art. 53, 3–4), la femme mariée qui se rend à un banquet ou à des *igrišča* sans l'autorisation de son mari est répudiée. En général, sur la discipline du divorce dans l'église orthodoxe russe, cf.: J. Zhisman, *Das Eherecht der orientalischen Kirche* (Wien, 1864); M. Gorčakov, *O tajne supružestva* (Saint-Pétersbourg, 1880); V. I. Dobrovol'skij, *Brak i razvod: Očerk po russkomu bračnomu pravu* (Saint-Pétersbourg, 1903); M. M. Abraškevič, «Preljubodejanie s točki zrenija ugolovnogo prava: Istoriko-dogmatičeskoe issledovanie», *Zapiski Novorossijskogo universiteta*, XCVI (1904); S. P. Grigorovskij, *O razvode, Pričiny i posledstvija razvoda i brakorazvodnoe sudoproizvodstvo*... (Saint-Pétersbourg, 1911); L. Bressan, *Il divorzio nelle chiese orientali*... (Bologna, 1976).

30 Cf., par exemple, *Zap G* 13: «Vsjak bo čelovek strax Božij derži v serdci svoem» [Que tout homme garde dans son coeur la crainte de Dieu]; 159: «Iže ne klanjaetsja ikony Gospodnja i čestnyx vsex svjatyx s straxom i s ljuboviju, da budet prokljat» [Que celui qui ne vénère pas les icônes du Seigneur et de tous les vénérables saints avec crainte et amour soit maudit!]; *RIB*, VI, col. 113: «Ače li načneši s straxom i trepetom svoe spasenie s''devati» [Si tu commences à préparer ton salut avec crainte et tremblement].

31 Golubinskij, *Istorija*, I/1, p. 865: «xristianskie nravstvennye objazannosti čeloveka v otnošenii k samomu sebe prežde vsego sut': trezvost' i telesnaja čistota ili celomudrie».

32 Sur la signification du terme *mudryj*, cf. G. Giraudo, «L'eresia come 'filo rosso' nella storia della Rus' », dans *Studia slavica medievalia et humanistica Riccardo Picchio dicata*, I (Rome, 1986), p. 309; idem «Bayer et Tatiščev: l'histoire comme érudition ou comme service de l'État», *Europa orientalis*, V (1986), pp. 369–70.

33 Golubinskij, *Istorija*, I/1, p. 832: «soveršiteli dlja naroda tainstv i služb».

pьjanstva bljuet, 40 dnii opitemы [. . .]. Ašče li pop, da takože 40 dnii».[34] Kirik riposte qu'il existe *nekotoraja zapoved'* un peu plus sévère—son évêque ne daigne pas lui répondre; dans d'autres occasions, il montre peu de respect envers certaines autorités et répond par des boutades assez irrévérencieuses (*K* 74, *S* 6, *S* 20, *I* 7).

Si l'*incipit* est surprenant et ne correspond pas à l'usage de la Rus',[35] la suite ne révèle aucune tentative d'exposition systématique de la matière. Les deux groupes de thèmes qui accusent la plus grande fréquence (et qui, d'ailleurs, s'entrecroisent souvent) sont ceux qui ont rapport aux *popy* et aux sacrements (comme on l'a déjà dit, à cause du caractère spécifique du texte), et aux rapports sexuels permis et illicites (à cause du caractère général de la littérature pénitentielle). Parmi les autres questions, une concerne les exorcismes, quatre—la vie du clergé régulier, trois—les catécumènes, sept—le «paganisme» (cultes païens, *dvoeverie*, magie, philtres d'amour), huit—la pureté rituelle de la nourriture, six—l'homicide (y compris l'avortement), deux—les pèlerinages, deux—les vêtements, une seule—l'usure. Aux normes réglant la vie des *popy*, le *Voprošanie Kirikovo* consacre 33 articles, dont deux concernent les motifs qui peuvent empêcher l'ordination (*K* 80, 83), quatre—les cas où un prêtre pourrait être déposé (*K* 78, 81, 82, 84), sept—les rapports entre sa vie conjugale et son ministère (*K* 19, 20, 27, 29, 77, *S* 17), dix—les différents offices qu'il doit célébrer (*K* 41, 43, 62, *S* 1, 3, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13), cinq—ses devoirs envers ses

[34] *K* 1 [«Si un homme vomit après avoir communié? S'il vomit, dit-il (*scil.*: Nifont), pour cause d'indigestion ou pour cause d'ivresse, 40 jours de pénitence (. . .). S'il est un *pop*, également 40 jours».] Un cas particulier de ce genre est illustré en *I* 9: si un homme après avoir communié et avoir dormi, vomit ce jour même? Selon son habitude, Nifont répond sèchement: «Même pénitence».

[35] Tous les questionnaires que nous avons examinés commencent par la même question, empruntée, plus ou moins littéralement à Jean le Jeûneur (*PG*, LXXXVIII, col. 1893): Πῶς σου, κύριε ἀδελφὲ, ἢ ἀδελφὴ, ἐν πρώτοις ἡ παρθενία διεφθάρη; Δὶα πορνείας, ἢ διὰ νομίμου γάμου, ἢ διὰ μαλακίας, ἤ τινος τῶν παρὰ φύσιν; Συνθέμενον δὲ καὶ οὕτως καὶ οὕτως εἰπόντα, πάλιν ἐπερωτᾶν αὐτὸν, εἰς πόσας ἔπεσε γυναῖκας πρὸ τοῦ λαβεῖν γυναῖκα, καὶ εἰ ἄρα ἦσαν ἐξ αὐτῶν δοῦλαι, καὶ πόσαι χῆραι, καὶ πόσαι ὕπανδροι, καὶ εἰ ἄρα μονάστριαι, καὶ πόσαι καὶ εἰ ἄρα μεγαλόσχημοι [. . .]. Καὶ εἰ ἄρα πόρναι, κα`πόσαι, καὶ πόσαι παρθένοι». Les Réponses canoniques du métropolite Ioann II, au contraire, commencent par des normes visant la défense de la vie de l'enfant, même si cela implique une violation des normes généralement acceptées; les *Zapovedi* du métropolite Georgij commencent par une longue suite de normes concernant le jeûne et les *poklony*. Cela démontre que la culpabilisation du sexe n'est dans la Rus', malgré la christianisation (cf. Abraškevič, «Preljubodejanie», p. 504), qu'un phénomène assez tardif, même si elle prend, vraisemblablement dès le XVI^e^ siècle, un essor semblable à celui qu'elle a eu en Occident. A titre d'exemple, mentionnons un *Voprosnik* du XVI^e^ siècle, relatif aux femmes mariées (Almazov, *Tajnaja ispoved'*, III, p. 161), où le terme *blud* (πορνεία, *fornicatio*) est appliqué aux rapports interdits entre époux (au lieu de la formule courante *byti s mužem – blud tvoriti s mužem*) et même à la simple intention de pécher (au lieu de *s poxotiju – bluda radi*).

pénitents (*S* 1, 18, 21, *I* 12, 20), deux—ses rapports avec les autres prêtres (*K* 66, *I* 6), deux—l'entretien des vases sacrés (*K* 2, 64), un—le respect des livres saints (*K* 65).

Nifont se montre prêt à conférer le sacerdoce à n'importe qui, même à un fornicateur repenti (*K* 84), malgré les indications contraires du métropolite Georgij, [36] ou à un voleur (*K* 83).[37] D'ailleurs, un prêtre conserve sa charge s'il répudie sa femme pour une juste raison (si elle a forniqué avant le mariage ou, après celui-ci, commis un adultère) (*K* 81, 82) et même s'il a avec elle des rapports illicites (*K* 78)[38] ou s'il commet l'adultère une seule fois (*K* 84),[39] tandis que pour Jean le Jeûneur: «εἰς μίαν γὰρ καὶ μόνον ἐὰν πέσῃ, οὐκέτι ἔχει ἐξουσίαν ποτὲ ἱερατεύειν, ἐὰν ἔχει ἀγωνίσασθαι καὶ νεκροὺς ἐγεῖραι».[40] Bien plus, un prêtre peut avoir des rapports sexuels licites avec sa femme la nuit, si le lendemain il veut ou doit célébrer la messe (*K* 77), tandis que pour le métropolite Georgij, cette attitude relève du sacrilège, puisque «*ne podobaet Xrista v sebě deržašči plotьstěi strasti prilěpljatisja*».[41] Un cas particulier est représenté par *I* 20: si un homme veut prendre un autre confesseur, Nifont se soucie surtout d'éviter tout conflit dans la communauté. Il suggère que le pénitent se comporte avec son confesseur comme auparavant et qu'il se confesse secrètement auprès du nouveau, mais il l'admoneste: «*Eželi esi byl, jako i u togo, tako i u sego, něstь ti polьzy*».[42] Le désir de Nifont d'éviter toute occasion de scandale se manifeste aussi dans une omission: il ne mentionne

[36] Qui n'a pas commis de péché grave (sauf homicide, adultère, vol) peut être consacré (*Zap G* 61); un diacre qui a commis l'adultère ne peut être consacré prêtre (*Zap G* 17); le prêtre qui consacre un adultère diacre, pèche comme lui (*Zap G* 164); au contraire, si un païen converti n'a pas commis d'adultère ou d'autres péchés graves après le baptême, il peut être consacré (*Zap G* 82).

[37] En se référant à Jean le Jeûneur (*PG*, LXXXVIII, col. 1909: « Ἐὰν δέ τις ἔκλεψε κεφαλαιώδη κλέμματα, μὴ ἐρχέσθω εἰς ἱεροσύνην»), Nifont affirme qu'on ne peut consacrer celui qui a commis un vol sacrilège; ensuite, il suggère que, si les choses volées ne sont pas de grande valeur et que le fait n'ait pas provoqué de scandale, on peut quand-même le consacrer.

[38] De l'analyse des canons pénitentiaux de la Rus', on peut déduire par exclusion que les seuls actes sexuels permis aux époux sont ceux qui ont comme but la procréation, qui ne comportent pas de gaspillage de sperme ou de positions autres que celle dite *angelica*.

[39] Selon *Zap G* 154, si un prêtre commet l'adultère, il faut le «prestaviti ot činu [. . .], izrinuti otnjud' i vesti na pokajanie» [le relever de son rang (. . .), l'exclure complètement et le conduire au repentir].

[40] *PG*, LXXXVIII, col. 1907. Nifont commence par une citation littérale de Jean le Jeûneur (en y ajoutant la mention de l'ivresse comme une des causes possibles de l'adultère) et finit par dire que, si l'adultère s'est repenti, il peut être consacré sans l'imposition de pénitences ultérieures.

[41] *Zap G* 161 [«Il ne convient pas, en portant en soi le Christ, de s'adonner aux passions de la chair»]; cf. aussi *Zap G* 31.

[42] [«Si tu as été avec celui-ci comme tu as été avec celui-là, tu n'auras aucun avantage»].

jamais le devoir qu'a le clergé de veiller à ce qu'il n'y ait pas de relations de concubinage (*tajnyj*, ou *nevěnčal'nyj* ou *bezzakonnyj brak*) et de dénoncer les concubins devant tous.[43]

En ce qui concerne les sacrements, trois articles concernent le baptême (*K* 60, *S* 16, *I* 28), 16—la confession (ainsi que les pénitences et les normes relatives à l'abstinence rituelle: *K* 5, 7, 9, 25, 26, 36, 58, 59, 76, 95, 96, 97, *S* 20, *I* 10, 11, 19), 36—l'eucharistie (*K* 1, 13–18, 20, 26, 30–32, 45, 48, 50, 57–59, 61, 63, 68, 71, 75, 92, 98–100, *S* 2, 4–6, 12, 14, *I* 6, 9, 12), 14—les offices des malades (l'extrême-onction) et des défunts (*K* 3, 38, 44, 45, 51–56, 101, *S* 1, 15, 19).

Il est significatif que Nifont condamne par un seul mot (*K* 76: *neugodno* 'pas convenable') une pratique qui devait avoir une certaine diffusion à l'époque,[44] celle qui permettait aux riches de se libérer d'une pénitence en payant une somme pour la célébration de quelques messes. Il est d'accord avec Ioann II sur le jeûne des enfants malades, mais, tandis que le prestigieux prélat kiévien admet d'un ton solennel que «les Pères les pardonnent», l'évêque novgorodien (*S* 20) répond de sa manière rude («Ci luče umoriti?»)[45] et impose à la mère, au cas où l'enfant mourrait, une pénitence de trois à cinq ans. Nifont reconnaît la grande importance du *mutuum adjutorium* dans le mariage par rapport à la pénitence: un bon époux peut avoir sa pénitence reduite d'une façon significative (*K* 95): «*dostoit velmi voleju*»[46] que le mari aide sa femme (ou la femme son mari) à supporter la pénitence (*K* 96); il en vient à suggérer qu'un célibataire coupable d'homicide ne commence sa pénitence qu'après «avoir vieilli et s'être marié» (*I* 8). Si, selon le canon 4 du Concile de Chalcédoine,[47] celui qui n'a pas encore terminé sa pénitence ne peut recevoir l'eucharistie, Nifont pense qu'il est possible de suspendre la pénitence de celui qui part pour un long voyage (évidemment en terre infidèle) et de donner l'eucharistie à ceux qui doivent aller à la guerre ou qui tombent malades (*I* 11). En accord avec *Zap G* 84, Nifont affirme qu'un homme infecté peut communier «avec les sains», mais, tandis que le métropolite s'appuie sur l'autorité de Saint Basile et de Saint Grégoire de Nazianze, l'évêque ne perd pas l'occasion de

[43] Au contraire: *Zap G*, 31, 150. Plus pessimiste, le successeur de Georgij, Ioann II, reconnaît qu'il n'y a mariage légitime (*blagoslovenie i venčanie*) que parmi les princes et les boïars, tandis que les représentants des couches inférieures de la société (*prostye ljudi, prost' ci*) s'accouplent au hasard pendant les fêtes (*sovokuplenie, tainoponimanie*); cf. *RIB*, VI, col. 18. Sur ce motif, cf. Romanov, *Ljudi*, pp. 252–54.

[44] Suvorov, *O cerkovnyx nakazanijax*, p. 124, n. 1.

[45] [«Vaut-il mieux le faire mourir?»].

[46] [«Il convient bien, s'ils le veulent»].

[47] C'est à l'observance sans exception de cette norme que s'en tiennent tant Ioann II (*RIB*, VI, col. 14) que le métropolite Georgij (*Zap G* 9).

placer un bon mot de style populaire: «*ne toi bo, reče, smrad i otlučaet svjatynja, ni iže iz ust idet u drugix, no smrad grexovnyj*».[48] Dans un seul cas (*K* 71), en accord avec Jean le Jeûneur,[49] il montre une certaine perplexité à l'égard d'une norme canonique libérale, qui permet au pécheur impénitent, qui revient à l'église après plusieurs années, de communier à Pâques: il semble oublier qu'on se réjouit davantage de la brebis qui s'est égarée et a été retrouvée que de 99 brebis qui n'ont jamais abandonné leur maître,[50] et trouve que cette condescendance est excessive par rapport à la sévérité qu'on démontre envers les bons chrétiens qui ne se sont jamais égarés; mais, au contraire de son maître, il en tire une conclusion plus logique: «*a ty ne dai*».[51]

Quant aux formes de la sexualité, six articles concernent l'impureté rituelle de la femme (*K* 42, 46, *S* 2, 23, 24, *I* 12), neuf—les actes sexuels licites entre époux légitimes, ainsi que les normes qui limitent l'exercice de ce droit (*K* 26, 57, 72–74, *S* 4, 22, 24, *I* 21), onze—l'adultère des laïcs (*K* 30, 69, 70, 79, 92–94, *I* 3, 7, 12, 13); deux—la sexualité des enfants et des adolescents (*K* 49, 67), deux—les souillures nocturnes (*K* 50, *S* 17), deux—l'homosexualité féminine (*I* 23, 24), un—la sodomie (*I* 25). La plupart de ces articles reflètent l'attitude bien connue des Églises chrétiennes envers le corps de l'homme et le mariage, accepté comme *remedium concupiscentiae*.[52] Quant à Nifont, il a à ce sujet une idée tout à fait particulière: «*A sego prašax: aže velěl bjaše někotoryj pop synovi: aže sja ne možešь udržati, budi s odinojuь.—Ne velmi semu zazrjaše vladyka; reče bo: ne*

[48] [«Ce n'est pas cette puanteur qui éloigne des choses saintes, ni celle qui vient des bouches des autres, mais la puanteur du péché»].

[49] *PG* LXXXVIII, col. 1905D: «Ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἰσί τινες βίᾳ ἕξεως μηδὲ ἐν τῇ Μεγάλῃ Τεσσαρακοστῇ κρατῆσαι ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ ἁμαρτιῶν ἰσχύοντες, καὶ αὐτοὶ δὲ πολλάκις οἱ γυναῖκας ἔχοντες, χρὴ μετὰ τὸ πληρῶσαι καὶ αὐτοὺς τὰ αὐτῶν ἐπιτίμια, ἐὰν ἔλθωσι χρόνοι πλεῖστοι καὶ οὐκ ἔχωσι πῶς κοινωνῆσαι διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ αὐτοὺς περιπίπτειν ἁμαρτήμασι, κρατείτωσαν κἂν τὴν ἁγίαν Τεσσαρακοστὴν πᾶσαν τὸ μὴ ἁμαρτῆσαι, καὶ μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου τὰς τρεῖς τοῦ Πάσχα κοινωνείτωσαν ἡμέρας».

[50] Mt. 18, 12–13.

[51] [«Et toi, ne la lui donne pas (*scil.*: l'eucharistie)»].

[52] L'Église orthodoxe admet volontiers la dissolution du mariage, si l'un des époux veut entrer en religion; cf. Const. Harmenopuli *Manuale legum sive Hexabiblos*, ed. G. E. Heimbach (Lipsiae, 1851), p. 579: «Ὅταν ἄσκησιν θάτερον ἕληται τῶν μερῶν πρὸς τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ κρείττω μεταβαῖνον ὁδὸν καὶ τὸν ἐν ἁγνείᾳ βίον αἱρούμενον, τηνικαῦτα κελεύομεν παῤῥησίαν εἶναι καὶ ἀνδρι καὶ γυναικὶ πρὸς τὰ καλλίω μεθισταμένῳ, διαλύειν τὸ συνοικέσιον καὶ ἀναχωρεῖν μετά τινος βραχείας ὑπολελειμμένης τῷ καταλελειμμένῳ παραμυθίας». Le métropolite Ioann admet que le mari abandonne sa femme «mniš'skago radi žitija» [pour la vie monacale; *RIB*, VI, col. 6], mais ne prévoit pas le cas contraire, tandis que Nifont ne mentionne ni l'un ni l'autre.

velmi pop tъ voleju velěl, nъ vidja ego mnogoe neuderžanie, i povelěl, da deržit odinu».[53]

A propos de l'impureté de l'accouchée, Nifont se borne à rappeler qu'elle ne peut pas entrer dans une église pendant quarante jours (*K* 42), mais ne mentionne pas l'interdiction à tout membre de la famille de manger avec elle.[54]

Les souillures nocturnes, en tant que manifestations spontanées (physiologiques) et incontrôlables de la sexualité naturelle, préoccupent les hommes d'église, qui les attribuent à une intervention directe du diable et se sentent obligés de veiller à ce que l'homme ne soit pas le complice du malin.[55] Nifont (*S* 17), qui cite presque littéralement Timothée d'Alexandrie,[56] pardonne sans difficulté au pénitent, s'il n'a pas eu de pensées lubriques, tandis que le métropolite Georgij exclut le pénitent de l'eucharistie jusqu'à ce que le diable cesse de le tenter.[57]

Quand Kirik demande à son évêque (en citant *Zap G* 108) s'il est vrai que les époux doivent éviter tout contact charnel le vendredi, en plus du samedi et du dimanche[58] et que, s'ils ne le font pas, ils engendreront des

53 *I* 7 [«Si un certain *pop* à ordonné à son fils spirituel: 'si tu ne peux pas t'abstenir, sois avec une seule'. Le prélat ne se scandalisa pas du tout: ce *pop* n'a pas du tout ordonné cela arbitrairement, mais, voyant son incapacité de s'abstenir, lui a ordonné de n'en tenir qu'une seule»].

54 *Zap G*, 62.

55 Dans un *posledovanie* du XIV^e^ siècle (Almazov, *Tajnaja ispoved'*, II [Odessa, 1904], p. 136) on trouve la casuistique la plus complète sur ce thème en ce qui concerne tant les religieux que les laïcs.

56 *PG*, XXXIII, col. 1303: «Εἰ μὲν ὑπόκειται ἐπιθυμία γυναικὸς, οὐκ ὀφείλει· εἰ δὲ Σατανᾶς πειράζει αὐτὸν, ἵνα διὰ τῆς προφάσεως ταύτης ἀλλοτριῶται τῆς κοινωνίας τῶν θείων μυστηρίων, ὀφείλει κοινωνῆσαι. Ἐπεὶ οὐ παύσεται ὁ πειράζων κατ ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν, ὅτε ὀφείλει κοινωνεῖν, ἐπιτιθέμενος αὐτῷ».

57 *Zap G* 151.

58 La tradition grecque est moins sévère: selon Timothée d'Alexandrie (*PG*, XXXIII, col. 1305), «Ἐξ ἀνάγκης δὲ τὸ σάββατον καὶ τὴν κυριακὴν ἀπέχεσθαι δεῖ, διὰ τὸ ἐν αὐταῖς τὴν πνευματικὴν θυσίαν ἀναφέρεσθαι τῷ κυρίῳ». La norme de Timothée est acceptée par Nifont (*K* 73). La liste complète des jours interdits est donnée en *Zap G* 13: «I ot žon svoix dostojno v''zderžatisja vsjakomu krest'janinu budučе v subotu večer i v nedelju večer i v Gospodskija prazdniki i v naročitye svjatyx i v velikoe govějno i egda nečisty byvajut žony i egda xoščet kto pričastitisja svjatyx tajn, to sobljustisja ot žen svoix pred pričaščaniem noč', a po pričaščen'i 2-ju noč' » [Il convient que tout chrétien s'abstienne de sa femme les soir du samedi et du dimanche, les fêtes du Seigneur et des saints vénérables et pendant le Carême; et quand quelqu'un veut communier, qu'il s'abstiennne de sa femme les nuits avant et après la communion]. Si à tout cela le métropolite ajoute des restrictions ultérieures (*Zap G* 108), l'évêque préfère concéder des dérogations: les jeunes époux peuvent avoir des rapports la nuit après la communion, parce que «tem' bo telo i onoju edino telo byvaet» [du corps de l'un et de l'autre il en est un seul corps; *K* 72]; la femme qui a communié peut avoir des rapports sexuels la nuit suivante, si elle n'en a pas eus la nuit précédente (*I*, 21); la femme impure peut avoir des rapports sexuels avec son mari depuis le dixième jour après les couches, si elle accepte une

malfaiteurs, Nifont répond: «*A ty knigy goditьsja sъžeči*» (*K* 73).[59]

Quant au problème de l'homosexualité féminine, la réponse de Nifont, quelque peu cynique, est inspirée moins par les canons basiliens que par le bon sens populaire: c'est moins grave que si elles le faisaient avec un homme, et elles ne perdront quand même pas leur virginité; c'est la seule mention de la virginité dans le *Voprošanie Kirikovo*.[60]

Parmi les pratiques païennes, Nifont ne mentionne que les offrandes au *Rod* et à la *Rožanica* (*K* 33), les Pénates de la *Rus'*, les pratiques des femmes pour avoir des enfants ou pour ne pas en avoir (*I*, 18, 26), ou bien pour éveiller l'amour d'un homme (*I* 14). Tandis que l'évêque adresse aux fidèles des dieux païens une menace vague (*gore pьjuščim rožjanice*),[61] le métropolite Georgij a recours à une formule qui a une signification canonique précise: «*da budet prokljat*».[62] Quant au *dvoeverie*, Nifont ne le nomme qu'une seule fois: il prévoit six semaines de pénitence pour ceux qui s'adressent aux prêtres varègues (justement comme pour ceux qui emmènent leurs enfants chez des *volxvy* [*I* 18]), parce qu'ils sont comme des *dvoverci* (*I* 16). Est-ce un cas de réaction ethnique, des ouailles de Nifont, des paysans et des éleveurs (slaves et finnois) contre leurs maîtres, les guerriers normands?[63]

La question de la pureté de la nourriture est de quelque façon liée à la survivance des moeurs païennes: c'est pourquoi le métropolite Ioann II conseille de s'en tenir à ce principe: «*prileži pače zakonu, neže obyčaju zemli*».[64] L'article 47 de l'*Ustav* de Jaroslav Volodimerovič établit que quiconque mange du *poganoe* subira une sanction canonique et une peine civile (*mitropolitu v vině i v kazni*);[65] le métropolite Georgij prévoit des peines sévères pour ceux qui mangent «*sně̌do židovsko ili bolgarsko ili sracinsko*».[66] Il est connu que les orthodoxes ont souvent accusé les catho-

pénitence (*S* 24). En général, Nifont ne croit pas que le corps de la femme légitime soit la source du péché: «v svoej bo žene nětut' grexa» (*I* 21); cf. Romanov, *Ljudi*, p. 255.

59 *K* 74 «Ces livres, il convient les brûler»; cf. Romanov, *Ljudi*, pp. 241–42.

60 Golubinskij, *Istorija*, I/1, pp. 842–43.

61 *K* 33 [«Malheur à ceux qui boivent en l'honneur de la Rožanica»].

62 *Zap G* 127 [«qu'il soit maudit»]. En outre, le métropolite interdit toute fête «hellénique», toute célébration des cycles de la nature, l'astrologie et la sorcellerie, les fêtes juives (*Zap G* 105), la célébration de la nouvelle lune (*Zap G* 126), la magie noire (*potvory, čarodějanija*; *Zap G* 147).

63 Selon Goetz, *Kirchenrechtliche*, pp. 335–36, les *varjažskie popy* seraient les prêtres de l'église catholique allemande d'un faubourg de Novgorod.

64 *RIB*, VI, col. 3 [«aie plus de zèle envers la loi (*scil.*: divine) qu'envers les coutumes du pays»].

65 *DRKV*, p. 89.

66 *Zap G* 122 [«nourriture juive, bulgare ou sarrazine»].

liques de ne pas respecter à ce sujet les prescriptions de Moïse,[67] confirmées par les apôtres,[68] et de se nourrir de viandes impures, comme le rappellent les Réponses (*Otvety*) de Feodosij Pečerskij[69] et le *Napisanie na Latynu* du métropolite Nikifor.[70] C'est à cette tradition que s'en tient Nifont, tout en acceptant quelques exceptions, inspirées des coutumes du pays (*K* 89) ou par l'état de nécessité[71] (*K* 11,[72] 90).

C'est encore l'état de nécessité qui excuse l'homme qui revêt même une peau d'ours[73] (*K* 91) ou le prêtre qui transforme une robe de femme en soutane (*S* 6)!

La plupart des cas d'homicide qu'examine Nifont sont liés à l'ivresse: son monde, selon l'expression de Boris A. Romanov, est divisé en deux blocs, les sobres et les ivrognes.[74] Si deux époux, en dormant, étouffent involontairement leur enfant et qu'ils soient ivres, c'est un homicide; s'ils sont sobres, ce n'est qu'un péché veniel (*I* 3). Au contraire, si le mari ivre provoque un avortement,[75] on lui imposera une pénitence réduite de moitié (*I* 16); également, si l'on provoque la mort d'un ivrogne, ce n'est qu'un demi-homicide (*I* 17). Cette curieuse catégorie juridique du *polduśegubstvo* est appliquée par Nifont à un cas non moins curieux: à une époque où les esclaves sont ignorés par la loi, tant civile que canonique, et ne sont souvent considérés que des objets sexuels pour leurs maîtres,[76] l'attitude de l'évêque novgorodien est significative. Si un esclave tue un homme, il est à demi-coupable, parce qu'il ne possède pas le libre arbitre (*ne sut'... vol'ni*; *I* 2).

67 Gn 9, 3–5.

68 Ac 15, 28–29.

69 F. Buslaev, *Istoričeskaja xristomatija cerkovno-slavjanskogo i drevne-russkogo jazykov* (Moscou, 1861), p. 518.

70 Makarij [Bulgakov], *Istorija Russkoj cerkvi*, II, p. 321.

71 Dans les *Réponses* du Synode patriarcal de Constantinople à Feognost, évêque de Saraj, l'état de nécessité justifie même celui qui mange πνικτά; *RIB*, VI, col. 137.

72 Feodosij Pečerskij aussi autorise de tuer des animaux le dimanche; cf. Buslaev, *Istoričeskaja xristomatija*, p. 516.

73 Selon le métropolite Ioann (*RIB*, VI, col. 7) tout religieux peut porter une soutane faite de la peau de n'importe quel animal, que l'on puisse manger ou non, «à cause du gel» (*studeni radi*).

74 Romanov, *Ljudi*, p. 218.

75 Pour Nifont, une femme n'est coupable que si elle provoque l'avortement par un philtre (*zel'e*), mais pas au cas où elle avorterait à cause d'un travail trop lourd (*I* 5). Le métropolite Georgij, outre le cas du philtre (*Zap G* 138), en prévoit encore deux: si la mère étouffe le nouveau-né (*Zap G* 136), ou si elle souille le foetus par un acte sexuel illicite (*Zap G* 140).

76 Golubinskij, *Istorija*, I/1, p. 866.

Si l'usure est, en principe, interdite par l'Église orthodoxe,[77] elle était non seulement plus ou moins tolérée dans la Rus', mais a contribué à créer des fortunes considérables dans l'Empire russe.[78] Nifont menace le pope qui pratique l'usure de le priver de sa dignité; quant aux laïcs, il leur reproche leur activité «non convenable» et les invite à prêter à des intérêts moins lourds (*K* 4).

Nifont a une attitude tout à fait particulière à l'égard d'un aspect de la piété médiévale, les pèlerinages. Il ne les aime pas et ordonne à ses *popy* d'imposer une pénitence à quiconque veut se rendre à Jérusalem (*I* 22) et approuve l'attitude ferme de Kirik (*K* 12): «*ne velju iti: sdě velju dobromu emu byti*».[79] Le motif est exposé explicitement: les pèlerinages sont une occasion de goinfrerie et d'ivresse; mais ne s'agit-il pas ici de la crainte (qui deviendra obsessionnelle aux cours des siècles suivants) de voir le bon chrétien (*xristianin, krest'janin*) de la Rus' contaminé par le contact avec les infidèles, leur nourriture, leurs boissons, leurs idées?

L'esprit de tolérance que démontre l'évêque Nifont et la façon dont il abuse parfois, dans le sens de la réduction des peines, de ses prérogatives d'«économe» de la pénitence,[80] son attention pour les actes qui accompagnent tous les moments de la vie de la communauté et des individus, son goût pour les boutades de style populaire, le ton dérisoire dont il traite parfois des autorités reconnues telles que le métropolite Georgij, l'idée, sous-entendue et jamais formulée explicitement, qu'en milieu rural slavo-finnois la continence chrétienne relève du domaine de l'utopie, le fait qu'il ne mentionne pas, ou très rarement, l'inceste, l'homosexualité, les actes sexuels illicites et leurs positions, dont il est si souvent question dans les livres pénitentiaux tant orientaux qu'occidentaux—tous ces éléments démontrent que le *Voprošanie Kirikovo*, que nous venons d'examiner et de confronter avec d'autres textes proches dans l'espace et dans le temps, reflète la réalité de l'arrière-pays d'un pays où le christianisme s'est enraciné moins comme «orthodoxie» que comme «orthopraxie». Dans ce contexte, on ne pouvait exiger du clergé local que peu de choses: éviter le «scandale», qui trouble la vie d'une petite communauté,[81] veiller à ce que les excès les plus

[77] V. 1. III, tit. VII de l'Hexabiblos de Constantin Harmenopoulos.

[78] J. Kaufmann-Richard, *Origines d'une bourgeoisie russe, XVIᵉ et XVIIᵉ siècles* (Paris, 1969), pp. 65–67.

[79] [«Je lui interdis d'y aller: je lui ordonne d'être bon ici»].

[80] Selon l'expression de Saint Basile; cf. Bux, *Confessione*, p. 7.

[81] Romanov, *Ljudi*, pp. 236–37, pense que certaines procédures secrètes de l'Église ont comme but de préserver le prestige des religieux. Ce n'est pas le cas des statuts princiers, qui ne se soucient que d'éviter toute ingérence du pouvoir civil dans la juridiction de l'Église (cf. les articles 10 de l'*Ustav* de Volodimer Svjatoslavič et 54 de celui de Jaroslav Volodimerovič, dans *DRKV*, pp. 23, 90); c'est peut-être le cas du métropolite Georgij, selon lequel le prêtre

évidents soient éliminés, mais surtout convaincre les *bel'ci* et les *prost'ci* de respecter les cérémonies qui accompagnent les étapes de la vie de l'homme: baptême, eucharistie, mariage, funérailles (ou bien: naissance, expérience du divin, épanouissement de la vie sexuelle, mort).

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indigne doit être considéré comme saint jusqu'à ce qu'on ait les preuves de ses forfaits (*Zap G* 83), ou d'autres prélats (cf., par exemple, *RIB*, VI, p. 115: «nedostoinstvo bo ereisko navodit gnev na ljudi» [l'indignité du clergé provoque la colère du peuple]; ce n'est sans doute pas le cas de Nifont, qui s'en tient peut-être au principe basilien, selon lequel le pénitent doit être mis à l'abri des suites pénales des péchés qu'il a confessés (cf. Bux, *Confessione*, pp. 3–4), mais qui, surtout, sait très bien quelles conséquences peut avoir le décèlement des vices privés, tant des laïcs que des religieux, dans la vie d'une petite communauté.

PROBLEMS OF THE KIEVAN LEGACY

The Contest for the "Kievan Succession" (1155–1175): The Religious-Ecclesiastical Dimension

JAROSLAW PELENSKI

The origins of the religious-ecclesiastical contest for the Kievan succession were connected in old Rus' history with the reign of Andrej Bogoljubskij, specifically with the period from 1155 to 1175.[1] The most notable events and developments that took place during the period of that contest, and which will be discussed in this paper, were:

1. The removal of the Icon of the Blessed Mother of God from Vyšhorod in the Kievan land and its transfer to the Rostov land and the city of Vladimir.
2. The enhancement of the city of Vladimir by an ambitious church building program.
3. The formulation of the Vladimirian religious-ideological program.
4. An attempt by Andrej Bogoljubskij to establish an independent Metropolitanate of Vladimir (1166–1167).
5. The sack of Kiev of 1169.
6. The condemnation and the execution of Feodor (1169).
7. The second Kiev campaign of 1173 and its assessment in the Kievan Chronicle.
8. The inclusion of the *Pověst' ob ubienii Andreja [Bogoljubskogo]* in the Kievan Chronicle.

An analysis of these events and developments requires a brief discussion of the historical context in which they took place. Andrej Bogoljubskij's reign in the Rostov-Suzdal'-Vladimir patrimonial territorial state can be divided conveniently into two phases: (1) from 1157 to 1167, when his efforts were concentrated on the development and expansion of that

[1] For the most recent treatments of Andrej Bogoljubskij's career and some aspects of his ecclesiastical policies, as well as the literature on the subject, see E. S. Hurwitz, *Prince Andrej Bogoljubskij: The Man and the Myth* (Florence, 1980); W. Vodoff, "Un 'parti theocratique' dans la Russie du XII[e] siècle?" *Cahiers de civilization medievale* 17, no. 3 (1974): 193–215.

northeastern Rus' patrimonial state (during that time he did not actively interfere in the Kievan affairs); and (2) from 1168 to 1175, when he was actively involved in efforts to control Kiev and to subordinate it to Vladimir. Before his reign in Rostov-Suzdal'-Vladimir, his earliest involvement in Kievan affairs, as a subordinate of his father, Jurij Dolgorukij (who was waging an active personal struggle for the succession to the Kievan throne), dates back to 1149–1155. However, during that time Andrej did not show any concrete interest in the Kievan throne. Even when, following participation in his father's Kiev campaign of 1154–1155 and takeover of Kiev, he was granted Vyšhorod by his father in 1155, which placed him in line for the Kievan throne, he did not make use of that opportunity, but left Vyšhorod for the Suzdal' land. By making that decision, Andrej Bogoljubskij "had abandoned sacred tradition. Never before had the promise of inheritance of the Kievan throne been so unequivocally rejected."[2]

I

The first major development of a religious-ecclesiastical nature pertaining to the contest for the Kievan succession was connected with Andrej Bogoljubskij's removal in 1155 of the Icon of the Blessed Mother from the city of Vyšhorod (in the Kievan area) and its transfer to Rostov and Vladimir. (That icon, in fact, was to have an extraordinary career in Russian history as the Icon of Our Lady of Vladimir.[3]) Bogoljubskij's act was recorded in two of the earliest known brief accounts (*skazanija*) incorporated in two chronicles: the Kievan Chronicle, which constitutes part of the Hypatian Chronicle, and the Suzdal'-Vladimirian Chronicle(s), which is a part of the Laurentian Chronicle.

The Kievan Chronicle

The same year [1155] Prince Andrej went from his father from Vyšhorod to Suzdal' *without his father's permission* [ital. mine—J. P.], and he took from Vyšhorod the Icon of the Blessed Mother of God which was brought from Cesarjagrad on the same ship with

The Suzdal'-Vladimirian Chronicle(s)

The same year [1155] Prince Andrej went from his father to Suzdal', and he brought with him the Icon of the Blessed Mother of God which was brought from Cesarjagrad on the same ship with the Pirogošča [Icon]. And he had it framed in thirty-*grivny*-weight-

[2] Hurwitz, *Prince Andrej Bogoljubskij*, p. 12.

[3] For a study of the career of this icon and the literature on the subject, see D. B. Miller, "Legends of the Icon of Our Lady of Vladimir: A Study of the Development of Muscovite National Consciousness," *Speculum* 43, no. 4 (1968): 657–70, and A. Ebbinghaus, "Andrej Bogoljubskij und die 'Gottesmutter von Vladimir'," *Russia Mediaevalis* 6, no. 1 (1987): 157–83.

the Pirogošča [Icon]. And he had it framed in thirty-*grivny*-weight-of-gold, besides silver, and precious stones, and large pearls, and having thus adorned [the Icon], he placed it in his own church of the Mother of God in Vladimir.[4]

of-gold, besides silver, and precious stones, and large pearls, and having thus adorned [the Icon], he placed it in his own church in Vladimir.[5]

A comparison of the two accounts reveals obvious similarities, but also crucial differences in their treatment of Bogoljubskij's act. According to the Kievan Chronicle, Bogoljubskij acted improperly and even illegally, in leaving Vyšhorod without his father's permission and, by implication, by removing the icon. The account of the Suzdal'-Vladimirian Chronicle(s), on the other hand, eliminated references to Andrej's departure without his father's permission and to the icon's domicile at Vyšhorod, and thereby omitted any impression of improper or illegal behavior on the part of the prince.

The differences between the two accounts, in fact, reflect the different approaches taken by the two chronicles in treatment of Andrej Bogoljubskij and his policies vis-à-vis Kiev—approaches not apparent to historians who, in working on these chronicles, have been utilizing their information in an exclusively complementary manner, thus overlooking their significantly different perspectives.[6] Whereas the Suzdal'-Vladimirian Chronicle(s), or that part of it which pertains to Bogoljubskij's reign (referred to by some as the Bogoljubskij Chronicle of 1177), treated the prince and his policies in a positive and complimentary manner, the Kievan Chronicle was ambivalent and even openly critical of him and his conduct vis-à-vis Kiev, with one major exception: it included a glorifying tale about the slaying of Bogoljubskij, namely, the *Povĕst' ob ubienii Andreja Bogoljubskogo*, about which more will be said later.

4 Concerning the text of the *skazanie* of the Kievan Chronicle, see *Ipat'evskaja Letopis'* published in *Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej* (hereafter *PSRL*), vol. 2 (1908/1962), col. 482. For a concise description of the Hypatian Chronicle and the literature on the subject, see O. P. Lixačeva, "Letopis' Ipat'evskaja" in "Issledovatel'skie materialy dlja 'Slovarja knižnikov i knižnosti drevnej Rusi (Drevnerusskie letopisi i xroniki)," *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoj literatury* (hereafter *TODRL*), 39 (1985): 123–28.

5 The text of the *skazanie* of the Suzdal'-Vladimirian Chronicle(s) is contained in the so-called *Suzdal'skaja Letopis'*, *PSRL*, vol. 1 (1926/1962), col. 346. Concerning a discussion of the Suzdal'-Vladimirian Chronicle(s) and the literature on the subject, consult Ju. A. Limonov, *Letopisanie Vladimiro-Suzdal'skoj Rusi* (Leningrad, 1967), and Ja. S. Lur'e, "Letopis' Lavrent'evskaja" in "Issledovatel'skie materialy," *TODRL*, 39 (1985): 128–31.

6 For an introductory discussion of the Kievan Chronicle and the Suzdal'-Vladimirian Chronicle(s) and the differences between the two, see J. Pelenski, "The Sack of Kiev of 1169: Its Significance for the Succession to Kievan Rus'," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* (hereafter *HUS*) 11, no. 3/4 (December 1987): 303–316.

The allegations made in the Kievan Chronicle about Andrej Bogoljubskij's illicit removal of the icon from Vyšhorod to the Suzdal' land must have been based on solid foundations, for, apparently in order to justify the prince's act, another account with its own version of the removal and the transfer of the icon was included as an introduction in a special ideological work about the miracles of the Vladimirian icon of the Mother of God, the *Skazanie o čudesax Vladimirskoj Ikony Božiej Materi*, which was composed already in Bogoljubskij's lifetime or shortly after his death (between 1164 and 1185, according to V. Ključevskij and N. N. Voronin; I am inclined to date it between 1164 and 1168, before the sack of Kiev of 1169).[7] It reads as follows:

Prince Andrej wanted to be prince (*knjažiti*) in the Rostov Land. He began to inquire about icons. He was told of the Icon of the Most Holy Mother of God in the Nunnery of Vyšhorod—how it departed from its resting place three times. It happened the first time when they [the witnesses] entered the Church and beheld it standing by itself in the middle of the Church; they replaced it. The second time they saw it with its face turned toward the altar. They said, "It wishes to stand in the altar space." And they placed it behind the altar table. The third time they saw it standing by itself on the side of the altar table; and then they saw a multitude of miracles. When he heard these tidings the Prince [Andrej] was gladdened and went into the Church. He began to look over the icons. Now the aforesaid Icon excelled over all the others. When he saw it, he fell upon his knees and prayed, saying, "O Most Holy Virgin and Mother of Christ Our Lord, Thou shalt be my defender (*zastupnica*) in the Rostov Land. Come and visit the newly enlightened people so that all this may happen according to Thy will." And he took the Icon and went to the Rostov Land. He took some clergymen with him.[8]

This account, which can be regarded as a separate legend, offers a new interpretation of the removal/transfer of the icon. It attributes to the icon a kind of "restlessness"[9] in its Vyšhorod-Kievan land domicile and, by implication, a dissatisfaction with it. Here the icon is presented as the original initiator of its transfer to the Rostov land and Andrej Bogoljubskij as merely the executor of its wish. According to this version, the Kievan land not only ceases to be the domicile of the miraculous icon, but loses its sacral charisma, which is now transferred to the Rostov-Suzdal' land and

[7] The text of the *Skazanie o čudesax Vladimirskoj Ikony Božiej Materi*, edited and with introduction by V. O. Ključevskij was published in *Čtenija Obščestva ljubitelej drevnej pis'mennosti* (hereafter *OLDP*), 30 (1878): 1–43, for the dating, see pp. 10–14; N. N. Voronin, "Iz istorii russko-vizantijskoj cerkovnoj bor'by XII v.," *Vizantijskij vremennik* (hereafter *VV*), 26 (1965), pp. 190–218, especially p. 198. For the most recent discussion of the text, consult Hurwitz, *Prince Andrej Bogoljubskij*, pp. 54–59.

[8] English translation of this passage is provided in Hurwitz, *Prince Andrej Bogoljubskij*, p. 56.

[9] Hurwitz, *Prince Andrej Bogoljubskij*, p. 56.

subsequently to the city of Vladimir. The quoted account, as does, in fact, the entire *skazanie* in which it is incorporated, displays an obvious anti-Kievan (however, not anti-Byzantine) bias, reflecting the ideological-political program of Andrej Bogoljubskij.[10]

From the perspective of Andrej Bogoljubskij and his ideologists, Kiev and the Kievan land were becoming irrelevant to the future of Rus', and the Rostov-Suzdal' and later Vladimir lands were assuming a new role as successors of Kiev. Only at a much later stage in the development of Muscovite claims to the Kievan inheritance, namely, in the sixteenth century, is this period of the icon's Kievan domicile, including the notion of its illegal removal, reintegrated into Muscovite political thought, although in a new interpretation: a separate *skazanie* about the transfer of the miraculous Icon of the Blessed Mother of God from the Kievan land to Vladimir, included in the *Book of Degrees (Kniga stepennaja)*, composed in the early 1560s under the auspices of Metropolitan Makarij, states that the icon was originally brought from Constantinople to Kiev at that time. Subsequently it was donated to the Devičij Monastery in Vyšhorod, from which it was taken by Andrej Bogoljubskij without the consent of his father, because of the "cunning counsel of the accursed Kučkovič(es)," the principal conspirators and perpetrators of Bogoljubskij's slaying.[11]

II

The development of the new capital city of Vladimir, especially the ambitious program of church building aimed at the city's enhancement, which chronologically coincided with the first phase of Andrej Bogoljubskij's reign (1157–1167), represented the second stage of the religious-ecclesiastical contest for the Kievan succession. The church building program, remarkable in its scope and the enormous expenses involved, was

10 For N. N. Voronin's hypothesis of the anti-Byzantine orientation of the *Skazanie o čudesax*, as well as some of the other ideological enterprises of Andrej Bogoljubskij, see his "Iz istorii russko-vizantijskoj cerkovnoj bor'by XII v.," *VV* 26 (1965): 190–218, especially p. 218.

11 *PSRL*, 21, 1 (1908): 230–32. An account about the transfer of the Icon of the Blessed Mother of God from the Kievan land to Vladimir, which includes references to the icon's illegal removal from its original Vyšhorod-Kiev land domicile, the "Bogoljubovo miracle," and the "cunning" advice of the "accursed Kučkovič(es)," can be found in a brief *skazanie* about the life and activities of Andrej Bogoljubskij, contained in a separate treatise entitled *A se knjazi rus'tii*. The latter treatise was included in the Codex of the Archeographic Commission (No. 240), preceding the manuscript of the First Novgorod Chronicle (A. N. Nasonov, ed., *Novgorodskaja Pervaja Letopis' staršego i mladšego izvodov* [Moscow-Leningrad, 1950], p. 467). The text of the treatise *A se knjazi rus'tii* was most probably composed before the middle of the fifteenth century.

begun almost immediately following Andrej's takeover of the Rostov-Suzdal' lands.[12] The city of Vladimir was expanded and new fortifications were added, including the Golden Gates, apparently modeled after the Golden Gates of Kiev or Constantinople, or both.[13] Between 1158 and 1160 Bogoljubskij sponsored the construction of the famous church of the Mother of God in Vladimir "with five domes, and all the domes decorated with gold," dedicated to the Dormition, and endowed it with considerable properties.[14] Furthermore, he had a church (or chapel) constructed at the Golden Gates of Vladimir, which was completed and consecrated in 1164.[15] During that time construction of the Church of the Savior, started by his father, Jurij Dolgorukij, was completed and the Church of the *Pokrov* (Intercession) in the close vicinity of Vladimir, on the Nerl' River, was built (1165–1166).[16] Finally, in the early 1160s, he had a new town built, his second residence, with the symbolic name of Bogoljubovo.

The development of the new city of Vladimir, particularly the extraordinary effort invested in the construction of churches, attests to a major endeavor on the part of Bogoljubskij not only to create instantly a leading capital and a religious center of Rus', but also to replace Kiev with Vladimir as the most sacred city of Rus', by replicating the myth of the "golden-domed" Kiev.[17]

III

Equally remarkable and ambitious was Andrej Bogoljubskij's ideological program, formulated to a considerable extent already in the 1160s and reflected in a series of thematic-ideological treatises of the so-called Bogoljubskij cycle, the aim of which was to enhance his own position and also that of Rostov-Suzdal' and especially Vladimir as domiciles of religious

[12] The most significant contributions to the study of the architecture and art of Suzdal'-Vladimir have been made in recent times by N. N. Voronin in his works *Zodčestvo severo-vostočnoj Rusi XII–XV vekov*, 2 vols. (Moscow, 1961), especially vol. 1, and *Vladimir, Bogoljubovo, Suzdal', Jur'ev-Polskij: Sputnik po gorodam Vladimirskoj oblasti*, 2nd ed. (Moscow, 1965). Cf. also his "Vladimiro-Suzdal'skaja zemlja v X–XII v.," *Problemy istorii dokapitalističeskix obščestv*, 5–6 (1935).

[13] *PSRL*, 1 (1926/1962), col. 348; *PSRL*, 2 (1908/1962), col. 491. Cf. also N. N. Voronin, *Zodčestvo*, 1: 128–48.

[14] *PSRL*, 1 (1926/1962), col. 348; *PRSL*, 2 (1908/1962), col. 491. Cf. also N. N. Voronin, *Zodčestvo*, 1: 128–48.

[15] *PSRL*, 1 (1926/1962), col. 351.

[16] Hurwitz, *Prince Andrej Bogoljubskij*, p. 14.

[17] The mystique of the "golden-domed" Kiev has survived in Ukrainian culture and political ideology until the twentieth century (O. Pritsak, "Kiev and All of Rus': The Fate of a Sacral Idea," *HUS* 10, no. 3/4 [December 1986]: 279–300, especially p. 279).

cults and their own venerable tradition. The most important of the new cults developed in Vladimir pertained to the special veneration of the Virgin. It found its manifestation in the already mentioned *Skazanie o čudesax Vladimirskoj Ikony Božiej Materi*,[18] the extant text of which described ten specific miracles, nearly all directly related to Andrej Bogoljubskij and the city of Vladimir. The first pertained to Bogoljubskij himself (the miraculous saving of his guide from the waters of the Vazuza River). Others were performed as intercessions on behalf of Andrej's party against a horse-gone-wild and a Vladimirian inflicted by a "fiery (feverish) disease." Some occurred in response to Andrej's prayers, like the successful delivery by his wife of one of his children and the rescue of twelve Vladimirians (a symbolic figure for twelve apostles) from under the collapsed gates of Vladimir. Of the ten miracles, two were connected with other areas of Rus' (Perejaslav in the south and Tver), but none specifically with the Kievan area. Also, in the already discussed introductory account of the *Skazanie o čudesax*, a reference was made to a "multitude of miracles" performed by the icon, apparently before its transfer from Vyšhorod to the north, but none was specifically described.

The cult of the Vladimirian Virgin was intensified through the inauguration about 1165 of the Feast of the Intercession (*Prazdnik Pokrova*) to be celebrated on October 1.[19] To substantiate the celebration of the new holiday, two additional, closely interrelated works were composed by Vladimirian bookmen under the auspices of Prince Andrej: the *Prologue Narration (Proložnoje skazanie)* and the *Service Hymn (Služba)*, both of which glorified the intercessory garment (*pokrov*) and the respective powers of the Virgin.[20] At the very same time Andrej's Church of the *Pokrov-na-Nerli* was completed (1165–1166). The texts related to the cult of the *Pokrov* contained no references to the Kievan tradition. They were intended to emphasize the protection accorded by the Virgin to Andrej's country and the city of Vladimir. This powerful combination of the two cults, that is, the cult of the Icon and the cult of the *Pokrov*, served also as a device to extol the special position of Vladimir as the city chosen by the Virgin for a special role in history.

18 See fns. 7 and 3, above, for the text edition and the literature on the subject.

19 Hurwitz, *Prince Andrej Bogoljubskij*, p. 59.

20 For a recent discussion of the texts of the *Proložnoe skazanie*, the *Služba* and the *pokrov* cult, see Hurwitz, *Prince Andrej Bogoljubskij*, pp. 69–78. The text of the *Proložnoe skazanie* was reprinted in Hurwitz, ibid., p. 93. Consult also the analysis of the *pokrov* cult (including the obvious "anti-Byzantine" bias) in N. N. Voronin, "Iz istorii russko-vizantijskoj cerkovnoj bor'by XII v.," *VV* 26 (1965): 208–218.

The enhancement of Rostov-Suzdal'-Vladimir to the status of the new center of Rus' also required the establishment of a cult of local saints. That purpose was accomplished by the composition of another significant ideological work under Andrej Bogoljubskij's auspices, namely, the *Life of Leontij of Rostov*, completed in the early 1160s, before 1164.[21] The treatise enhanced the status of Rostov and glorified the person of Andrej Bogoljubskij by connecting him specifically with the Monomax branch of the Rurikid dynasty ("son of Grand Prince Jurij [Dolgorukij], the grandson of Volodimer")[22] in order to prove his lofty status, but at the same time avoiding any direct reference to Kiev and the Kievan land, that is, the country (patrimony) the dynasty in question had ruled.

The most complex and controversial of the Bogoljubskij cycle of thematic-ideological treatises is the *Narration About the Victory Against the Bulgars (Skazanie o pobede nad Bolgarami*; 1164), which is connected with the inauguration of the Feast of the Savior celebrated on August 1.[23] It has been argued that this *Narration* was composed during Andrej's lifetime, sometime between 1164 and 1174.[24] Some of its factual data was borrowed from the brief annalistic *Narration About the Defeat of the Bulgars*, contained in the Laurentian Chronicle under the entry for 1164.[25] Its text relates the progress of the battle against the Bulgars, resulting in Andrej Bogoljubskij's victory, which is attributed to the miraculous intervention of the Icon of Our Lady of Vladimir; following the battle, the icon, according

21 The literature on the *Life of Leontij of Rostov* and its dating is quite extensive. The first major analysis was provided by V. O. Ključevskij in *Drevnerusskija žitija svjatyx kak istoričeskij istočnik* (Moscow, 1871/1968), pp. 3–22. N. N. Voronin significantly expanded the research on the work in question and offered a new dating, namely, the early 1160s, which I accept ("'Žitie Leontija Rostovskogo' i vizantijsko-russkie otnošenija vtoroj poloviny XII v.," *VV* 23 [1963]: 23–46). For a recent discussion of the *Life of Leontij of Rostov* and the reprint of its text, see Hurwitz, *Prince Andrej Bogoljubskij*, pp. 79–84, 94–95.

22 Hurwitz, *Prince Andrej Bogoljubskij*, p. 95.

23 The text of the *Narration About the Victory Against the Bulgars* (1164) was initially published as an integral part of the *Narration About the Miracles of the Vladimir Icon of the Mother of God* from Miljutin's *Četii minei* of the mid-seventeenth century by V. O. Ključevskij, *Skazanie o čudesax*, *OLDP* 30 (1878): 10, 21–26. A more complete and a better text of the same narration, a text which coincides with another version of the identical story to be found in a sixteenth-century *Sbornik* of the Jaroslav Museum, entitled "Narration About God's Grace by Grand Prince Andrej," was made available by I. E. Zabelin, "Sledy literaturnogo truda Andreja Bogoljubskogo," *Arxeologičeskie izvestija i zametki* (hereafter *AIZ*), 2–3 (1895): 37–49, especially pp. 46–47.

24 For a discussion of the narration and its dating, see above, fn. 23; N. N. Voronin, "Skazanie o pobede nad Bolgarami 1164 g. i prazdnike Spasa," *Problemy obščestvenno-političeskoj istorii Rossii i slavjanskix stran* (Moscow, 1963), pp. 88–92; J. Pelenski, *Russia and Kazan: Conquest and Imperial Ideology (1438–1560s)* (The Hague and Paris, 1974), pp. 144–49; Hurwitz, *Prince Andrej Bogoljubskij*, pp. 60–68 (reprint of the text, pp. 90–91).

25 *PSRL*, 1 (1926/1962) cols. 352–53.

to the text, was returned to the "golden-domed Church of the Virgin of Vladimir." Whereas the brief chronicle *Narration* treats the victory over the Bulgars as an exclusively Vladimirian achievement, the expanded *Narration* is a more ambitious work. Its author(s) introduced in it a parallel fictitious campaign by the Byzantine emperor Manuel I (Comnenus) against the Saracens and emphasized an invented special relationship between Andrej and the Byzantine emperor. Furthermore, it was asserted in the expanded *Narration* that the Feast of the Savior was jointly inaugurated by Andrej Bogoljubskij and Emperor Manuel "by the orders of Patriarch Lukas and the Metropolitan Constantine of all Rus' and Nestor, the Bishop of Rostov."[26] The stress on the Byzantine connection and the anachronistic reference to Nestor has caused considerable confusion in scholarship. In particular the positive reference to the Kiev Metropolitan Constantine, against whose institution Bogoljubskij had waged an ideological and ecclesiastical contest, has puzzled researchers. In my opinion, the inclusion of the names of Metropolitan Constantine (II), who arrived in Kiev in 1168, and of Patriarch Lukas (Chrysoberges) makes perfect sense if it is read in the context of the situation following the patriarch's rejection of Andrej Bogoljubskij's request for the establishment of an independent Metropolitanate of Vladimir subordinated to Constantinople, but not to Kiev, and the execution in 1169 of Feodor, Andrej's candidate for the position of Metropolitan of Vladimir, decreed by Metropolitan Constantine following the sack of Kiev in March of the same year. It can therefore be assumed that the expanded *Narration About the Victory Against the Bulgars* (1164) was composed in late 1169 or at the beginning of 1170. Although Bogoljubskij became the overlord of Kiev for a brief period of time (1169–1171), he had to adjust himself to the requirements of the Patriarchate of Byzantium and the Metropolitanate of Kiev, presided over by a Greek ecclesiastical official. N. N. Voronin has completely misread the entire cycle of the Bogoljubskij-sponsored treatises and in particular the *Narration About the Victory Against the Bulgars* by interpreting them as anti-Byzantine challenges;[27] they were at best manifestations of "status-seeking," as aptly characterized by Ihor Ševčenko.[28] The main purpose of these treatises,

[26] Cf. my own translation of the relevant fragment of the narration (Pelenski, *Russia and Kazan*, p. 146).

[27] Cf. N. N. Voronin's writings referred to in fns. 7, 21, and 24, above.

[28] I. Ševčenko, "Russo-Byzantine Relations after the Eleventh Century," *Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies (Oxford, 5-10 September 1966)*, edited by J. M. Hussey, D. Obolensky, and S. Runciman (London, 1967/1978), pp. 95–96.

however, was to enhance the status of Vladimir and to challenge Kiev for leadership of the lands of Rus'.[29]

IV

Andrej Bogoljubskij's attempt to establish a competitive Metropolitanate, independent from Kiev and subordinated to the Byzantine Patriarchate exclusively, was his most challenging endeavor in the contest for the Kievan succession. This attempt can be reconstructed from the text of the sixteenth-century Church Slavonic–Russian translation of a letter by Patriarch Lukas Chrysoberges to Prince Andrej, which evidently represents a response to Bogoljubskij's lost letter to the patriarch.[30]

Since the patriarch's letter is not dated, several scholars have attempted to establish the chronological and contextual framework for its composition and Andrej's move to establish his own Metropolitanate.[31] According to a recent expert analysis provided by W. Vodoff, the patriarch's letter was written between 1166 and 1168.[32] I agree with Vodoff. The patriarch must have responded to Andrej's request following the completion of the prince's ambitious program of church building and a development of a powerful patrimonial state in the Rostov-Suzdal'-Vladimir area, which were evidently used by Bogoljubskij as major arguments in his lost letter. This makes 1166 the ante-quem date. I am also convinced that the patriarch's letter must have been composed prior to the sack of Kiev, which took place in early March of 1169, since, in my opinion, the patriarch's negative response apparently triggered Bogoljubskij's decision to embark upon the Kiev campaign, which also must have required considerable time to

29 In my analysis I have excluded from consideration the statement in the narration that the Feast of the Savior was inaugurated by Prince Andrej, "son of Jurij [Dolgorukij], grandson of Volodimer Monomax, tsar and prince of all Russia" (Hurwitz, *Prince Andrej Bogoljubskij*, p. 91), because, in my opinion, it represents an obvious sixteenth-century interpolation. The *Life of Leontij of Rostov* utilized the same reference to lineage, but in a contemporary formulation: "son of Grand Prince Jurij [Dolgorukij], the grandson of Volodimer" (Hurwitz, *Prince Andrej Bogoljubskij*, p. 95).

30 The text of the Church Slavonic–Russian translation of the Lukas Chrysoberges letter to Andrej Bogoljubskij was published by Metropolitan Makarij in *Istorija russkoj cerkvi*, vol. 3 (1888^3/1968), pp. 298–300; and by A. S. Pavlov in *Russkaja istoričeskaja biblioteka* (hereafter *RIB*), 6, 2nd ed. (1908), cols. 63–68, with "additions" from the Nikon Chronicle (cols. 68–76) that must be treated with caution because they are representative of sixteenth-century Russian political thought.

31 Traditionally the letter has been dated to the early 1160s (Pavlov, *RIB*, 6, 2nd ed. [1908], cols. 63–64). N. N. Voronin redated it to 1168 ("Andrej Bogoljubskij i Luka Xrizoverg: Iz istorii russko-vizantijskix otnošenij XII v.," *VV* 21 [1962]: 29–50, especially pp. 38–41).

32 Vodoff, "Un 'parti theocratique' dans la Russie du XII^e^ siècle?," pp. 193–215, especially pp. 197–99.

prepare. Therefore, Bogoljubskij must have received the letter from the patriarch in the summer of 1168 at the latest.

As is evident from the patriarch's letter, Andrej Bogoljubskij's request to establish a new Metropolitanate of Vladimir, independent of Kiev—his candidate for the position of the Metropolitan of Vladimir was an ecclesiastic (*vladyka* [?]) by the name of Feodor—was firmly rejected by the patriarch on the grounds that Vladimir could not even be removed from the jurisdiction of the Bishopric of Rostov and Suzdal', a justification based on a vague reference to the canonical law of the indivisibility of a bishopric or a metropolitanate.[33] However, the real reason for the rejection of Bogoljubskij's request was most probably the patriarch's strict adherance to the traditional Byzantine doctrine of the unitary and indivisible character of the Metropolitanate and the polity of Rus' (*Rossija*).[34] At that junction of history when Bogoljubskij made his request to the patriarch the Byzantine doctrine favored the southern branches of the Rurikid dynasty against Andrej Bogoljubskij. Only later, beginning with the period following the Mongol invasion of Rus' and until the fall of the Byzantine Empire, would this doctrine immensely help Vladimir and later Moscow in their contest for succession to the Metropolitanate of Kiev and all Rus'.[35] The only concrete concession made by the patriarch to Andrej was his tentative consent for a bishop of Rostov and Suzdal' to move to Vladimir to stay in the same city with Andrej, which in reality amounted to very little. On the related but secondary issue of Andrej's conflict with Leon, the bishop of Rostov and Suzdal', the patriarch offered a compromise, according to which the metropolitan of all Rus' in Kiev was the final authority on matters of theology and ecclesiastical discipline in the realm of Rus', and the Kievan ruler, in the patriarch's definition the grand prince of all Rus', was the highest secular authority before whom important conflicts could be adjudicated. In other words, the lines of ecclesiastical and secular authority were clearly defined by the patriarch to the detriment of Bogoljubskij's interests.

33 Hurwitz suggests that Patriarch Lukas was probably relying on the twelfth Canon of the Council of Chalcedon (*Prince Andrej Bogoljubskij*, p. 31).

34 An informative discussion of that Byzantine doctrine as applied to Byzantino-Russian relations in the fourteenth-century has been provided by J. Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia* (Cambridge, 1981), pp. 73–96. Cf. also D. Obolensky, "Byzantium, Kiev, and Moscow: A Study in Ecclesiastical Relations," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 11 (1957): 21–78.

35 For an excellent exposition of the Byzantine doctrine of the unitary character of "Rossija," see the formulation provided by Patriarch Anthony and his Synod in 1389, conveniently translated into English by Meyendorff, *Byzantium*, pp. 75–76.

As yet the Byzantine patriarch's rejection of Bogoljubskij's request has not been comprehensively analyzed. According to one popular interpretation, it reflected the former's anti-Vladimirian and anti-Russian hegemonistic imperial position and the latter's anti-Byzantine stance.[36] However, neither the patriarch's letter, nor the circumstantial evidence of the contemporary chronicles give any indication that Andrej's endeavor was an anti-Byzantine challenge. On the contrary, by writing a letter to the Patriarch, Andrej approached the appropriate Byzantine authority directly, bypassing Kiev at the time when the chair of the Kiev Metropolitanate was temporarily vacant between the terms of Metropolitan John IV (1164–1166) and Metropolitan Constantine (II), who arrived in Kiev in 1168.[37] Bogoljubskij apparently wished to become the patriarch's and the Byzantine emperor's chief partner in Rus'.

Andrej Bogoljubskij's political defeat at the hands of the Byzantine patriarch forced him to adjust his strategy in his quest for supremacy in Rus'. As I have pointed out in my study of the sack of Kiev of 1169, he had two options if he wished to pursue his endeavor: (1) to continue the political tradition to rule Kiev and Rus' from Kiev, as did his father, Jurij Dolgorukij, among others; or (2) to destroy Kiev as the center of power and sacral symbolism, and by doing so, to subordinate it to Vladimir, as the new capital of the Rus' lands. The conduct of the campaign of 1168, the sack of Kiev of 1169, and the installation of his brother Glěb as a "junior" subordinate prince in Kiev attest to his choice of option two.[38]

V

The sack of Kiev by Andrej Bogoljubskij's armies in 1169 was undertaken not only as a device of power politics, but also as an act of stripping "the mother of the cities of Rus'" of her sacral status. Since I have written a separate study about the sack of Kiev of 1169, I shall not discuss it at length in this paper, but only provide a brief summary of its two main points as they apply to the topic at hand.[39]

[36] For a restatement of this interpretation, cf. Voronin, "Andrej Bogoljubskij i Luka Xrizoverg," pp. 29–50, especially pp. 48–50.

[37] Ševčenko, "Russo-Byzantine Relations after the Eleventh Century," pp. 95–96.

[38] Pelenski, "The Sack of Kiev of 1169: Its Significance for the Succession to Kievan Rus'" includes an analysis of the two chronicle *skazanija* (narrations) and related historiographic problems.

[39] Pelenski, "The Sack of Kiev of 1169: Its Significance for the Succession to Kievan Rus'."

An analysis of the sources relevant to the sack reveals that: (1) the destruction of the sacral position of Kiev was carried out by the plunder of churches and monasteries and the forceful removal of icons, holy books, and chasubles; (2) the justification for the sack of Kiev, as provided in the Suzdal'-Vladimirian Chronicle(s) or the Bogoljubskij Codex of 1177 was formulated in religious-ecclesiastical terms exclusively. According to this chronicle, Kiev and Kievans were allegedly justly punished, for Metropolitan Constantine's unlawful interdiction of Polikarp, abbot of the Monastery of the Caves, in connection with the controversy over fasting on Wednesdays and Fridays whenever these days coincided with major holy days of the Lord, a controversy attested as having taken place in Suzdal' in 1164. The authors/editors of the hypothetical Bogoljubskij Codex of 1177 utilized this controversy in an antiquarian, manipulative manner to justify Andrej Bogoljubskij's unimaginable and unprecedented sack of Kiev (*egože ne bylo nikogdaže*) from the Christian perspective. The unease with the sack of Kiev of 1169 is attested to in another Vladimirian *skazanie*, namely, in the account about the sack of Kiev of 1203, undertaken by other Rus' princes at the instigation of Vsevolod (III) Jurevič (1176–1212), in which the relevant phrase reads: *I sotvorisja veliko zlo v russtej zemli jakogo že zla ne bylo ot kreščenija nad Kievom* ("and a great evil befell the Rus' land, such as has not been since the baptism of Kiev").[40] This revealing reference to the baptism of Kiev in connection with the sack of 1203 was apparently made to minimize the impact of the sack of Kiev of 1169.

VI

Andrej Bogoljubskij's temporary takeover of Kiev following the sack of that city by his armies in 1169 did not strengthen his position in the protracted struggle with the Metropolitanate of Kiev for power in ecclesiastical affairs. Having failed in his attempt to establish an independent Metropolitanate of Vladimir (1166–1167), he apparently made an effort to come to terms with Constantine (II), the new metropolitan of Kiev, by turning over to him *vladyka*(?) Feodor, his candidate for metropolitan of Vladimir. However, this effort resulted in another humiliating defeat, namely, the condemnation and execution of Feodor by the order of the Kiev metropolitan in the summer of 1169.

These developments can be reconstructed from two almost identical chronicle narrations about the condemnation and execution of Feodor: one incorporated in the Laurentian Chronicle under the entry for the year 1169

40 *PSRL*, 1 (1926/1962), col. 418.

and editorially connected with the account about the sack of Kiev of 1169, and the other, in the Kievan Chronicle, misdated 1172[41] and separated from the account about the sack of Kiev of 1169 by other accounts dealing with Kievan developments; the latter also contains additional detailed information, such as the exact location of Feodor's execution—*pesij ostrov* (the dog's island).[42]

The author(s) of the two narrations portrayed Feodor in the worst possible light, by accusing him of insubordination to and conflict not only with the metropolitan of Kiev, but also with his own ruler Andrej Bogoljubskij. They reported extensively on his alleged crimes and brutal excesses against the Christian people of Vladimir:

> He confiscated villages, arms, and horses. Others he sent into slavery, imprisoned and robbed—not only the laity, but also members of the clergy, monks, priests, and abbots. And this merciless tormentor shaved the heads and beards of some, gouged out the eyes of others, and performed unspeakable torture.[43]

Feodor's ouster from Vladimir and "out of the golden-domed Church of the Holy Mother of God of Vladimir" was interpreted in the narrations as "a new miracle performed. . .by the Lord and Holy Mother of God in the city of Vladimir." His condemnation and in particular his execution decreed by Metropolitan Constantine (II) were described in the most graphic and horrifying terms:

> Metropolitan Constantine ordered his tongue cut out for his evil deeds and his heresy. And he ordered his right hand to be removed and his eyes to be gouged out, because he had cursed the Holy Virgin. . . . And as a result of his evil deeds, the demonic beast Feodor was killed. . . .[44]

To the best of my knowledge, never had the old Rus' sources, at least until the end of the sixteenth century, described an execution of an ecclesiastical figure on orders of a superior ecclesiastical official in such drastic form and detail.

Bogoljubskij's turning over of his protegé Feodor to the metropolitan of Kiev for trial and punishment is indicative of his serious difficulties in the unrestrained quest for ecclesiastical status in the contest for the Kievan succession. However, the Feodor affair not only proved to be detrimental to the prince's endeavors, but also must have had a negative impact on Metropolitan Constantine's position, for after 1169 his name disappears from

41 *PSRL*, 1 (1926/1962), cols. 355–57; *PSRL*, 2 (1908/1962), cols. 551–54.

42 *PSRL*, 2 (1908/1962), col. 552.

43 English translations of these relevant passages are provided in Hurwitz, *Prince Andrej Bogoljubskij*, p. 34.

44 Hurwitz, *Prince Andrej Bogoljubskij*, p. 34.

historical accounts. In fact, from 1169 to 1182, the date of the nomination of Nicephoros (II) as the new metropolitan of all Rus', there are only a very few references to a metropolitan of Kiev in the available sources.[45] This lacuna prevents researchers from drawing conclusions about the relations between Andrej Bogoljubskij, the metropolitan of Kiev Constantine (II), and the patriarch of Constantinople in the last years of the prince's reign.

Bogoljubskij's policies vis-à-vis Kiev and the Kievan Rus' met with disapproval of the ecclesiastical establishment of that polity. For example, Cyril, Bishop of Turov, the most distinguished native intellectual of his time, was highly critical of Feodor. The *Prologue Life of Cyril* refers explicitly to his condemnation of "Feodorec for his outrageous [behavior] and his heresy."[46] The *Life* also reports, that "he [Cyril] wrote many epistles to Prince Andrej Bogoljubskij concerning the writings of the Gospels and the Prophets and commentaries on divine holy days and many other sermons of spiritual use."[47] One of Cyril's admonitions is the famous "Sermon on Man's Soul and Body, on the Breaking of the Divine Commandment, on the Resurrection of the Human Body, on the Future Judgment, and on Penance,"[48] in which he utilized the legend about the lame and blind man. Although Cyril never specifically mentioned Andrej or Feodor by name, a number of commentators of the sermon have correlated it with the relationship between the prince and the metropolitan-to-be and have interpreted it as an indirect criticism of their ecclesiastical activities. But even if that particular sermon by Cyril is excluded from the body of the anti-Bogoljubskij evidence, the reference in his *Life* suffices to place Cyril among Feodor's and Andrej's critical opponents; the sack of the sacred Kiev must have represented to Cyril a highly heretical and sacrilegious act.

VII

In addition to having suffered two major defeats in the struggle for an enhanced status in relations with the Kievan Metropolitanate (namely, an attempt to establish a separate Metropolitanate in Vladimir and the execution of Feodor, his candidate for metropolitan of Vladimir), Andrej Bogoljubskij, following the death of Glěb, his brother and appointee to the

45 Vodoff, "Un 'parti theocratique' dans la Russie du XII^{e} siècle?," p. 208.
46 Cited in E. Golubinskij, *Istorija russkoj cerkvi*, vol. 1, pt. 1 (1901/1969): 442, fn. 1.
47 Cited in Golubinskij, *Istorija russkoj cerkvi*, 1, pt. 1 (1901/1969): 805, fn. 1.
48 For a recent edition of the text and a Russian translation by V. V. Kolesova, see *Pamjatniki literatury drevnej Rusi: XII vek* (Moscow, 1980), pp. 290–309.

Kievan throne, on 20 January 1171,[49] was confronted with the problem of maintaining his position as the supreme patrimonial overlord of Kiev, which he had assumed following the sack of Kiev of 1169. The ensuing contest for the Kievan throne, which lasted for over two years, led to the Kiev campaign of 1173, Andrej's second attempt to conquer and subordinate Kiev, which this time ended for him in a humiliating military defeat. Both the contest and the campaign of 1173 were described in three interrelated narrations incorporated in the Kievan Chronicle: (1) The Beginning of the Princely Reign of Volodimer in Kiev;[50] (2) The Beginning of the Princely Reign of Roman Rostislavič in Kiev;[51] (3) The untitled *skazanie* about the Kiev campaign of 1173, the most extensive of the three.[52]

The contest for the Kievan throne began when the Rostislaviči clan challenged Andrej Bogoljubskij's overlordship in Kiev by installing on its throne Volodimer Mstislavič, who died following a brief reign of four months. The Kievan Chronicle reported that "Andrej was displeased with his [Volodimer Mstislavič's] enthronement in Kiev and that he sent [messages] ordering him to leave Kiev, and ordering Roman Rostislavič to go to Kiev."[53] The installation of Roman Rostislavič in Kiev in July of 1171[54] and the tentative subordination of the Rostislaviči proved to be, from Andrej's perspective, only a temporary solution, for soon, under the pretext of patrimonial insubordination, he ordered the Rostislaviči to abandon Kiev and appointed his brother Mixail Jurevič as the ruler of Kiev.[55] A coalition of the deposed Rostislaviči and Mstislav of Volhynia opposed Andrej's plans for Kiev and his new candidate for the Kievan throne. They succeeded in recapturing Kiev and turned over the city to Rjurik Rostislavič, who was enthroned on 1 April 1172.[56] The Kievan Chronicle comments approvingly that Rjurik "entered Kiev with great fame and honor and sat on the throne of his father and grandfather."[57] Andrej responded to this challenge by organizing a major coalition of princes (as in 1168). The Olgoviči of Černihiv temporarily sided with him. By 1173, he again managed to assemble a major army, including twenty princes, which, according to the apparently inflated information of the Kievan Chronicle,

49 *PSRL*, 2 (1908/1962), cols. 563–64.
50 *PSRL*, 2 (1908/1962), cols. 566–68.
51 *PSRL*, 2 (1908/1962), cols. 568–72.
52 *PSRL*, 2 (1908/1962), cols. 572–78.
53 *PSRL*, 2 (1908/1962), col. 566.
54 *PSRL*, 2 (1908/1962), col. 568.
55 *PSRL*, 2 (1908/1962), cols. 569–70.
56 M. Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija Ukrajiny-Rusy*, vol. 2 (1905^2/1954), p. 200, fn. 2.
57 *PSRL* 2 (1908/1962), cols. 570–71.

amounted to 50,000 men.[58] The huge army conducted operations in southern Rus' and the Kievan area during the summer and fall of 1173, but, due to internal disagreements in Andrej's army and particularly following the defection of Svjatoslav of Černihiv, it was decisively defeated.

Whereas the facts of the contest for the Kievan throne and the campaign of 1173 have been tentatively reconstructed from the narration in the Kievan Chronicle by Myxajlo Hruševs'kyj,[59] among others, these narrations and particularly the untitled *skazanie* about the Kiev campaign of 1173 have not been analyzed in scholarly literature for their ideological content. Hruševs'kyj merely observed that the treatment of the campaign of 1173 in the *skazanie* acquired "an epic tone and a pompous, rhetorical style."[60] What makes this *skazanie* exceptionally significant for the understanding of the contest for the Kievan succession is not its literary devices, but rather its content, namely, the most stinging criticism, couched primarily in religious-ideological terms, ever to be leveled at Andrej Bogoljubskij in any known contemporary historical or ideological work of old Rus'.

> [The Prince is accused of having become] filled with haughtiness and very proud, placing his hope in martial force and surrounding himself with a multitude of warriors, and burning with anger. . . .[61] [of having failed to escape] from the web of the much-deceitful devil, who engages in war against the Christians. Prince Andrej, being such a wise man and so valiant in all his deeds, lost his senses, and lacking restraint burned with anger. He spoke with such boastful words, which were shameful and vile to God. Boasting and pride come from the devil who plants boastfulness and pride in our hearts. Just as [the Apostle] Paul says: "God is against those who are proud, but He grants grace to those who are humble." And the word of the Apostle Paul came to pass, as we shall relate later.[62]

After having provided an extensive account of the Kiev campaign and the circumstances which led to the defeat of Andrej's army, the author(s) of the *skazanie* concluded:

> Thus the word of the Apostle Paul had come to pass, which says, as we have written before: "He who exalts himself shall be humbled, but he who is humble shall be exalted." And all the forces of Prince Andrej of Suzdal' returned. He had gathered all the lands and of the multitude of his warriors there was no count. They had come in pride, but departed to their homes humbled.[63]

The prince was accused of having committed under the influence of the devil the greatest moral sins, namely, those of pride, haughtiness, and boast-

58 *PSRL* 2 (1908/1962), col. 573.
59 Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija Ukrajiny-Rusy*, 2: 200–202.
60 Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija Ukrajiny-Rusy*, 2: 201.
61 *PSRL*, 2 (1908/1962), col. 572.
62 *PSRL*, 2 (1908/1962), col. 574.
63 *PSRL*, 2 (1908/1962), cols. 577–78.

ing. The gravity of the condemnation can hardly be overestimated, in particular if one compares the aforecited commentary with the simple explanation of the sack of Kiev in 1169 provided by the same Kievan Chronicle in its *skazanie* about that sack, in which Andrej is not criticized directly and the misfortune which befell Kiev and its people is interpreted as a deserved punishment in the spirit of Christian humility (*grex radi našix* ['because of our sins']).[64]

The author(s) of the narration about the reign of Roman Rostislavič in Kiev and the *skazanie* about the Kiev campaign of 1173 substantiated their criticism of Andrej Bogoljubskij with the right of resistance, based on moral-religious and legal grounds and opposing unlawful, immoral princely actions and behavior.[65] In the narration they utilized alleged exchanges between Andrej and the Rostislaviči, in which the former asserted his right to act as he pleased (a prerogative of unlimited patrimonial power) and the latter responded with charges that Andrej broke agreements confirmed by the kissing of the cross and invoked God's judgment in their conflict with him. Andrej's accusation of the Rostislaviči reads:

> You [Roman Rostislavič] and your brethren do not act according to my will. You will leave Kiev, David [must leave] Vyšhorod, and Mstislav—Bilhorod, and you have Smolensk, divide it among yourselves.[66]

The Rostislaviči, who were very unhappy about their being deprived of the Rus' land by Andrej Bogoljubskij and by his giving Kiev to his brother Mixail Jurevič, countered Andrej's claim to unlimited patrimonial power with a justification of their own:

> Brother, we have called you a father, according to law, and we kissed the cross to you, and by adhering to the kissing of the cross we wished you well. And now you have driven out our brother, Roman, from Kiev and ordered us to leave the Rus' land, though we have done no wrong. Let God and the power of the cross [be our judges].[67]

A similar exchange of political statements between Andrej and the Rostislaviči was recorded in the *skazanie* about the Kiev campaign of 1173. Andrej's emissary to the Rostislaviči was instructed to convey to them the prince's request:

[64] *PSRL*, 2 (1908/1962), col. 545.
[65] For an exposition of the medieval Germanic right of resistance, see the fundamental work by F. Kern, *Gottesgnadentum und Widerstandsrecht im frühen Mittelalter* (Darmstadt, 1963³), pp. 138–78.
[66] *PSRL*, 2 (1908/1962), cols. 569–70.
[67] *PSRL*, 2 (1908/1962), col. 570.

> You do not act in accordance with my will. Rjurik, you go to Smolensk to your brother, to your own patrimony. Then tell David: "And you go to Berlad', for I do not command you to be in the land of Rus'." Say to Mstislav: "You are the cause of everything and I do not command you to be in the land of Rus'."[68]

Prince Mstislav responded with a statement based on the right of resistance:

> Until now we have loved you like a father. [But now] since you have sent [us] such a message [speaking to us] not as to a prince, but as to a subject and a common man, then do what you have intended to do. Let God be [our] judge.[69]

God's judgment resulted in Andrej Bogoljubskij's defeat, thus settling the moral and legal issues. The use of moral and judicial arguments in the *skazanie* about the campaign of 1173 represented the most powerful indictment of Bogoljubskij's policies toward Kiev. It was also one of the infrequent cases in which the authors/editors of the Kievan Chronicle relied extensively on religious justifications.

VIII

A discussion of Andrej Bogoljubskij's ecclesiastical policies in the contest for the Kievan succession should include an explanation of the inclusion in the Kievan Chronicle of the *Tale About the Slaying of Andrej Bogoljubskij* (*Pověst' ob ubienii Andreja [Bogoljubskogo]*), written by his protagonists following his death.[70] Paradoxically, the most extensive version of the *Pověst'*, which actually is a eulogy and a political-ideological treatise glorifying Bogoljubskij and his achievements, was included in the Kievan Chronicle that otherwise, with a few minor exceptions, was critical of his policies and in particular of his role and behavior in the Kiev campaign of 1173.[71] By juxtaposing Kiev to Vladimir and Vyšhorod to Bogoljubovo ("and as far as Vyšhorod was from Kiev, so far was Bogoljubovo from Vladimir"),[72] the Golden Gates of the two capital cities and the martyrdom of Andrej to that of Boris and Glěb,[73] the authors of the *Pověst'* in the Kievan Chronicle not only glorified Bogoljubskij, but also enhanced the image of Vladimir at the expense of Kiev, by elevating its status to that of

68 *PSRL*, 2 (1908/1962), cols. 572–73.

69 *PSRL*, 2 (1908/1962), col. 573.

70 *PSRL*, 2 (1908/1962), cols. 580–95. The text of the short version, included in the Suzdal'-Vladimirian Chronicle(s) (*PSRL*, 1 [1926/1962], cols. 367–69), amounts to one and a half columns, therefore a ratio of nearly 10:1. For a discussion of the *Pověst'* and the literature on the subject, see N. N. Voronin, "Povest' ob ubijstve Andreja Bogoljubskogo i ee avtor," *Istorija SSSR*, 1963, 3, pp. 80–97; and Hurwitz, *Prince Andrej Bogoljubskij*, pp. 48–53, 107–108.

71 See above.

72 *PSRL*, 2 (1908/1962), col. 580.

73 *PSRL*, 2 (1908/1962), col. 593.

the ancient capital of Rus'. Why, then, was this *Povĕst'*, so favorably predisposed to Bogoljubskij and his political designs, included in the Kievan Chronicle?

As I have already pointed out in my study on the sack of Kiev in 1169, the authors/editors of the Kievan Chronicle must have incorporated the *Povĕst'* on account of its relevance to Kievan history in a broad sense.[74] Evidently, their general attitude must have been to integrate in the chronicle all Kiev-related materials, regardless of their content. They did not hesitate to accept the entire Kievan inheritance, because they considered themselves its rightful heirs. By comparison, the authors/editors of the Suzdal'-Vladimirian Chronicle(s) utilized Kievan materials selectively and adapted them to their political and ideological needs.

Since most, if not all, of the authors/editors of the Kievan Chronicle were ecclesiastics,[75] they shared a Christian *Weltanschauung*. They apparently interpreted from that perspective Bogoljubskij's campaign of 1173, on which he embarked having committed the greatest sin of pride. He had been justly punished by defeat and humiliation. In addition to the moral punishment, he had been brutally slain, which could be interpreted as an ultimate punishment. Apparently the time had come to forgive the sinner. The inclusion of the eulogizing *Povĕst'* about his slaying in the Kievan Chronicle may have been regarded as the final act of forgiveness.

On the other hand, the *Povĕst'* about the slaying of Andrej Bogoljubskij could have been included in the Kievan Chronicle for didactic reasons and interpreted from the perspective of the medieval right of resistance, according to which a ruler who violates agreements confirmed by the kissing of the cross, who misuses his power, and who behaves like a tyrant can justly be killed.

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74 Pelenski, "The Sack of Kiev of 1169: Its Significance for the Succession to Kievan Rus'," pp. 314–15.

75 B. A. Rybakov's hypothesis about the participation of the "bojar-chronicler" Petr Borislavič in the composition of various materials of the Kievan Chronicle is in need of further study ("Bojarin-letopisec XII veka," *Istorija SSSR*, 1959, 5, pp. 56–79; idem, *Russkie letopiscy i avtor "Slova o polku Igorove"* [Moscow, 1972], pp. 277–392).

The Question of Authority in Ivan Vyšen'skyj: A Dialectics of Absence

GEORGE G. GRABOWICZ

Even on the surface level, that is, on the basis of the available biographical and historical data and the operant historiographic and literary-critical formulas, Vyšens'kyj seems to be eminently paradoxical and as such seems to call for a restructuring, if not deconstruction, of these very formulas. He is now generally, and popularly, seen as perhaps the most important writer of the period of the renascence of Ukrainian cultural life of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. He is certainly the only writer from the entire middle period of Ukrainian literature (save perhaps Skovoroda, who comes at its very end) who is given prominent play in the contemporary Ukrainian school curriculum or in popular editions—and yet in that very period he was largely unknown and ever more so peripheral; his works were only partially published, never republished, and basically unread; his contemporaries were quite oblivious to his passing from the scene, and hence we do not even know when he died.[1] By virtue of his individuality, his origins, his thematics, but especially because of his language and his talent, he is generally perceived as the first major Ukrainian writer—and yet, as such, he was a writer living in self-imposed exile and isolation from the very community he purportedly represented. A writer—to signal yet another presence/absence—who consciously and consistently saw dignity only in Church Slavonic, and warned against writing in the vernacular, the *prostyi jazyk*, and yet who precisely wrote in a bookish Ukrainian close to the latter.[2] The iconic portrayal of Vyšens'kyj in Soviet literary history, and this, sadly, involves not only academic mountebanks but serious scholars like I. Erëmin,[3] is of a progressive satirist, a fighter for social and national liberation, indeed a humanist; in fact, in the texts—as opposed to the ought-to-be reality of the interpretative formulas—he is, as Hruševs'kyj

[1] See M. Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury* (New York, 1960), vol. 5, pp. 284–351.
[2] See George Y. Shevelov, "*Prosta Čadь* and *Prostaja Mova*," in this volume of *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*.
[3] Cf. his "Ivan Vyšenskij i ego obščestvenno-literaturnaja dejatel'nost'," in Ivan Vyšenskij, *Sočinenija* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1955), pp. 223–71.

was one of the first to point out,[4] a complete, even fanatical traditionalist and literalist, quite unmoved by the humanist and social implications of his religious convictions; in effect, a reactionary. Finally, he is paradoxical even in terms of the strictly non-evaluative, taxonomic schemes of literary periodization: he is manifestly in but not of his literary period. Already Dmytro Čyževs'kyj was at some difficulty to find a niche for Vyšens'kyj, shifting him on the basis of an intuitive and not altogether persuasive reading of his prose style from the Renaissance to the Baroque;[5] in recent Soviet Ukrainian studies there are various, even less persuasive attempts to identify Vyšens'kyj with the Renaissance or some naïvely hypothesized variant of humanism.[6] The issue, however, is not the inability of scholars to place Vyšens'kyj in the proper rubric; that is an all too common predicament for literary historians. The paradox in question is that precisely while not inhering in the literary process as defined by these rubrics, while belonging to the value and norm systems of neither the Renaissance nor the Baroque, he still substantially affects, one might even say determines, our understanding of that very process.

An integrated sense of Vyšens'kyj and his role in the cultural and literary process of his time clearly requires that we establish the context and basic parameters of his thought. In large measure this was done by Hruševs'kyj, who, in the fifth volume of his *History of Ukrainian Literature*, extensively examines, among other things, Byzantine and Slavic hesychasm, the role of Mt. Athos, and their profound impact on Rus' culture.[7] Recently, the specific question of Vyšens'kyj's closeness to hesychasm has again been broached in the West and in Soviet Ukraine.[8] The issues subtended here are several, from methods of mystic contemplation to stylistic and rhetorical praxis (e.g., the "pletenie sloves"); as I. F. Meyendorf has argued, some of these, like the question of hesychasm and humanism, or of "political

[4] Cf. Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury*, 5: 350–51 and passim.

[5] See D. Čyževs'kyj, *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury: Vid počatkiv do doby realizmu* (New York, 1956), pp. 232–41, and his *A History of Ukrainian Literature: From the 11th to the End of the 19th Century*, trans. by Dolly Ferguson, Doreen, Gorsline, and Ulana Petyk, ed. and with a foreword by George S. N. Luckyj (Ukrainian Academic Press, Littleton, Colo., 1975), pp. 263–74. Cf. also George G. Grabowicz, *Toward a History of Ukrainian Literature* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981), pp. 37–38.

[6] Cf. D. S. Nalyvajko and V. I. Krekoten', "Ukrajins'ka literatura XVI–XVIII stolit' u slov'jans'komu i evropejs'komu konteksti," *Slov'jans'ki literatury*, Dopovidi (IX Mižnarodnyj z'jizd slavistiv) (Kiev, 1983), pp. 27–64, especially p. 42.

[7] See Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury*, 5: 351–52.

[8] See Ju. V. Pelešenko, "Deščo pro tradyciji u tvorčosti Ivana Vyšens'koho," *Ukrajins'ke literaturne barokko* (Kiev, 1987), pp. 131–43. Cf. also Harvey Goldblatt, "On the Hesychast Tradition and Ivan Vyšens'kyj," paper read at the 19th National Convention of the AAASS, Boston, November 5–8, 1987.

hesychasm,'' are quite distinct and *sui generis*, and mixing them with the hesychast religious mind-set as such only serves to confuse the issue.[9] (Attempts at somehow establishing a correspondence between Vyšens'kyj's alleged ''activist civic stance'' and ''political hesychasm'' seem to be particularly misguided.[10]) But the most central by far is dualism, the profound and intense way it models Vyšens'kyj's thought and expresses itself in his texts, and its aggressive articulation in Vyšens'kyj's asceticism.

Dualism, a radical separation and polar valuation of the worldly and the godly, the temporal and the spiritual, animates not only all of Vyšens'kyj's texts, but virtually every argument, seemingly every syllogism. More striking than the ubiquitousness, the total conceptual sway of this paradigm, however, is the passion with which it is held and the relentlessness with which it is propounded. The introduction and then the first chapter of his *Knyžka*, a collection of ten epistles, some in rudimentary dialogue (or catechetical form) sent by Vyšens'kyj from Athos to the Ukraine sometime between 1599–1601 (though never published), presents Vyšens'kyj's dualist world view with ineluctable force. The introduction, consisting of an invocation, a table of contents, instruction on how to read the book first in a collective setting and, alternatively, singly, also presents the basic parameters, the fundamental oppositions in which Vyšens'kyj's message and the world he perceives—and excoriates—is couched. The oppositions he sees are irreducible, unmediatable, and absolute: they are truth and lie (*istina i lož*), plainness and clever deceipt, simplicity and philosophy, humility and pride, true Orthodox hope for salvation and the illusory glory of Latin scholarship. It is the first chapter, however, entitled ''The Unmasking of the Devil-Ruler of the World and his Deceitful Snaring of this Quickly Passing Age,'' that shows this vision's all-encompassing, implacable purview. For the devil, according to Vyšens'kyj, literally rules and disposes of everything that is of this world, and everything that is of this world is his snare. The list is astounding: glory, luxury and wealth, all clerical and secular ranks, from pope and cardinal and bishop to parish priest, from king and chancellor and hetman to village elder—all are catalogued—but also all professions and trades, and beyond that any possession—a house, a plot of land, a wife. All will be given to you if you pay hommage to the devil.[11] As striking as the scope, moreover, is the total absence of differentiation, of gradation:

[9] See I. F. Meyendorf, ''O vizantijskom isixazme i ego roli v kul'turnom i istoričeskom razvitii Vostočnoj Evropy v XIV v.,'' *Voprosy istorii russkoj srednevekovoj literatury* (= *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoj literatury*, 29) (Leningrad, 1974), pp. 291–305.
[10] See Pelešenko, ''Deščo pro tradyciji,'' pp. 133–335.
[11] Cf. *Sočinenija*, pp. 11–15.

desiring a bishopric and gaining it through a pact with the devil is the same as gaining a wife or a smithy in this same fashion—the list in fact is meaningful precisely because it is so all-encompassing. Not only that: it is also not a question of a pact in the fashion of a Faust or a Twardowski. As Vyšens'kyj's paratactic diction implies, the very fact, or act, of desiring—where the incantational "esli xočeš pad, poklony my sja, ja tobě dam" alternates with "esli xočeš...ja tobě dam"—is already a concession, a pact with the devil. And thus, too, the alternative he offers, the total rejection of this world—asceticism—as the only sure path to salvation becomes plausible solely within the operant paradigm: the things of this world, *in themselves*, are of the devil; in themselves, without reference to intent or instrumentality, they are snares that cannot but lead to perdition.

Given this fundamental frame, it is plain that various interpretations, such as the one about his putative progressivism, his focus, presumably, on the iniquity of feudal religious and secular authority (interpretations propounded at times by serious scholars, by such as Franko and Erëmin), are hollow and erroneous. If Vyšens'kyj does focus on the clergy, both Catholic and Orthodox, it is because their sin is most egregious to him—in the spiritual, not social or political sense—and they are thus closest to his line of fire. They are, however, only part of a totality—the world—that he categorically rejects and from which he chooses to absent himself. No one term captures this stance better than the epithet he applies so tellingly to his ultimate model, Christ—*mironenavistnik*, 'world-hater'.[12]

This frame, too, fundamentally shapes and colors Vyšens'kyj's sense of, use of, and relation to authority. The question that one must ask first, however, is what are the hypostases of authority for Vyšens'kyj? And, still more basically, *why* authority? One answer to the latter is that authority is functional: it is both a central and a subtly ramified paradigm for examining Vyšens'kyj in his complex totality. As a paradigm attuned to both the content, the values of Vyšens'kyj's world view, as well as the strategies of its exposition, his writing of it, and beyond that his sense of himself and his

[12] Cf., for example, the following passage from his "Letter to the Bishops" (i.e., the initiators of the Union of Brest: the archbishop Myxajlo Rohoza, the bishops Ipatij Potij, Kyrylo Terlec'kyj, Leontij Pel'čyc'kyj, Dionysij Zboryjs'kyj, and Hryhorij Zaborovs'kyj) which is now Chapter 5 of the *Knyžka*:

А о прочиих баснях прокурацких, в ваших книжках оголошеных, княжата бискупи, ни упражнятися на басни, вам отповѣдати не хочу. Скоро бо углянул есми у тое ваше писание, зараз познал есми мудрость ваших милостей рѣчницкую, а не божию, зараз познал есми учителя фантазии ваших милостей, свѣтолюбца, а не мироненавистника Христа, зараз познал есми мистра ваших милостей, славолюбца, а не обещещенного Христа, зараз познал есми ректора ваших милостей, саколюбца, селолюбца, злато- и сребролюбца, а не нищаго сирамаха, бездомника, не имущаго где главу подклонити, Христа. *Sočinenija*, p. 59.

role(s), authority is surely more resonant and productive than the notion of his "activity" (*dejatel'nost'*—even when justified as "literary-social activity," as in Erëmin)[13] or his relation or putative typological closeness to "humanism." As an idea, topos, and paradigm, authority resonates with other concepts crucial for an understanding of Vyšens'kyj: on the one hand tradition, with which it exists (not only in Vyšens'kyj but universally) in an alternatively symbiotic, alternatively antipodal relationship; and, on the other, authorship, *auctoritas*, which is the primal sense and import of the term for any writer, but which is especially germane and problematic for one like Vyšens'kyj whose conscious, ideological goals subordinate and deny the writer in favor of the roles of teacher, missionary, martyr, and prophet. Ultimately, within the force field of Vyšens'kyj's dualism, the idea of authority projects the more subtle graph of Vyšens'kyj's, the writer's, presence, or, more frequently, absence.

Authority, as a universal human phenomenon, can be defined in terms of various perspectives or disciplines, but the one I find most persuasive and functional for our purpose here is drawn on political theory and practice, which, as has been frequently demonstrated, is often intrinsically tied to the religious or specifically ecclesiastical sphere. Authority, first of all, must necessarily be distinguished from power, which is something much more basic and which need not confer or exhibit authority or legitimacy. Following Carl Friedrich we can speak of authority as reasoning elaboration, as the ability of adducing convincing reasons.[14] These reasons, to be sure, need not follow logic; as we see in Vyšens'kyj's case, to the logic of his arch-opponent, the Jesuit Piotr Skarga, he counterposes the authority of God, that is to say, of the Christ of the Gospels, and of primitive Christianity couched in an argument drawn on the dualist world view *and on experience*. To this we shall return. What is apparent at this point, however, is that authority must necessarily be articulated; it must be expressed in this or another fashion or modality. It is thus at its core a rhetoric. And nowhere is this more true than in the case at hand, for the historical and existential context, the essential issue of Vyšens'kyj's writings is polemic and persuasion, and the object of the enterprise is most momentous: it is nothing less than the battle of good and evil and the salvation of man's soul. As he puts it in the invocation to his *Knyžka*, "Ne o ličko ili o remenec idet, ale o cěluju kožu, se est o spasenie duš našix i da ne pogibnem i dočasne i večne ot Boga živa" (For at issue is not a piece of bast or a strap, but the whole skin, that

13 *Sočinenija*, pp. 223–71. Cf. also H. Žytec'kyj, "Literaturnaja dejatel'nost' Ioanna Vyšenskogo," *Kievskaja starina* 29 (1880): 494–532.

14 See Carl J. Friedrich, *Tradition and Authority* (London, 1972), pp. 45–56.

is to say the salvation of our souls, and that we not perish now and forever away from the living God).

As articulation, authority is also in large measure the articulation of values. For Vyšens'kyj, apart from the content, i.e., the nature and range of the values he expresses, there is prominently the question of the context, the ever-shifting nature of values. And again this is quintessentially the case here, for what gives Vyšens'kyj's writing its dramatic energy and its extremist fervor is the sense he surely has that the ground is shifting, that it is slipping from under his—and Rus'ian—feet, that they are losing ground to an entirely different, western set of values. The matter may indeed be put more pointedly: Vyšens'kyj's context and the context of Rus' is precisely the clash of values of two societies, of Rus' and of the elite of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. More precisely still, it is a clash of values within Rus', between its traditional forces and those who have begun to share the values of and seek parity with the elite of the Commonwealth. Vyšens'kyj the writer reflects the interplay and historical fate of these forces: his ability to articulate traditional values gives him authority while the rapid decline of those values among the Ruthenian elite in the first decades of the seventeenth century—as epitomized by Peter Mohyla and the curriculum of the academy he founded—leads to the loss of authority, dramatically highlighted by Vyšens'kyj's absenting himself from Ukrainian society through his self-imposed exile to Mt. Athos, and, following this, his disappearance for more than two centuries from the literary consciousness of his compatriots. As I should like to argue, however, this disappearance was hardly as total as it may at first seem.

The actual question of authority in Vyšens'kyj, I submit, can be treated under four separate rubrics: as a textual, or putting the matter somewhat broadly, as a canonical model; as a moral, behavioral, or, ultimately, existential model; as spokesmanship; and, finally, as *auctoritas*. In various ways and in different times these tend to overlap; I differentiate them more for heuristic reasons and do not imply autonomy to any of the four; they certainly are not consciously separated by Vyšens'kyj. What is most telling, too, is that in the latter two rubrics, which pertain to the person or better still the persona of Vyšens'kyj, that is to say his roles as spokesman and author, authority tends to deconstruct itself, with denial replacing assertion.

One aspect of authority that I have not included in this scheme is the one that most readily comes to mind—the authority associated with position and privilege, with hierarchy and power. I exclude it not so much on theoretical grounds, by reason of the previously noted distinction between authority and power, but because this is precisely a non-issue or non-category for

Vyšens'kyj. For him, as we see throughout his writings and, emblematically, in the catalogue of the devil's snares in the first chapter of the *Knyžka* which begins with a list of the church hierarchy, the authority of bishops and cardinals, priests and popes is illusory and anti-Christian if it is seen as inhering in the office and not in the actions of the man. Vyšens'kyj's thought tends to be radically anti-hierarchical and anti-establishmentarian, as we see, for example, from this passage from the third chapter of his *Knyžka*:

> Lěpše bo vam bez vladyk i bez popov, ot diavola postavlenyx, do cerkvi xoditi i pravoslavie xraněti, neželi s vladykami i popami ne ot Boha zvannymi, u cerkvi byti i s toe sja ruhati i pravoslavie popirati. Ne popy bo nas spasut, ili vladyki, ili mitropolity, ale věry našee tajnstvo pravoslavnoe s xraneniem zapovědej Božiix—toe nas spasti maet.
>
> [Better for you to go to church and preserve Orthodoxy without bishops and priests, appointed by the devil, than to be in church with bishops and priests not called by God and thus mock it and trample Orthodoxy. For it is not the priests who will save us, or the bishops or metropolitans, but the Orthodox mystery of our faith and the keeping of God's commandments—this is what is to save us.][15]

And while one can argue that the sharp point of the argument has as its subtext the historical reality after 1596—the implied object here, of course, is the Ruthenian clergy who accepted the union with Rome—the general thrust of Vyšens'kyj's thinking, plainly expressed in his texts, is distinctly anti-hierarchical. For him, the authority there is an absence.

Real authority, to turn to the first of my rubrics, is in Christ's message, and it is expressed only through a restricted set of sources or texts: the Gospels (by far the most frequently cited), the Acts of the Apostles (predominantly Paul), and the writings of the church fathers (cited less frequently, selectively, and, as we will see, at times imperfectly). These are the only texts that he cites and at times paraphrases, and in effect they constitute the only authority for him. Their validity and importance is inseparable from their message; they admit no ambiguity; in a sense they are taken not as texts requiring interpretation (although Vyšens'kyj, in fact, does interpret them) but as self-evident, revealed precepts. Consistency between and within them is assumed, but certainly not tested, most evidently because the model of behavior Vyšens'kyj sees them as projecting is so clear and monolithic for him. Apart from this content of their authority, they are buttressed by tradition and the collectivity that implies. In fact, for Vyšens'kyj

[15] *Sočinenija*, p. 24.

the authority of the church resides both in its implementation of Christ's precepts and in its collectivity. The truth of Orthodoxy—and it must be stressed that for Vyšens'kyj *istina*, 'truth', is both *the* cardinal concern and the single most explicit, discrete conceptual equivalent of moral authority—is thus the completion of Christ's initial law and mandate, its continuation in tradition (with an attendant powerful bias against innovation), and the enobling, authenticating feature of community-collectivity. Just as innovation (on any level, but particularly doctrinal) invariably leads to error and heresy, so also does separation from the collective, or, quite simply, the emphases on the role, the rights, the autonomy of the individual. This, again, is not merely a polemic device to be used against those bishops and others who had broken with Orthodoxy, with the *narod*; it is deeply embedded in the totality of his thoughts. And when the individual in question is Vyšens'kyj himself, Vyšens'kyj the writer, the injunction against individualism assumes a new complexity.

But what is the *content* of authority, the second rubric I mentioned? It is Christ's message in its simplest form, the message of the Gospels, with a particularly insistent focus on humility, poverty, and a general uncompromising rejection of the values, the snares of this world, which include among them the self. One of the citations Vyšens'kyj uses most insistently to convey this point is from Mark 8:34: "If any man would come after me, let him deny himself, take up his cross, and follow me"; or in the same vein in Luke 14:33: "thus any one of you who will not renounce everything he has cannot be a disciple of mine." As conceived by Vyšens'kyj, the true expression of these messages is the ascetic ideal. In fact, as becomes clear from innumerable passages, illustrations, and invocations, the authority of Christ and of his Church is incarnate in and rests on the monastic ideal, not abstractly, but literally, through the continuing, everyday existence, prayer, and self-denial of the monks. Through this feat—and Vyšens'kyj consistently uses the term *podvig* to describe their, and his, life—the faithful, the Rus' nation, are kept in existence. As he puts it repeatedly: "Ili ne vědaete, bědnici, esli by ne bylo istinnyx inokov i bohouhodnikov meži vami, už by davno, jakož Sodoma i Gomora župelom i ohnem v Ljadskoj zemli este opopilěli" (Do you not know, you wretches, that if these were no true monks or those who deny themselves for God among you you would have long ago perished by fire and brimstone in the Polish land).[16] Or again: "Věru mi imi, esli by vas inoki pred Bohom ne zastupali uže byste davno s vseju potěxoju svoeju mirskoju izčezli i pohibli" (Believe me, if there were not monks to intercede for you before God

[16] *Sočinenija*, p. 25.

you would have long ago, with all your worldly goods, died and perished).[17]

In effect the monk and the ascetic life become the pillar of moral authority and the fulcrum of moral action. Among others, two moments need to be noted. One is how radically Rus' and this ascetic version of Byzantine Christianity are identified. The other is the way in which the apologia and apotheosis of the monastic and ascetic model come to establish and aggrandize the authority of Vyšens'kyj—the ascetic and monk—himself. This leads to the third, personal and individual, aspect of authority in Vyšens'kyj, that of his role as spokesman for and to his nation. The issues that are substended here are several, and each quite central by virtue of the light they shed on the Ukrainian cultural and political renascence in the early seventeenth century, but here I will confine myself to just the salient points. In actual, real terms, Vyšens'kyj's contacts are primarily with the *bratstva*, the confraternities; his epistles are basically directed to them and, in some measure, at least initially, he is attuned to their structure; this has already been investigated and deserves further attention.[18] In the broader conceptual terms that are of primary concern for me here, it is more than apparent that vis-à-vis Rus', Vyšens'kyj sees himself as teacher, spiritual leader, and prophet. In numerous individual formulations and in the unmistakable tenor of his total oeuvre, Vyšens'kyj, consciously assuming the style of St. Paul, casts himself as a new missionary to a land that has become newly heathen. Six hundred years after Rus'-Ukraine had been Christianized—and this is not merely rhetoric, but a paradigm of Vyšens'kyj's thought—it requires a new apostle. His recent translator, Valerij Ševčuk, paints this picture in bold strokes:

From Athos [Vyšens'kyj] sends thundering epistles written in the style of Paul the Apostle, bids them be read at confraternity meetings, even spells out how they should be read, sends emmissaries from himself (especially a certain protohegumen Sava), teaches, scolds, waxes wrathful, orders, offers moral advice, excoriates the social order, the gentry, the clergy—in a word senses his close tie to the *narod*, and also behaves like a leader, a helmsman [that, by the way, a neat Soviet aperçu—G.G.G.] of that *narod*. "The Lord is with us and I am always with you," announces Vyšens'kyj, not altogether humbly. . . .[19]

The real picture is rather more complicated than this paradigm would suggest. The moral authority on which Vyšens'kyj draws comes from the Church, from Orthodoxy, but also and primarily, as we have seen, from its

[17] *Sočinenija*, p. 25.

[18] See, for example, Ja. D. Isajevyč, *Bratstva ta jix rol' v rozvytku ukrajins'koji kul'tury XVI–XVIII st.* (Kiev, 1966).

[19] Valerij Ševčuk, "Ivan Vyšens'kyj ta joho poslannja," Ivan Vyšens'kyj, *Tvory* (Kiev, 1986), p. 7.

monastic, ascetic life. This—*inočestvo*, the *inok*—is repeatedly portrayed as a form of suffering, and he within it is no less than a martyr. Characteristically, the entire complex, from the prime source, Christ (whom he calls *obeščeščennyj*, 'humiliated', and *niščyj siramaxa, bezdomnik*, 'a wretched, houseless beggar'),[20] to the Orthodox faith (whose authority and validity stem precisely from the fact that it is weak and persecuted—i.e., by the Turks—while Rome is triumphant and hence heathen) and finally to Vyšens'kyj himself, is defined through negation and absence. In the persona of Vyšens'kyj as spokesman, however, this absence becomes even more pronounced and resonant for he draws his authority not only from his place in the spiritual order of things, his role as an ascetic monk, but from the physical place itself, the holy mountain of Athos to which he absents himself. Apart from the ideological there is, of course, the practical, functional reason for this: there he is one, on the holy mountain, among the chosen, the elite of the faith; in the Ukraine he would be in the hubbub of the real world, in the midst of political and religious strife, one among many. Vyšens'kyj's choice of "splendid separation" (the phrase has particular resonance for those acquainted with twentieth-century Ukrainian political ideology), his choice of authority through isolation, was obviously fated to negate that authority: at first his countrymen and followers tried to dissuade him, urging him to return and engage himself, and when he did not budge, soon turned away and forgot him. Vyšens'kyj's attempts to justify his course are a leitmotif in his later writings and deserve special attention. A particularly poignant moment is his last written work, the "Pozoryšče myslene" of 1615/1616, which is an elaborate, and so evocative for the modern critical temper, willful, and persistent misreading of a text: he attacks a Ukrainian translator (Havrylo Dorofijovyč) of one of the writings of Ioan Zlatoust, "On Priesthood," for supposedly distorting the church father by having him condemn those who put their personal salvation "on top of the mountain" above their task of helping their "dying brethren."[21] But Zlatoust did say this, and Vyšens'kyj's furious effort to disprove this becomes a remarkable argument of absent authority. Still more poignant, however, is his rejection—in favor of transcendant authority—of the real bond that animated his actual authority as spokesman, that is, his bond with the *narod*. In his "Epistle to Domnikija" he says the following to those who request his return and remind him of his bond with the *narod*: "Sija slovesa istovyja basni sut', niže otvěta dostojni: ni bo az s narodom zavěty

[20] *Sočinenija*, p. 59.

[21] See especially the section entitled "Otvět Skarzě na zazrost' grekov," in "Začapka mudraho latynnika z hlupym rusynom."

zavěščal, niže otvěty tvoril, no niže naroda znaju, niže besědoju s nimi obščixsja i poznaniem zraka'' (These words are a veritable fairy tale and unworthy of an answer, for I made no pact with the *narod* and gave no answers and I know not the *narod*, I do not commune with it and do not know it by sight).[22] If one accepts the syllogism, which not only the Romantics did and the Soviets still do, but which, structurally, Vyšens'kyj also did, that ''vox populi vox Dei,'' that the people are Christ, then this is Vyšens'kyj recapitulating Peter's denial of Christ.

The final issue of authority here (wherein we see Vyšens'kyj's symbolic atonement for the above denial) is that of Vyšens'kyj as writer, the question of his *auctoritas*. While this is clearly contiguous to his role as spokesman, it is nevertheless distinct and, in light of contemporary theoretical—deconstructive—concerns, the basic distinction of the spoken and the written word, immensely interesting. For Vyšens'kyj is quintessentially a writer in spite of himself, one whose ideology, values, and rhetoric are profoundly at odds with the psychological and elemental urge to write as such. This opposition can seemingly express itself only in paradoxes, the most obvious of which is that of language, for precisely the language he chooses—to communicate, to establish his authority as writer—is a bookish Ukrainian which he theoretically disvalues in favor of a canonically dignified (but in effect not functional for his purpose) Church Slavonic. Characteristically, Church Slavonic is valuable and holy precisely because it is not known, not ordered, and lacking grammars; it is, however, conducive to the creation of saints and miracles. No less paradoxical is his understanding of the written work. ''In theory,'' that is within his dualist, ascetic world view, there is no room for the writer as individual, as one who creates, who establishes new values and new constructs; his oft repeated ideal is nothing less than *molčanie*, 'silence'.[23] He is quite explicit, too, in his rejection of western literary models, of rhetoric and plays, of Aristotle and Plato, as he puts it. (And one must note that attempts to qualify this, as I myself did,[24] on the basis of a passage in his ''Epistle to Domnikija,'' where he seems to tolerate these western models if they are made subordinate to traditional church schooling in liturgy and so on, seem now to be basically unpersuasive; this was only a brief tactical concession—in tone and conceptualization he remains militantly opposed.) No less eloquent is

22 *Sočinenija*, p. 168.

23 See, for example, ''Pozoryšče myslennoe,'' where, again citing Christ's ''Kto xoščet vslěd meně iti, da otveržetsja sebě i vozmet krest svoj i poslěduet mi,'' he immediately adds: ''sež' est', v molcanii um iměti, iskusitisja podabaet,'' *Sočinenija*, pp. 212–13.

24 See Grabowicz, *Toward a History of Ukrainian Literature*, p. 35.

his version of what the ideal Slavic Orthodox book should look like. He describes it in his "Začapka mudraho latynnyka z hlupym rusynom" (A Debate between a Wise Man of the Latin Rite and a Stupid Ruthenian): it—the book—is to be called a "Sbornik" and should contain all the knowledge and mysteries relevant for the Orthodox faith: the teachings of Christ, the apostles, and the church fathers, and all other church knowledge, arranged by day according to the liturgical calendar.[25] Even more telling is the metaphor with which he introduces it:

ohoroda blahočestiju, zastupajučy vsjakyj blahočestivyj pomysl aby ne vyxodil ot vnutr' pravoslavnye mysli na dvor za ohorodu samomněnnoju dumoju, hdě zver' eresi živet i slaboumnyx na svoju prelest' vosxiščaet i požiraet.

[it would be a fort for righteousness protecting every righteous thought so that it not leave by way of individual thinking the center of Orthodox thought and go beyond the perimeter where lives the beast of heresy who captures by his snares and devours those of feeble mind.][26]

A more conservatively, or stereotypically medieval, articulation of the book is hard to envision, and, given the humanist perspective, the fort here is nothing so much as a prison.

And yet in practice Vyšens'kyj's writing is quite different; it is hardly imprisoned. While his rhetorical range is modest (if muscular) and his intellectual and imaginative horizon unquestionably narrow when compared to his Renaissance contemporaries, his assertion and development of an individual *voice* is unquestionable. If authority—or *auctoritas*—is primarily a discovery of the self, and in terms of the written word, of the voice, then Vyšens'kyj clearly succeeds, and in so doing becomes the first modern Ukrainian writer. The passion of his voice, its discoursive subtlety, its wit and irony and bluster and even plaintive dissimulation, breaks through not only the distance of time and of dogmatic strictures but his own ennervating absence of faith in his effort.

Vyšens'kyj, to conclude, can serve as a resonant and at times poignant synecdoche of the legacy of the Christianization of Rus'-Ukraine. He dramatizes the conflicts that ensued when after six hundred years that Byzantine legacy was finally forced to confront a more dynamic western one. Still more to the point, he dramatizes how after those six centuries, with its original inspiration dried out, that Orthodox culture, through Mohyla and his achievements, was obliged to turn to its rival and confront him on his ground.

25 *Sočinenija*, p. 177.
26 *Sočinenija*, p. 177.

In this process, however, Vyšens'kyj was not a player, but an obstacle, and a formidable one at that. It was he who not only propounded irreconcilable struggle against all "latin" innovations, "wisdoms," "philosophies," and so on, but also total separation from this western—and, in reality, surrounding—world. No one, perhaps, was more sensitive to all the perilous implications of this separation than Ivan Franko. Although Vyšens'kyj attracted him with his spiritual power and as model of a prophet, Franko also saw

> how dangerous and morally injurious was this program of separatism, which immediately put the Ruthenians outside the pale of civic life and civil competition in the area of common interests, which taught them to conceal their real thoughts, to say and do one thing and think another, whereby in time the mask became part of the face, so that a person no longer knew what is authentic and true in him and what is masked, which meant that in the end true, sincere thoughts and feelings died away, and character was demoralized. The results of this process are all too obvious: Rus' lost faith in itself, it lost the sense of its own dignity and that natural, live solidarity which holds together every living society and constantly renews it, doubling its strengths; Rus' became accustomed always to look to others, to beg, to curry someone's favor, to bow and scrape without need, to measure life and social matter with the short rod of personal utilitarianism. Everything in it that was more vital, imbued with spirit and desire for a broader civic life abandoned it, without the least feelings of guilt, for it seemed that it was abandoning a *sect*, not a *society*. The separatism that was to have been the salvation of Rus' damaged it morally and materially, and perhaps could have killed it entirely if its full implementation would have been possible. But such an implementation was not possible. In a living social organism one cannot cut off, isolate one part from the others so that no exchange of vital fluids is possible. Despite its separatism Rus' received from Poland both schools and scholarly books, reading material and literary models, and it reworked them in its own fashion. This was its salvation, in fact, it was the sign of its vitality and a guarantee of its further development.[27]

The larger picture of the history of Ukrainian literature is also illuminated by the case of Vyšens'kyj. On the one hand, retrospectively, he is a man clearly of the Middle Ages who paradoxically ushers in modern Ukrainian literature and the soon to become rich and interesting Ukrainian Baroque; in so doing, he sheds light on that puzzling and troubling period of almost three hundred years, between the end of the thirteenth and the end of the sixteenth century, when there was a virtual silence in Ukrainian literature. We may surmise that that silence, as Vyšens'kyj's case may suggest, resulted not from a *passive* but from an *active* distrust of writing, of the individual leap it entails, precisely in the spirit of the then dominant dualist tenets. On the other hand, looking forward into Ukrainian literary history,

[27] Ivan Franko, "Ivan Vyšens'kyj i joho tvory," *Zibrannja tvoriv u p'jatdesjaty tomax* (Kiev, 1981), vol. 30, p. 127.

Vyšens'kyj points to a deep recurring structure in Ukrainian culture and literature. This two hundred and fifty-year-long absence from Ukrainian literature, between the time he wrote his last work and when he was first published in 1865, may not be as total as it at first appears. For in a way his spirit of denying the visible, seemingly all-powerful world for the sake of a higher, transcendant reality was fated to be reborn, with different accents, in the two following centuries—in each case in the dominant Ukrainian writer of his time. In the eighteenth century it was the mystic poet and peripatetic philosopher Hryhorij Skovoroda, whose luminous sense of inner reality is summarized in his own words as "the world pursued me, but did not capture me"; and in the nineteenth century it was the outstanding Romantic poet Taras Ševčenko, whose vision of a reborn Ukraine, of redeemed mankind, and of a holy communitas came to have such a profound impact on Ukrainian cultural and political life.

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Semen Shakhovskoi and the Condition of Orthodoxy

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper, part of a larger work, is to draw attention to the life and works of Semen Ivanovich Shakhovskoi (ca. 1585–1653?), a little-known, but immensely significant, Russian secular intellectual whose career and creation were fundamentally determined by the travails of Orthodoxy in his time.

It will be argued that Shakhovskoi's importance for us lies in the fact that he was in a sense the first *intelligent*. A high-born member of the secular service elite, he was the first to suffer deprivation and exile for his intellectual convictions—views that amounted to loyal dissent concerning both domestic affairs and Russia's relationship to alien, primarily but not exclusively Western, cultures.

Semen Shakhovskoi was a secular figure who, while a believer, spent much of his life under official Church ban. He lived in a time of massive cultural change, and, in a society that had not yet developed a broadly accepted secular mode for the discussion of such matters, much of his literary activity—and many of his troubles—were determined by the contemporary condition of Orthodoxy.

It is indeed singular, in my view, that he was the first strictly secular person—certainly the first of the hereditary Muscovite military aristocracy—to master the intellectual traditions and literary techniques of Muscovite clerical culture while remaining a layman. And master them he did. While his canon is by no means established, it is clear that we may attribute to him several influential historical compositions, a remarkable corpus of liturgical writings, and a virtuoso assortment of epistolary texts, some of which we shall sample as I attempt, briefly, to take the measure of this remarkable man.

THE CONTEXT OF THE TIMES

As he approached the age of fifty, Fedar Evlashovskii, a Belorussian Calvinist, husband of a devoted Orthodox mother of nine, and loyal servant of the Catholic king of Poland, made up his mind to set down the story of his life for the edification of his children and grandchildren. His memoirs,

recently published by the Belorussian Academy of Sciences,[1] will rightly take a very modest place in the archives of mankind's existential awareness, and in the history of Belorussian literature. But for us they are of interest for several reasons: they convey odd bits of gossip about the royal court, where, among other things, Evlashovskii seems to have been a procuror; they are written in an indescribable mixture of Belorussian and Polish, which is very difficult to read; and, most importantly, they convey a number of bits of information about the cultural and religious milieu in which Evlashovskii lived—information that permits us to put the Muscovite world of Semen Shakhovskoi in a certain context.

I quote two passages of this text in the original, as a way of setting the stage:

A v piatom roku pochato me bavit' naukoiu ruskoiu, kgdy zhe v tykh chasekh v tei nashei strone ne bylo eshche inshikh nauk. I dlia togo zhe prishlo mi zostat' z ruskoiu i polskoiu naukoiu, i po-zhidovsky napisat' umelom. Ale toe pismo ikh potrebue umeetnosti iazyka ebreiskogo, abo khot' nemetskogo; kgdy zh vzho teper Bibliia zhidovskaia nemetskim ezykom, a literami ikh vydana, chogo polskim iazykom uchinit' by ce ne moglo dlia ortokgrafei, iakei v ynshikh iazykokh ne mash.

[And when I was five I was started on the study of Belorussian, there being no other form of learning in our country at that time. And this is why I never learned anything but Belorussian and Polish, and I knew how to write Yiddish. But their language requires a knowledge of Hebrew, or at least German, as in these days the Jewish Bible has been printed in German but with Hebrew letters, something one could not do in Polish because of an orthography of a kind you don't have in other languages.][2]

Although such an education, and such attitudes, might today strike us as strange (Evlashovskii, as a Calvinist, may have read that Yiddish Bible himself), for his time (he was five in 1561) such religious toleration was still not as unusual as it was to become after the Counter-Reformation had come to Belorussia. In fact, Evlashovskii speaks with an uncommon historical awareness about what we know was perhaps the most significant general societal change of his lifetime. While enumerating the favors and forms of assistance he had received in his lifetime from Catholic, Orthodox, and Protestant benefactors, he comments:

bovem na on chas roznost' viary ne chinila namneishei roznosti v milosti priiatelskei, dlia chogo samogo tamtot vek zlotym mi se vidi ot nineishogo veku, kgde iuzh

[1] *Pominki memuarnai litaratury Belarusi XVII ct.* (A. N. BSSR, Instytut litaratury ima Ianki Kupaly, Minsk, 1983). The same text was previously published in both Cyrillic and Latin transcription; see ibid., pp. 64–65. I adhere here to the transcription of the new edition. I have not checked the translation against the English version published by Father Nadson in the *Journal of Belorussian Studies* 1, no. 4 (1986): 269–348.

[2] *Pominki*, pp. 3–7.

i mezhi ednei viary liudmi obluda vse zastupila, a pokgotoviu mezhi roznymi viary ani se pytai o milost', shchirost' i pravdive dobre zakhovane. A naventsei mezhi svetskimi stany.

[For in that time confessional differences caused no differences in kindnesses among friends, for which reason alone that faraway age seems to me golden by comparison with the present one, when hypocrisy has come even between people of the same religion, and kindness, generosity and good Christian love between (people of) different faiths is utterly out of the question, and even more so between social groups.][3]

So wrote Evlashovskii in 1603, only seven years after the Union of Brest, of the deterioration of intercommunal relations and the hardening of confessional lines in the Commonwealth during his lifetime. In subsequent decades that process was to have a decisive effect upon the life of Semen Shakhovskoi, whose temperament and life experience seem to have inclined him to cosmopolitanism and toleration at a time when his nation and church, under the profound influence of their first significant contacts with post-Renaissance Europe, as mediated by the Greek and Ukrainian reaction to the Jesuit Counter-Reformation, were becoming ever more militant and xenophobic.

SEMEN SHAKHOVSKOI: NOBLE OF PEN AND SWORD

Semen Shakhovskoi, a descendant of Volodimer Sviatoslavich in the twenty-third generation, was born around 1585 into a large and influential family of Muscovite cavalrymen. As with all members of that hereditary warrior elite, this kinship would play a determining role in his life; the first documentary evidences of his activity are his signature upon receipt of his father's military pay, and the report of his exile, in 1606, by Tsar Vasilii Shuiskii for the political transgressions of his uncle Grigorii during the reign of the first False Dmitrii.[4]

The next decade and a half, Shakhovskoi's twenties and early thirties, was a particularly strenuous period, even for this obviously energetic man. Most of his time was spent in the military campaigns which were the traditional (if nominal) *raison d'être* of his caste. This was the Time of Troubles, and Shakhovskoi served Shuiskii, Sigismund, the Second False Dmitrii, and, eventually, Mikhail Fedorovich Romanov. During this very active period he was wounded at least twice and, truly, as he complained to the young Mikhail Fedorovich, he was "dragged from one assignment to the

[3] *Pominki*, pp. 3–7.

[4] The biography of Shakhovskoi remains to be written; much of what appears below is taken from the best summary of known facts, that provided by S. F. Platonov in *Drevnerussie skazaniia i povesti o Smutnom vremeni XVII veka, kak istoricheskii istochnik*, 2nd ed. (St. Petersburg, 1913), pp. 291–302.

other''—a complaint which earned him another period of exile, this time on the Unzha River, some 400 miles northeast of Moscow. Amidst these distractions, he somehow found time, between 1611 and 1619, to marry four times and to bury his first three wives. Shakhovskoi was certainly not one to let the grass grow under his feet—although it should be said that such a *curriculum vitae* was not exceptional for a man of his station in Muscovy.

In 1620, however, a series of extraordinary misfortunes began. In that year, six Shakhovskois, his cousins, were arrested and sentenced to death (later commuted to imprisonment) on vague charges of *lèse majesté*. Semen Shakhovskoi himself was later exiled to Tobol'sk for failing to inform upon his relatives, although he had not been in Moscow at the time of the alleged crime. It was approximately at this time that his fourth, uncanonical, marriage was dissolved by Patriarch Filaret, despite his plea that he had contracted it in order ''to escape from great and diverse fornication'' (*udaliaiasia ot razlichnogo mnogogo bludodeianiia*).

Shakhovskoi's stay in Tobol'sk seems to have been short, however, for we find him back in Moscow by the summer of 1622, probably engaged as a secretary to Filaret. During this long stay—five years—in Moscow, he wrote the letter to Shah Abbas for the patriarch, and we can posit it as the time of some of his historical writings as well.

After another period of exile, this time in Eniseisk, he returned in 1632 to take a high position (one source calls him a ''boyar'') at the court. Within the year (1633), Filaret died, and the fortunes of the Shakhovskoi family improved. (All of Semen's relatives were released from their prisons just five days after Filaret's death.)

At this point Shakhovskoi, now nearly fifty, entered the most prosperous period of his life. He was again living with his fourth wife, by whom he had at least two sons; he served with the most distinguished grandees of his time on a number of important military and diplomatic missions, including two important embassies to Poland in 1634 and 1637. He fought the Crimeans and was included in the guest list for family holidays at the Romanov court.

In 1639, however, his fortunes changed again, and he was sent to Siberia on charges of having brought a frivolous *mestnichestvo* claim. This exile was even shorter than the previous one, however, and by Easter of the same year we find him again at court and apparently working in the *Pechatnyi prikaz*, which at that time was busily engaged in the printing of ''corrected'' liturgical and polemical works, largely influenced by similar texts that had appeared in the Ukraine and Belorussia.

While it is clear that Shakhovskoi worked in the *Pechatnyi prikaz*—or, to be more precise, was paid from its budget—it is difficult to establish just what he did there, in part because he was almost immediately dispatched to the Caucasus, as *voevoda* on the Terek, where he remained for a year.

His skills as an educated advisor were soon needed again in Moscow, and by the end of 1643 he was dispatched to greet Prince Waldemar of Denmark, the prospective groom of Mikhail Fedorovich's daughter Irina. At the same time he was instructed—or so he later alleged—to prepare a memorandum outlining the canon-law implications of such a marriage to a Protestant.

This memorandum, to be discussed later, turned out to be Shakhovskoi's final undoing; for having suggested that Waldemar's Lutheran baptism was valid and that he might marry Irina without undergoing rebaptism, Semen was exiled to the Kola Peninsula. It was in these Arctic conditions, later modified by removal to Sol' Vychegodsk, that Shakhovskoi wrote a number of remarkable letters to a colleague from the *Pechatnyi prikaz*, Tret'iak Vasil'ev, one of which, no more than a note, I should like to quote. It is not the letter of a man whose misfortune and exile had broken his spirit:

> Iazhe o Khriste sochetannyia liubvi bratu i drugu Tret'iaku Vasil'evichu radovatisia. Pishi, gosudar', ko mne o svoem zdravii i blagoprebyvanii, a pro moe i bed ispolnennoe zhit'ishko izvolish' vedat', i moemu okaianstvu vseshchedryi Bog milostiiu svoeiu terpit u Soli Vychegodskoe, iiuliu po 19 chislo v zhivykh vmenen bykh, a s mertvymi osuzhden bykh. I kak, gosudar', dast Bog pospeet put' zimnii i ezdoki iz Tobol'ska k Moskve budut; i ty Gospoda radi prishli ko mne osetrika dva-tri osennikh i sterliadok i ikritsy osetr'i i sterliazh'i s pudik.[5]

Three years later, Shakhovskoi was recalled to Moscow, retried (in the sense that procedures of the time merit that term) and returned to exile, this time in Tomsk, from which dreary town he was permitted to return to Moscow, where he died in 1653, probably not long before his seventieth birthday.

A full life, one might say, but a hard one. I have recounted it because I think we must always have it in mind as we consider Shakhovskoi's equally remarkable writings. How many Russians of his or any other time traversed the length and breadth of the Russian empire as he did? How many writers of any nation experienced alternations between court life and gritty exile comparable in starkness or frequency? Lost three wives within eight years? Saw Warsaw and the Caucasus and the Arctic Circle? Even Fedor Dostoevskii lived through the trauma of a commuted death sentence only once.

[5] Edward L. Keenan, *The Kurbskii-Groznyi Apocrypha* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971), p. 180.

SHAKHOVSKOI'S WRITINGS

Somehow, despite the wrenching vicissitudes of his political fortunes and the dislocations of his military career, Shakhovskoi was a remarkably prolific and versatile author—in these respects probably without equal among seventeenth-century Russians. But he was not, apparently, a particularly original one, even when judged by the generous standards of his time as to the extent to which one should avail oneself of the work of others. But his writings were innovative in a number of respects, and they merit attention not only because he was apparently the first Muscovite cavalryman to master all three book-languages of Muscovy: the Muscovite version of Slavonic; the stylized *Kanzleisprache* of the *prikazy*; and the epistolary vernacular.

Even more impressive than his linguistic versatility is the broad range of literary form: he left us a number of liturgical texts, whole hymnological sets and individual *kondaki* and *akafisty*, hundreds of pages of narrative prose in Slavonic and plain style, formal and informal letters, and a good deal of Slavonic verse. (It is of some interest that he did not, apparently, hazard verse in Russian.)

In presenting the following observations upon three of his works which reveal the condition of Orthodox culture in Muscovy in the early seventeenth century, I must stress that, despite the fact that scholars for more than a century have remarked upon Shakhovskoi's singularity, they have yet to study his numerous and readily available works in depth.[6] It is quite possible as well that the large manuscript miscellany upon which I have been working, which appears to be a kind of collected works, may represent only a fraction of his total production.[7] What I should like to offer, then, is no

[6] The exception is Platonov, who concentrated primarily upon the historical works dealing with the Time of Troubles, and at that exclusively upon the factological side of the matter. The older authorities are cited in Keenan, *Apocrypha*, n. 60, pp. 201–204; to that listing, one may now add John Meyendorff, "Wisdom-Sofiia: Contrasting Approaches to a Complex Theme," *Studies in Art and Archeology in Honor of Ernst Kitzinger on his Seventy-fifth Birthday* (=Dumbarton Oaks Papers, 41) (Washington, 1987), pp. 391–401; E. P. Semenova, "Ob istochnikakh 'Povesti preslavnyi' S. I. Shakhovskogo," *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoi literatury* 39 (1987): 335–40; V. K. Bylinin, "Nebol'shoi fragment iz russkoi poezii nachala XVII v.," *Pamiatniki kul'tury. Novye Otkrytiia. Pis'mennost'. Iskusstvo. Arkheologiia. Ezhegodnik 1982* (Leningrad, 1984), pp. 34–37; M. V. Kukushkina, "Semen Shakhovskoi—Avtor povesti o smute," *Pamiatniki kul'tury. Novye otkrytiia. Ezhegodnik 1974* (Moscow, 1975), pp. 75–78.

[7] Thus, for example, several major works attributed to him and published by Platonov in *Russkaia istoricheskaia biblioteka*, vol. 13 (St. Petersburg, 1913) are not represented here (I have in mind MS 214 of *fond* 173 of the Lenin Library, Moscow); there may be others. There remains, in addition, the question of attribution; although many of the texts in MS 214 are "signed" in cryptograms or by other devices, one should consider some of them, for the time being, to be "attributed to Shakhovskoi."

more than a preliminary report.

Ultimately, his most important contribution may well be judged to be his long historical narratives concerning the Time of Troubles and the shorter Tale of the great Moscow fire of 1626.[8] We cannot consider these lengthy texts here, but I would like to make three observations. First, it is clear that, the enduring value of Platonov's massive and erudite study notwithstanding, there remains a great deal about the history-writing of the post-*Smuta* period that is unclear. Second, one of the pivotal texts in all of this historical prose is the so-called *Vremennik D'iaka Ivana Timofeeva*, which remains a mysterious text in many ways. Third, one must examine very carefully the hypothesis that the Greek scholar Arsenios, Bishop of Elasson and later of Suzdal' and Tarusa, played a most significant role in the genesis of the "official" Muscovite historiography of the period.[9]

Leaving Shakhovskoi's historical writings aside, then, I should like to deal with lesser and more obscure works that in some respects better permit us to take the measure of the man. The texts I deal with, all too briefly, are chosen for their relevance to the subject of the millennium of Christianity in Rus': his Mass to Sofiia the Divine Wisdom; his letter (written for Filaret) to Shah Abbas of Iran; and his *Memorandum* to Mikhail Fedorovich on the matter of the marriage of the latter's daughter Irina to Prince Waldemar.

In beginning with the Mass to Sofiia, I am fortunate in that Father Meyendorff has recently published a brief article on the tangled history of treatments of this complex theme. Since he devoted several careful paragraphs to Shakhovskoi, I limit myself here to a few comments about the Mass in the context of his other writings.

It is true, as Father Meyendorff says, that this text, a full hymnological set based upon the canon of the Feast of the Dormition, betrays considerable confusion in the author's mind as to the meaning of the notion of *Bozh'ia premudrost'*; Shakhovskoi seems to vacillate between the canonical notion of Wisdom as the hypostatic Logos, the second Person of the Trinity,

[8] On the tales of the Time of Troubles, see Platonov, *Drevnerussie skazaniia*, *passim*; the text of the Tale of the Fire of 1626 has been published from GBL 213 by Janet L. Hoffman, "A Morphological Analysis of the Historical Tales of Semen Ivanovich Shakhovskoi" (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1977), pp. 360–414.

[9] I have advanced this hypothesis with regard to the possibility that Arsenios was in fact the author of the *Vremennik* ("The Reception of old Ukrainian Poetry in Seventeenth-Century Russian Literature," paper delivered at a Symposium on Old Ukrainian Literature sponsered by the American Council of Learned Societies and the Soviet Academy of Sciences, Cambridge, Mass., 15 January 1987 [unpublished]); I. B. Grekov had earlier suggested that Arsenios was the author of the *Piskarevskii letopisets* (I. B. Grekov, "Ob ideologicheskikh tendentsiiakh nekotorykh literaturnykh pamiatnikov nachala XVII v.," in *Kul'turnye sviazi narodov Vostochnoi Evropy v XVI v.* (Moscow, 1976), pp. 329–58.

and an identification of Sofiia with Mary.[10]

But what is remarkable is not that Shakhovskoi got himself into a muddle on this very complex matter, but that he wrote such a text—in very conventional liturgical Slavonic—at all. For as Nikol'skii and others have pointed out, there is not another mass dedicated to this subject in all of Greek and Russian hymnology. And if, as seems likely, he wrote it early in his career, it is by far the first liturgical text—or original Slavonic text, for that matter—to have been written by a Muscovite *dvorianin* outside Holy Orders.

It does appear that it was written during Shakhovskoi's only sojourn in Novgorod around 1611.[11] As Nikol'skii pointed out eighty years ago, Shakhovskoi's vision of the Virgin/Divine Wisdom seems in a number of details to have been influenced by the famous Novgorodian icon depicting Sofiia.[12] One might also point out that Shakhovskoi's unquestionably later hymnological texts (as for example the service for the Installation of the Holy Robe [1625]; see below) show greater skill and maturity, both in their conformity to liturgical convention and in the command of Slavonic.

Now if Shakhovskoi wrote this astounding, if confused, text around 1611, when he was perhaps thirty years of age, the question arises: how and where did he acquire what was for his time an exclusively monastic education? For the moment this question remains unanswered, but we may hazard some speculative comments: it seems that Shakhovskoi was somehow related to Germogen, the second patriarch of Moscow and leader of the national resistance in the Time of Troubles.[13] If this was in fact the case, he may somehow have had contact with Arsenios of Elasson, who was apparently a close associate of Germogen—and may have gone to Novgo-

[10] In Shakhovskoi's defense, it might be said that, perhaps because a version of the Mass found its way into some later printed service books, far more educated and systematic modern religious thinkers like Florenskii and Bulgakov embraced similarly uncanonical views—or, as John Meyendorff puts it, they "tended to attribute too much importance" to Shakhovskoi's views; Meyendorff, "Wisdom-Sofiia," p. 401.

[11] Shakhovskoi says in his Autobiographical Notes that he was present at the time of the Swedish capture of the city. *Domashnie zapiski*, as reprinted in Keenan, *Apocrypha*, p. 181.

[12] A. I. Nikol'skii, "Sofiia Premudrost' Bozhiia," *Vestnik arkheologii i istorii* 17, (St. Petersburg, 1906), p. 78. The suggestion of a Novgorodian origin of the text is supported by the fact that in 1701 the *kondak* and *tropar'* of Shakhovskoi's Mass were stamped onto a gilded copper plate that was added to the metal template on the icon in question, and that in 1707 the Likhudi brothers, during their stay in Novgorod, rewrote Shakhovskoi's text (ibid.).

[13] The kinship itself seems quite plausible, but it is not clear what the degree of relationship was. See N. Miatlev, "Patriarkh Germogen i kniaz'ia Shakhovskie," *Letopis' istoriko-rodoslovnogo obshchestva v Moskve*, 1905, no. 2, pp. 7–9 (third pagination).

rod at just the time of Shakhovskoi's visit.[14] In any case, it is clear that in later years, Shakhovskoi knew the writings of both these authors, and quarried them assiduously for his own work.

We may also speculate that periods of exile—perhaps including monastic confinement—provided the opportunity for education of which other members of his class so rarely availed themselves. Whatever the final conclusion on Semen Shakhovskoi, it is in my view simply astonishing that a person of his social milieu should have become a prolific composer of full and partial hymnological sets, including the Wisdom service—which, it should be noted, had no predecessors, according to Spasskii, in either Greek or Russian liturgies.[15]

I should note, finally, that although the moderately Mariolatrous tendency is present in some other early work (we see it in the Shah Abbas letter, for example), with the passage of time its importance to Shakhovskoi apparently diminishes, while the theme of the Divine Wisdom as the Word persists throughout his later writing, as does his love of hymnological texts. I would suggest that something of the mentality of the Western Renaissance humanist was present in this love of verbal and musical creation, something quite extraordinary for a Muscovite of Shakhovskoi's background. It is clear that we shall not take the full measure of the man until his voluminous liturgical creation is fully studied in the context of his biography and other works.

It is not, however, Shakhovskoi's hymns, nor his historical writings, that best reveal the man to us, but his letters. Shakhovskoi was a kind of letter-writing virtuoso, and it seems clear that he had a special love for the various epistolary forms that he mastered—in Slavonic and plain style, letters for all occasions, letters in various *personae*.[16] I have quoted some of them above, and written extensively on some others; here I should like to discuss two quite unusual letters—both addressed to heads of state—that are particularly significant in his life and to our understanding of his place in Russian letters.

[14] A. Dmitrievskii, *Arkhiepiskop Elassonskii Arsenii i memuary ego iz russkoi istorii po rukopisi Trapezuntskogo Sumeliiskogo monasteria* (Kiev, 1899).

[15] F. G. Spasskii, *Russkoe liturgicheskoe tvorchestvo* (Paris, 1951), pp. 245–73.

[16] One frequently encounters, in the company of Shakhovskoi's works, a letter-writing formulary known under various names, containing model salutations, several of which find their way into letters apparently written by Shakhovskoi. See "Alfavit Illariona, inoka zatochennogo, nadpisanie epistoliam, iako vsiakomu v predislovie po azbotse cheloveku poslati," *Vremennik Obshchestva istorii i drevnostei rossiiskikh* 10 (1851): 23–28 (24 misnumbered 16) and N. V. Kachalov, "Starinnye 'formuliarniki'," *Letopis' zaniatii Arkheograficheskoi komissii* 1 (1861 [1862]): 34–49 (second pagination).

The first of these, a fifty-two–page missive in very ornate Slavonic, was written for the Moscow patriarch, Filaret, and addressed to the head of the new militant Shiite state in Iran, Shah Abbas (1586–1628), urging him to become a convert to Orthodoxy. That sane and sober men should have undertaken such a hopeless mission appears at first quite incredible, but becomes at least plausible upon consideration of the state of confessional politics in Eastern Europe and of Moscow's relations with Iran in the 1620s, to which I turn first.

In 1617, the shah invaded and conquered parts of Georgia, whose ruler, Teimuraz, turned to Mikhail Fedorovich for assistance. The tsar wrote to Abbas, pointing out that the Georgian princes had accepted Russian protection some decades earlier, and admonishing the shah not to repeat his depradations. To the Russian ambassadors who brought Mikhail Fedorovich's declaration to Isfahan in 1622, the shah responded in a conciliatory fashion: he announced that he had in his possession, as a part of the booty taken in Georgia, the miracle-working robe in which Christ had been crucified. He added, according to the Russian emissaries, that he honored Christ and the Virgin Mary, and that he would, as a symbol of that respect and of his friendship for Mikhail Fedorovich, be happy to send the relic to Moscow as a gift.[17]

From the same exchange, however, Moscow learned some distressing news: the Russian emissaries had learned of the presence at the Safavid court of a Catholic priest, presumably an Italian Jesuit.

This paper does not permit me to deal extensively with the state of mind of leading Muscovites as they watched the juggernaut of the Counter-Reformation roll through Poland and the Ruthenian lands, but I must point out something that has been slighted by many treatments of the subject: possibly from the visit of Possevino in 1581, probably after Batory's alliance with the Jesuits after 1584, and without question after Brest and the Time of Troubles, influential Muscovites were awestruck by the power of the Catholic church, and by the Jesuits in particular. Ignorance of the doctrinal, institutional, and political nature of Catholicism encouraged fear to spring from awe, and when Russians turned for guidance to their Greek and

[17] The sources for this episode are published by S. A. Belokurov: "Delo o prisylke shakhom Abbasom rizy Gospodnei tsariu Mikhailu Fedorovichu v 1625 godu," *Sbornik Moskovskogo glavnogo arkhiva Ministerstva inostrannykh del* 5 (1893): 1–48. For important observations on the composition of Shakhovskoi's letter and other documents dealing with the Robe, see Daniel C. Waugh's Appendix I in Keenan, *Apocrypha*, pp. 142–49. It should be noted that one of the original emissaries, Vasilii Grigor'evich Korob'in, was one of Shakhovskoi's benefactors during his first imprisonment in 1622 and the addressee of one of his most important letters (GBL 214, fols. 2–ff.).

Ukrainian coreligionists, who knew more, but had seen the Polish Counter-Reformation with their own eyes and were eager to draw Russians into the fray, fear turned to revulsion and panic. The Society of Jesus, arguably the most dynamic organization of the period, seemed to be sweeping everything before it with an almost supernatural combination of institutional innovation and ideological sophistication. It was decidedly not good news that a Jesuit had surfaced in Iran at the court of the shah, one of Muscovy's most important allies and trading partners. Something—even something that had almost no chance of success—had to be done.

The shah's precious gift arrived in Moscow on 25 February 1625, and it is clear that the religious authorities had long before determined to make the most of its installation in the Church of the Dormition in the Kremlin, presumably as a symbol of the affirmation of Moscow's new role as a world center of Orthodoxy. But there were some difficulties: one could hardly base the authentication of the relic upon the testimony of a Muslim ruler; moreover, the golden chest in which it had arrived bore a somewhat troubling inscription, which raised doubts about both the shah's story and the sanctity of the relic itself. The text was appropriate enough: excerpts from the Evangelists' accounts of Christ's Passion and Death. But, alas, the inscription was in Latin. Within a month, however, visiting Greek and Georgian clerics had verified the relic's provenance to Filaret's satisfaction, and presumably found means to explain away the use of Latin in the inscription. Moreover, local healings had been recorded, confirming the miracle-working properties of the relic. It was decided to go ahead with a major celebration.

In preparation for the ceremonies of installation, Shakhovskoi was ordered to compose a number of Slavonic texts. First, he wrote a mass canon for the occasion, which was printed in the same year—the first service, I believe, to be printed separately in Muscovy.[18] He also composed a *Skazanie*,[19] in which the story of the Robe and its miracles was recounted, and shortly afterward, the *Letter* to Abbas, to which we now can turn.

It should be acknowledged at the outset that the *Letter* is decidedly not a text that speaks directly to modern sensibilities. Incredibly ponderous and ornate, it contains interminable strings of adjectives and participles describ-

[18] A. S. Zernova, *Knigi kirillovskoi pechati, izdannye v Moskve v XVI–XVII vekakh. Svodnyi katalog* (Moscow, 1958), p. 33, entry 60.

[19] The full title is *Povest' preslavna skazuema o prinesenii mnogochiudesnyia rizy Spasa Khrista ot persid v tsarstvuiushchii grad Moskvu*; the text is published in Hoffman, "A Morphological Analysis," pp. 414–517.

ing the Godhead and the Trinity, and includes whole pages without a finite verb.

But the letter does contain some interesting and even artistic passages. When, for example, Shakhovskoi finally—on the ninth page—gets around to his salutation, it is interesting that he addressed the shah exactly as he would, twenty years later, address Mikhail Fedorovich in the Waldemar *Memorandum*: "*O preslavnyi tsariu!* [O most Glorious Emperor!]"[20] And there are some noteworthy features in the *salutatio* that serve to introduce the nominal author, Filaret:

Togo vsemogushchego i vsiasoderzhashchogo i vsiadaiushchago. . .Bozhestva. . .ni nachinaemago ni skonchavaemago. . .ierei. . .velikoprestolneishii slovenskago iazyka novago Izrailia, vtorago Rima. . .prekrasno tsvetushchego. . .grada Moskvy. . .smirennyi Filaret. . .o vashem blagorodii Abbasshakhova velichestva Boga moliu i chelom b'iu.

[I,. . .the humble Filaret. . .priest of that omnipotent and all-embracing and all-giving. . .Divinity. . .without beginning or end. . .priest of the great see of. . .the beauteously flowering city of Moscow, the second Rome, the new Israel of the Slavic tribe. . .pray to God for your noble Shahabbasid majesty and greet you. . . .][21]

We note without comment the identification of Muscovy as the New Israel—a rather early instance of an image that by mid-century was to become quite important in Muscovite rhetoric—and as the second, rather than third, Rome.[22]

The letter goes on in equally ponderous style to recapitulate recent events: Abbas' sending of the Robe; and the miracles that had now occurred in Moscow, as they had previously elsewhere. Among other pleonastic elaborations, Shakhovskoi manages to squeeze in the whole Orthodox *Credo* in simple grammatical apposition to the name of Jesus.[23]

Shakhovskoi then thanks Shah Abbas for this incomparable gift, and goes on to his central point: since by so generous an act of brotherly love the shah has demonstrated that he is in a sense a follower of Christ's teaching about neighborly and brotherly love, should he not become a Christian—more precisely, an Orthodox Christian?

[20] A. Golubtsov, "Pamiatniki prenii o vere voznikshikh po delu korolevicha Val'demara i tsarevny Iriny Mikhailovny," *Chteniia v Obshchestve istorii i drevnostei rossiiskikh*, 1892, bk. 2, sec. ii, p. 159.

[21] GBL 214, fols. 41v–42. Note that elisions indicated represent the better portion of two pages of text.

[22] Since this formula must indicate the elimination of Constantinople from the *translatio imperii*, I assume that its use may be an indication that Arsenios had ended his quarter-century career as ghost-writer for patriarchs and was devoting his last years to his new see at Suzdal'.

[23] GBL 214 fol. 44v.

Shakhovskoi begins his evangelical exhortation with an explanation: it is not only Filaret's gratitude that prompts him to suggest conversion to the shah; every Christian has the obligation to evangelize:

. . . ne mudrstvuia viteem ellinskogo krasnosloviia glagolem prigodnaia k utverzheniiu bogokhranimyia derzhavy tvoia, eia zhe Vam velikomu gosudariu Bog preslavno daroval; dolzhnyi ubo esmy moliti Vas, o blagorodneish[ii] tsariu, i veliia nuzha nalezhit nam ezhe ne iako propovedati zapovedi Bozhiia—recheno bo est': ezhe vo tme slyshaste, rtsyte vo svete, i ezhe vo ukho rechesia propovedite na krovekh.[24]

Next Shakhovskoi enumerates for the shah some of the wonders and blessings of Christian belief:

Lepo ubo, tsariu, i vsiakoi blagodati preizpolneny pravoveruiushchii poslushati v sladost' pravovernago uchenie i povinutisia bozhestvennykh apostol i sviatykh otets ustavom. Mzda nebesnaia, delo spasitel'no, vinograd krasen, dver' bo vinogradu, kupel' kreshcheniia, vo dverekh kupeli Bozhestvennaia blagodat' predstoit, iako zhe dvornik ko vsem vkhodiashchim vopiet: "Sii vrata gospodnia prevednii vnidut v nia."[25]

If only, he continues, the shah will accept Christian baptism (triple immersion is specified), he will be truly just and great in the Kingdom of Heaven. He concludes this portion of the letter with a rhetorical flourish that might seem to us strange:

Podshchisia ubo, samoderzhavnyi tsariu!
Podshchisia i vospriani ot tmy nevedeniia!
Poznai vsiaderzhashchago i vsiadaiushchago Boga!
Poslushai vniatel'no spasitel'nykh zapovedei edinago. . .syna i Slovo Bozh'e,. . .ego
zhe i ty blagolepie chteshi!
Ispravi i povelennoe im samim!
Priimi, tsariu, sviatoe kreshchenie!
Budi vtorii Vladimer i drevnii Konstiantin!. . . .
Obletsyisia v rizy novy netleniia!
I v porfiru veseliia,
V diadimu radosti
I v venets blagoveriia!. . .
Obnoviisia, tsariu, rozheniem!. . .
Priimi veru, eia zhe blagovernyi velikii kniaz' Vladimer mnogimi sniskaniami izyskav i vosliubi pache vsekh ver i priat ot Karsunskago episkopa sviatoe kreshchenie v kupeli vo imia Ottsa i Syna i Sviatago dukha v tri pogruzheniia. . .i kresti neischitaemyia t'my naroda. . . !

24 GBL 214, fols. 46v.–47.
25 GBL 214, fol. 48.

As I have observed, Shakhovskoi goes on at great bombastic length; it would take a great deal of time to read only the more astounding and prosodically interesting passages. But before leaving the text for some comment I want to quote a final passage, in which Shakhovskoi enumerates the practical and spiritual benefits that will flow from the shah's conversion:

Tvoim kreshcheniem i pravoiu k Bogu veroiu okrestnyia tvoia vragi naipache ustrashatsia.
Tvoim kreshcheniem sviatyia obiteli v tsarstvii tvoem uchnut sozidatisia i beskrovnaia zhertva o tebe prinosimaia k Bogu uchnet vozsylatisia.
Tvoim kreshcheniem vsi khristianskiia strany vosraduiutsia.
Tvoe kreshchenie tebe samomu krepost' i khrabrost' na vragov tvoikh, pobeda i odolenie.

. . .

Priimi sviatoe kreshchenie
i priimet tia Bog vo synovlenie
i oblechet tia vo bronia pravdy
i vozlozhit na tebia shlem spaseniia
i dast' tebe shchit very, i
drevnim velikoimenitym tsarem ravnaslavna uchinit tia,
nyneshnim zhe vsem budeshi krasota i svetlost'
budushchim zhe vzem tvoego tsarskogo koreni otraslem i okresnym vsem sladchaishaia povest' i slukha naslazhdenie,
a poslednii rody aki blagotvortsa voskhaliaiut tia
i imia tvoe vo ustekh vsekh bessmertno vo blagikh prebudet
I utverditsia i krepko budet tsarstvie tvoe v rod i rod vo veki.

It must be said that few evangelists have promised more, or clothed their message in more heavily embroidered rhetorical garb.

One can only speculate about the impression that such a text produced in Isfahan, the glorious and sophisticated court of the young Safavid Empire—Iran's first Shiite state. And wonder what kind of impression Shakhovskoi *thought* he would produce. In particular, we must ask why he chose to invoke the examples of Volodimer and Constantine, or to promise the shah that all of his neighbors—who were, of course, mostly Muslims—would rejoice at his conversion. Did Shakhovskoi really think that Abbas would want to be a "second Volodimer"? Did he really think that the head of a Muslim theocracy would respond to a call to embrace the faith "that God himself loves"? Did he think he would ingratiate himself to his reader by eschewing the contrived rhetorical sophistries of the Greeks? ("*[N]e mudrstvuia viteem ellinskogo krasnosloviia*"; a particularly odd claim in light of the high-flown rhetoric of the *Letter* itself!) Convince him with unidentified New Testament citations, familiar enough to educated Christians but hardly authoritative for a Muslim, however much he might respect Jesus and Mary? Hardly.

We are obviously dealing not only with a particularly bizarre episode, but with a highly implausible text—so implausible, in fact, that one must question whether it was really composed for the purposes it purports to have in mind. Certainly Russians—even those at the patriarch's court—knew more about Safavid Persia than this letter seems to reveal. But the documentary "passport" of this text is quite good; while we cannot know whether the letter was ever sent or received, it certainly does seem to have been composed at the time and with serious intent.[26] We must find some other explanation for its apparent inconsistencies.

In order to understand this letter, I suggest, we have to go back a few years to another crucial turning point in Muscovy's relations with the Catholic world, to the Time of Troubles, and particularly to that moment in 1610 when, in an attempt to restore political order in Moscow, a group of oligarchs offered the vacant Muscovite throne to Władysław, son of Sigismund, king of Poland. It will be remembered that a crucial aspect of the negotiations with Władysław had to do with his religion—some Muscovites were adamant that he must convert to Orthodoxy. Among those who were urging him to take the throne—and to be rebaptized—was Patriarch Germogen, who, in September of that year, addressed a long and ornate appeal to the Polish heir, pleading with him to embrace Orthodoxy in order to save the Muscovite state from further civil war and despoliation.[27]

It should not surprise us, in view of the fact that Germogen was a member of Semen Shakhovskoi's clan, to discover that Germogen's letter to Władysław served as the basic source of the letter to Shah Abbas—in fact, approximately half of the Germogen letter found its way into the text we have been examining, and almost every passage that I have quoted from the letter to Shah Abbas was taken *verbatim* from the appeal to Władysław! Thus it was Władysław, in the first instance, who was urged—by Germogen—to emulate Volodimer, Władysław who was promised all of the fruits of Christian salvation that seem such implausible enticements to a Persian Shiite, Władysław whom Germogen, in the first instance, hoped to ingratiate by eschewing hellenic rhetoric, and so on. Semen Shakhovskoi was not squeamish about recycling the words of others—or his own, for that matter.

[26] See the literature cited in fn. 17, above.

[27] The text, preserved with a number of gaps, was first printed in *Sobranie gosudarstvennykh gramot i dogovorov, khraniashchikhsia v Gosudarstvennoi kollegii inostrannykh del*, vol. 2 (St. Petersburg, 1819), pp. 446–51. It was reprinted in *Sbornik Mukhanova*, 2nd ed. (Moscow, 1836), pp. 182–84.

I cannot include here a detailed analysis of the changes Shakhovskoi made in recycling the Władysław letter, but it can be said that, in general, the *Letter* was systematically edited; for example, Shakhovskoi very consistently changes the term of address used for Władysław, *gosudar'*, to that appropriate for the shah, *tsar'*, in keeping with the fact that, while both were tsars in Muscovite nomenclature at the time of the writing, only Władysław was the prospective sovereign of the putative author. Equally systematic are the excisions of all references to the ruin of Muscovy and the circumstances of 1610.

The editing was not perfect, however: a better editor, having added thirty pages of verbal embroidery, might have suppressed the disclaimer about Greek rhetoric—and it is not clear why Shakhovskoi added, at the first mention of Volodimer (*Budi vtorii Vladimer*), the additional exemplar of Constantine, probably equally meaningless to Shah Abbas.

But we must leave this peculiar *Lettre Persane* now, with the hope that both the notion of a Muscovite attempt to convert Iran to Orthodoxy and the text of the Abbas letter itself are now less mysterious; Shakhovskoi wrote it out of fear of Catholic encirclement, and he copied its operative passages, including some of the most implausible, word for word from Germogen's appeal to Władysław.[28]

We come now to the last text I may examine here: Shakhovskoi's remarkable *Memorandum* to Mikhail Fedorovich in the matter of the marriage of the tsar's daughter, Irina, to Prince Waldemar Christian of Denmark.[29]

Here again we must take a moment to set the scene; Shakhovskoi had a knack of getting himself into very curious predicaments. In this case what seems to have happened is the following:

For reasons that had to do both with dynastic politics and Muscovite foreign policy, it was decided early in the 1640s that it might be desirable to marry one of Mikhail Fedorovich's daughters, Irina, to the son of the king of Denmark. Emissaries were exchanged, and it was agreed—or so the Russians thought—that Waldemar would come to live in Russia, marry Irina, and embrace Orthodoxy. These preliminaries having been completed, Waldemar made his way to Moscow, in the company of a huge suite,

[28] I must add as an aside that Germogen's letter itself used bits and pieces of early patriarchal documents, including the opening invocation of the Trinity first used in the *Sobornoe opredelenie* issued upon Godunov's elevation to the throne, which was also used, apparently by Shakhovskoi, as the opening of the text known as Ivan's first letter to Kurbskii. It was certainly Shakhovskoi who used it another time in his *Mass* to Sofiia the Divine Wisdom.

[29] The still indispensable work on the subject is Golubtsov, "Pamiatniki prenii o vere" (fn. 20 above).

including several Lutheran pastors learned in what we might today call comparative religion. Upon their arrival, it emerged that not all of the preliminary understandings were mutual; while Waldemar was willing to practice Orthodoxy as he understood it, he—and his managers—did not agree that he had to be rebaptized, as the Russian clerics insisted.

Since the agreement could not be reached on this cardinal issue, the prenuptial period became protracted, and produced a number of rather theatrical moments, such as the occasion upon which the Lutheral divines explained to the Orthodox Russians the meaning of the Greek *baptiso*, with the aid of a dictionary, and the Russians announced that they did not consider the book *Ditsionario* to be a sacred text (*sviashchennaia kniga*).[30] Ultimately, probably primarily because powerful domestic currents were swirling around this issue, the negotiations broke down, and Waldemar and his companions found themselves for all practical purposes to be prisoners in the Kremlin. (When a number of them attempted to fight their way out, one was shot dead.)

Matters had clearly reached an impasse. Although some Muscovite clerics and some court factions were clearly opposed to the marriage and to the alliance, others—including the tsar himself—clearly wanted to go ahead, and needed some justification in canon law or Russian Orthodox precedent. Such, however, was not forthcoming from the offices of the patriarch, who was in any case opposed to the marriage, or allied with those who were.

At this juncture someone in the palace thought of Semen Shakhovskoi. According to his later sworn testimony, he was approached by the *Protopop* of the Annunciation Cathedral, Nikita, who explained the predicament to him in unusual but unmistakable terms: "*napal na nas uzol, nadobno ego rozviazati*," that is, "We have gotten into a mess and we have to untangle it. . . The prince doesn't want to be baptized."[31] Shakhovskoi, much to his later regret, allegedly told the royal confessor that the prince's baptism was not a problem, that he, Semen, would write a letter to that effect. When Nikita returned for the letter, however, Semen refused to give it to him, yielding only when the *dumnyi d'iak* Grigorii L'vov importuned him. Thanks to that circumstance, and the fact that the letter was eventually presented as evidence in the trial against Shakhovskoi, we have the text that I should now like to discuss.

This memorandum is, in my view, Shakhovskoi's most interesting and original composition. Shakhovskoi begins with some scriptural preliminaries: the kingdom of heaven is like unto a rich man who carries out of

30 Golubtsov, "Pamiatniki prenii o vere," p. 65.
31 Golubtsov, "Pamiatniki prenii o vere," p. 157.

his storehouse old and new things; and the kindom of heaven is like unto a net, cast into the sea; it captures all kinds, and when brought to the surface and into the boat, the seaman chooses what he wants and throws the rest back. Shakhovskoi is telling his royal reader that he is offering something old and something new, and a variety of options. And so he does, having first reminded the tsar that his late father, Filaret, had on more than one occasion availed himself of Shakhovskoi's skills as a writer.

Then the arguments, scriptural and historical, with all their contradictions: it is written that the Moabite and the Gentile must not enter the Temple of God, but was not Alexander the Great a Hellene, and did he not enter the Temple in Jerusalem? And did not Paul write to the Hebrews that "there is made of necessity a change also of the Law?"[32] And do you not have necessity to marry your daughter to a foreigner? It would be all to the good if you could marry her to an Orthodox prince (*stranu blagochestivykh sopriazhenie*), but where is such to be found? There are no Orthodox states worthy of your majesty; some have been taken into captivity, others have fallen into heresy (clear references to the Balkans and non-Muscovite Rus').

Out of necessity, then, Irina should be married by our Orthodox clergy, mindful of the words of Paul:

> For what knowest thou, O wife, whether thou shalt save thy husband, or how knowest thou, O man, whether thou shalt save thy wife? But as God hath distributed to every man, as the Lord hath called everyone, so let him walk. Is any man called being circumcised? Let him not become uncircumcised. Is any called in uncircumcision? Let him not be circumcised. Circumcision is nothing and uncircumcision is nothing, but the keeping of the commandments of God. Let every man abide in the same calling, wherein he was called.... For the unbelieving husband is sanctified by the wife, and the unbelieving wife is sanctified by the husband.[33]

If, Shakhovskoi goes on, the Apostle himself permitted Christian women to remain married to pagan men in the hope of their salvation, so can the tsar hope for the salvation of Waldemar. He concluded this section of his memorandum with practical advice: take council with your hierarchs on the basis of these scriptural justifications: necessity and hope. Moreover, Waldemar is not a pagan or Muslim, but only a heretic, who is by Apostolic and patristic tradition called a Christian. On this basis you will find in the canon law that the Eastern church can embrace such, on condition that they renounce their heresy and on other conditions.

[32] Hebrews, VII, 12.
[33] I Cor., VII, 16.

Shakhovskoi then turns to another, historical, form of argument: "If, sire, [you require] another parable *(beseda)*" then you can mention the case of Volodimer who, after conquering Chersones, demanded the sister of the Byzantine rulers, Anna, as his bride. Shakhovskoi then recounts Anna's resistance, and her brothers' urgings, putting into their mouths the argument of necessity (Byzantium's need for peace with the Rus') and the same Pauline quotation about the unbelieving husband being sanctified by the wife. "Take into account, sister," they say in Shakhovskoi's account, "that you may save your pagan husband and God may through your efforts turn Rus' to Orthodoxy."

Shakhovskoi follows this interesting and insidious historical argument with further examples of mixed but happy marriages from Bulgarian and Gothic history, apparently taken from the *Khronograf*, and then concludes with two very telling and more modern Russian cases: the marriages of Elena, daughter of Ivan III to Alexander, king of Poland and grand duke of Lithuania, and that of Mary, daughter of Vladimir of Staritsa, who married Magnus, also prince of Denmark (Shakhovskoi has the details wrong). Neither of these women, he says, lost her faith, and the latter returned to Muscovy after her death, took the cowl, and ended her days in a nunnery there. "This," says Shakhovskoi, "not only have our ears heard but our eyes have seen."

At this point, as he says, he has concluded his memorandum: yes, Irina can marry Waldemar without his rebaptism; it is up to you, sire.

In a kind of postscript, however, Shakhovskoi offers some tactical advice: if Waldemar won't be baptized, let him recite our *Credo*, acknowledge the worship of icons, and keep our fasts, having renounced his "papist" heresy. (Shakhovskoi, like many of his countrymen, did not make fine distinctions among non-Orthodox confessions.) If, after the marriage, Waldemar should continue to practice his faith, you will have every means to put pressure on him because he will be living in Muscovy—but you should not do so now.

If, on the other hand, for political reasons you cannot allow the marriage without his baptism, then send to his father, Christian, asking him to force his son to comply. If Christian refuses, then you can withdraw from the original agreement. If he complains, you can blame your clerics (*"I ashche ne izvolit synu byti tako. . . . i poveleshi, gosudar', to delo na dukhovnoi chin otvoditi, chto. . .takovomu braku patriarkh so vsem soborom byti ne pozvoliaet*"), and plead your inability to act unilaterally. If he objects that you should have warned him of this earlier in the negotiations, you can tell him that you were silent on the matter because you didn't expect them to be so adamant (*takovago upriamstva i zapinaniia ot nikh ne chaial*), and you

expected him to order his son to do your will. And you can point out to him that they must know that your ancestors have never married spouses of other faiths, and two religions cannot abide in the same house (*vo edinom domu dve very ne byvaiut*).

Moreover, you should go over to the attack, demanding to know why Waldemar is being stubborn in direct contravention of the promises of the king made through his ambassadors (*a nyne dlia chego tvoie gosudarskoi voli cherez posol'skuiu rech' [Val'demar] stavittsa protiven?*). You can then decide what to do further when you receive their answer—but if you decide to let Waldemar go, you should obtain strong assurances that he will not dishonor you (*s velikim podkrepleniem*), and announce publicly that he has not kept his word.

Here we see Semen Shakhovskoi, I believe, at the peak of his maturity as a lettered politician, and in the context of his times. He provided, in this memo, everything any superior could desire as support for a difficult decision: theoretical (in this case, scriptural) and historical arguments in favor of both options ("the unbelieving husband is sanctified by the wife," but also "two faiths cannot abide in the same house"), detailed plans for a series of eventualities, and someone to blame for failure—in the one case, the bishops, in the other, Waldemar. I think it is a brilliant piece of work, and that Shakhovskoi was the first secular Muscovite to be able to carry it off in such fashion.

Indeed, it should be clear that the proponents of the marriage, that is, the enemies of the patriarch and of his more conservative clerics, knew this, and turned to Shakhovskoi for that reason. And that it was high politics there can be little doubt; it was still true at the court of Muscovy that politics, especially in the royal family, was what marriage was about; this dispute led to a death sentence. Shakhovskoi knew perfectly well that he was taking a risk, and indeed at the very end of his *Memorandum* provided the one ingredient of a perfect memo that I have failed to mention: what we would today call "deniability."

> And upon this, sire, I beg your majesty, if this screed is unacceptable to you, order it torn up and committed to the flames, and do not disgrace me, may the Lord God grant you His grace on the day of His irresistable (*nepostoiannyi*) judgement.

Now it should be said that, whatever our view of this memorandum, it had few admirers in 1649, by which time Mikhail Fedorovich had been dead four years, Waldemar departed, and a new administration taken over in the Kremlin. Despite the apparent fact that it had been in some sense commissioned by the previous tsar, Shakhovskoi's letter served as the basis of charges of blasphemy and apostasy, and he was, one final time, sentenced to death, this time to be burned.

I hope that my remarks will have served to introduce Semen Shakhovskoi, and to suggest that he deserves a larger place in our imagination as we watch Muscovy become Russia. Shall we not call him a Renaissance man? A man of action and military valor, but also a poet and musician? Womanizer and gourmet, but also seeker after the secret of Divine—and human—wisdom? Ambassador and original (if confused) theologian? A man conversant with the classical heritage—in his case the primarily ecclesiastical forms of Slavonic composition—but bearer of a new modern sensibility?

Two cautions are in order: although what I have presented here is abundantly documented and required little imagination on my part, anything we say about Shakhovskoi must, in the nature of things, remain quite tentative; reattributions and new discoveries may well force us to alter my view of Shakhovskoi's life and works. But it is not too early to declare that he was a remarkable figure.

At the same time, it is important to remember that Shakhovskoi, for all his remarkable accomplishments, was, by European—and even Eastern European—standards, a rustic, a primitive, a provincial. For all his enthusiasm for Slavonic, his is by no means either particularly correct or especially original, and he seems to have known no other learned language of his time. For all his interest in theological matters, he was never more than an educated layman; despite his obvious personal sophistication and intelligence, he was a dreadfully conventional and repetitious writer, and he seems to have remained remarkably unaffected by the cultural and literary developments that form the striking efflorescence that was taking place in the Ruthenian lands just to the west.

This last trait is striking; despite his wide travels and contacts with foreigners, Shakhovskoi seems to have been determinedly traditional in his choice of literary subjects and forms, and traditional in his ideas. In this he was unlike many of his contemporaries (one thinks of his cousin Ivan Khvorostinin, who avidly copied Ukrainian polemical verse and allegedly wrote naughty things about Muscovite culture) and decidedly unlike many, if not most, later Russian secular intellectuals (including several of his own illustrious descendants).

Semen Shakhovskoi knew who he was.

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CULTURAL ASPECTS

Volodimer Svjatoslavič's Choice of Religion: Fact or Fiction?

PETRO TOLOCHKO

The chronicle account of the baptism of Rus', set forth under the years 986–988 in the *Pověst' vremennyx lět*, has been much discussed in historical literature. Nearly all the historians of Kievan Rus', including church historians, have dealt with it to a greater or lesser degree. The range of opinions concerning it is extraordinarily wide, varying from unreserved acceptance of the veracity of the accounts in the Chronicle concerning Volodimer's choosing of a religion, to absolute denial of them, explaining them as pious fiction, a sort of poetry in the manner of ancient sacred mysteries.

It is characteristic of church historians to express diametrically opposed points of view. The metropolitan Makarij attempted to put forth the thesis that there is nothing in the account of Volodimer's discussions with the envoys from Bulgaria-on-the-Volga, Germany, Khazaria, and Byzantium that contradicts historical reality or appears incredible.[1] E. E. Golubinskij considered the account an invention of the Chronicle's scribe, "a Greek by origin," with which serious scholarship ought no longer to be concerned.[2]

It is impossible to say that "serious scholarship" has heeded Golubinskij's appeal, but there is no doubt that he has had a decided influence upon subsequent scholars' research on this topic. He gave particular encouragement to the atheistic historian N. M. Nikolskij, who wrote that by his declaration of the accounts in the Chronicle and in the "Life of Volodimer" as invention, without the slightest bit of historical truth, the church historian E. E. Golubinskij had displayed great courage.[3] But Golubinskij's "courage" consisted in the fact that while he denied the

[1] Makarij, *Istorija russkoj cerkvi*, vol. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1868), pp. 93–295.
[2] E. E. Golubinskij, *Istorija russkoj cerkvi*, vol. 1 (Moscow, 1901), pp. 105–143.
[3] N. M. Nikol'skij, *Istorija russkoj cerkvi* (Moscow, 1983), p. 21.

reality of the events connected with Volodimer's choosing of a religion, he put forth a theological thesis concerning Volodimer's "divine inspiration." The acceptance of the Christian faith was not the result of a "choosing," but of "enlightenment from above," of "illumination by this higher enlightenment."[4] However, Golubinskij was not consistent. He denied the reality of the embassies described in the Chronicle, but he was nevertheless obliged to recognize that there must have been a preacher who won Volodimer over to the Christian faith. This was not a Greek, however, but the Varangian Olaf, the son of the Norwegian Konung Tryggvi.[5]

M. D. Priselkov was greatly disturbed by the chronicle accounts of the testing of various faiths. He called the accounts simply absurd since in connection with their main theme—the choice of the best cult—the very substance of religion—its doctrines—are relegated to secondary importance, and ritual is given first place.[6] In this conviction, he succeeded Golubinskij, who considered ritual an external activity that afforded no understanding of the faith itself.

It would appear that for a church historian this statement is, at the very least, inaccurate. Without ritual faith is simply inconceivable, and it is no accident that the Church placed such great importance on this facet of religion. And for a man such as Volodimer, only recently acquainted with one or another religion, forms were more important than substance. He would not be able to comprehend the latter at once—he might never comprehend it; and inasmuch as ritual was more easily accessible to his understanding, it was of primary importance to his feelings. There is nothing surprising in the fact that, upon their return to Kiev from Constantinople, Volodimer's emissaries declared that when they saw how the Greeks served their God they knew not "whether we were in heaven or on earth, for there is no such sight nor any such beauty on earth."[7]

Surely the same could have been said by men who attended services in the Tithe Church or in St. Sophia in Kiev: the magnificence of the festal services there defied the imagination.

Beginning approximately in the 1950s, more objective, but at the same time more varied, opinions of the chronicle accounts of the baptism of Rus' were expressed in Soviet historical literature. B. D. Grekov considered the exchange of embassies between Rus' and neighboring countries in the years

[4] Golubinskij, *Istorija*, 1: 121–22.

[5] Golubinskij, *Istorija*, 1: 128.

[6] M. D. Priselkov, *Istorija russkogo letopisanija. XI–XV vv.* (Leningrad, 1940), p. 22.

[7] *Pověst' vremennyx lět* (hereafter *PVL*), vol. 1 (Moscow and Leningrad, 1950), p. 329.

986–988 completely plausible.[8] According to M. N. Tixomirov, the chronicle account concerning Volodimer's vacillation over which religion he ought to choose—Islam, Judaism, or Christianity—is simply a repercussion of the religious disputes in Rus' in the tenth and eleventh centuries.[9] D. S. Lixačev states that although the entire account of Volodimer's testing of religions follows the pattern of instructional literary works, with the purpose of winning readers over to the acceptance of Christianity, following the example of their prince, this in no way means that historical facts do not form the basis of the chronicle account. As was often the case in the Middle Ages, accounts of events which indeed took place could be clothed in the stereotypical forms of church literature.[10]

Characteristic of the conclusions of many Soviet scholars of our time is the view that the chronicle account of Volodimer's choosing of a religion is a reflection, albeit an inadequate one, of the actual state of affairs that existed at the end of the tenth century.[11] But there are also skeptical opinions. Quite telling is the lack of specific research subjecting the "account" to complex analysis based on the level of our present knowledge and drawing on a wide range of comparative data. The present work is intended to fill in this blank to the extent possible here.

The analysis of the baptism of Rus' is best begun with an elucidation of the precedence of this phenomenon. As is known, Golubinskij considered as one of the most important arguments against the authenticity of the embassies to Volodimer the exceptional nature of the situation, one without parallel in the history of other nations. If the conquest of the faith through Volodimer's agency was the actual truth, it would represent a completely original and bewildering historical event, one every bit as singular in its own way as the choosing of a religion.[12]

In fact, the phenomenon of choosing a religion, marked by diplomatic and even military acts, is not unique to the history of Old Rus'; it occured in other nations as well.

From the letter of the Khazar king Joseph, written ca. 960 to the Spanish Jew Ḥasdai ibn Šaprūṭ, which, as the latter had requested, provides a history of the conversion of the Khazars to Judaism, we learn that this event was preceded by embassies from the Christian and Muslim emperors. In their turn, in the years 858–861, emissaries of the Khazar kagan visited the

[8] B. D. Grekov, *Kievskaja Rus'* (Moscow, 1953), p. 476.

[9] M. N. Tixomirov, "Načalo xristianstva na Rusi," in *Drevnjaja Rus'* (Moscow, 1975), p. 269.

[10] *PVL*, vol. 2 (Moscow and Leningrad, 1950), p. 329.

[11] Cf. *Vvedenie xristianstva na Rusi* (Moscow, 1987).

[12] Golubinskij, *Istorija*, 1: 112–27.

Byzantine emperor Michael and related that from the beginning they believed in one God and prayed to Him, worshipping facing the East, but that they maintained certain shameful customs. Then there came Jews who began to convince them to accept their faith, which many already followed; still the Saracens tried to entice them to their own faith.

The Bulgarians, in their letter to Pope Nicholas, informed him that both Greek and Khazarian preachers attempted to win them over to their faith.

The particular activity of papal missionaries is well known. These missionaries preached simultaneously in Poland, Sweden, Hungary, Norway, and among the Western Slavs.

The sources relate the appeal of the Moravian prince Rostislav to the Byzantine emperor Michael, with the request to send a teacher who might teach the Moravians to read holy books in their own language. It is characteristic that at this time the Moravians had already accepted Roman Christianity.

Missionary activity, the desire to convert one's neighbors to one's own faith, is a characteristic not only of countries that have adhered to one or another monotheistic religion from early times, but also of the newly converted. Kievan Rus' is no exception. As early as 990, as is clear from the Nikon Chronicle, Rus' attempted to spread Christianity among the Volga Bulgarians, and with this purpose the philosopher Mark the Macedonian was sent to them: "The philosopher went to the Bulgarians, and did a great deal of preaching but they went mad in their folly. So they returned to Volodimer in Kiev. . . . And in the same year there came from the Bulgarians four princes to Volodimer in Kiev, and they were enlightened by divine baptism."[13]

It would be possible to give more examples of the choosing of religions, but this hardly seems necessary. Those already cited are proof enough of the regularity and natural character of this phenomenon. Such an event has taken place in the history of every nation that has attained a class-estate stage in its development. This process of choosing usually has an intermediate internal step. Between pagan polytheism in Rus' and the acceptance of Christianity stood the so-called pagan reform of Volodimer, the goal of which was to elevate the cult of the chief Rus' god Perun. In Danubian Bulgaria, the acceptance of Christianity was preceded by the cult of Tengri, the one god of heaven, as it was in Khazaria before Judaism was confirmed there.

[13] *Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej* (hereafter *PSRL*), 9 (St. Petersburg, 1862): Letopisnyj sbornik, imenuemyj Patriaršeju ili Nikonovskoju letopis'ju, pp. 58–59.

Golubinskij posited that in both the rejection of an old religion and the acceptance of a new one a major place is occupied by a "genuine inner conviction."[14] But, of course, in order for this inner conviction of the superiority of one faith over another to manifest itself, one must acquire a certain amount of knowledge of various religions. Once this is done, however, one cannot do without the elucidation of many questions. On an international level, these questions and subsequent elucidations led to the repeated exchange of embassies. There simply was no other way. And, if for some reason the account of the arrival in Rus' of various missionaries was wanting, it would be necessary to presuppose these facts.

The list of countries with which Rus' had relations with regard to the choosing of a new religion apears completely natural. All of them were its neighbors: Bulgaria-on-the-Volga and Khazaria to the East, Byzantium to the South, Germany to the West. With them Kievan Rus' maintained diverse economic and cultural ties, and one must posit that they were interested in obtaining the favorable disposition of their powerful neighbor. The surest way of doing this in the Middle Ages was to bring the other into one's own religious orbit.

According to the *Pověst' vremennyx lět*, the first missionaries came to Volodimer from Bulgaria-on-the-Volga. In the year 6494 Bulgarians of the Mohammedan faith came, saying: "You are a wise and sensible prince, but you know no law. Believe in our law, and worship Mohammed."[15] Further on, the chronicle describes the course of the discussions, which, however, did not bring the Bulgarians success. Volodimer was not well-disposed toward Islam, though it seems he did not dismiss it at the very outset. In the following year, 987, he dispatched emissaries to Bulgaria to test their religion.

That this incident could have taken place there is no doubt. But did it in fact occur? Golubinskij answers this question in the negative.[16] His chief argument is that Nestor, working on his recension at the end of the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth century could not have known what occurred in the time of Volodimer. In the light of present-day research on the writing of the chronicles in Old Rus', this argument is not convincing. Certainly the writing of chronicles did not begin with Nestor. The so-called Ancient Recension of 1037, compiled in the metropolitan church, the Chronicle of Nikon of the Caves Monastery of the years 1044–1073, the Chronicle of the Tithe Church, and the first recension of Hegumen Ioann of ca. 1093 all

14 Golubinskij, *Istorija*, 1:116.
15 *PVL*, vol. 1, p. 59.
16 Golubinskij, *Istorija*, 1:119.

preceded the *Pověst' vremennyx lět.* A great deal of material, other than the chronicles, also existed in which the events connected with the baptism of Rus' were reflected. These include the "Life of Volodimer," the "Remembrance and Praise of Volodimer Prince of Rus'" by Jacob the Monk (1070s), folk traditions, and eyewitness accounts. Nestor, too, mentions people (the monk Jeremiah of the Caves Monastery and Jan' Vyšatič) from whom he "heard many things which I have recorded in this chronicle." His predecessors had a wider circle of informants, among whom were eyewitnesses.

But let us return to the chronicle account of the Bulgarian embassy of 986. Even if there was no other notice in the chronicles of any other Rus'-Bulgarian relations, it would still be difficult to dismiss this account as a groundless invention with no basis in historical reality. But, in fact, this account does not stand alone. It is one in a series of other notices in the chronicles that give evidence of constant contact between Kievan Rus' and Bulgaria-on-the-Volga.

In 985, the Chronicle informs us, "Volodimer went against the Volga Bulgarians with Dobryna, his uncle, in boats, and he brought Turks on horses (who followed him) along the river bank. And he vanquished the Bulgarians."[17] As a result, a peace treaty was concluded between Rus' and Bulgaria. "And Volodimer concluded peace with the Bulgarians and they swore it between themselves." The Bulgarians swore an oath: "There will not be peace between us only if stone begins to swim and hops drown."[18]

The dispute concerning which Bulgarians Volodimer's campaign was directed against has been decided in favor of the Volga Bulgarians.[19] A. X. Xalikov posits as supplementary proof of this the mention of hops in the treaty. The region in which these grew was principally in the Middle Volga. Among Volga Tatars even to the present day the proverb is preserved: "The climber [plant] is a symbol of friendship."[20] The peace treaty of 985 was apparently confirmed by a Bulgarian embassy in the following year. This was the main purpose for the embassy to Kiev. In addition, a proposal may also have been made that the Bulgarians should accept the religion of the Rus', which they themselves had only just accepted. In

17 *PVL*, vol. 1, p. 59.

18 See also B. D. Grekov, "Volžskie bolgary v IX–X vv.," *Istoričeskie zapiski* 14 (1945): 13–14.

19 B. D. Grekov and N. F. Kalinin, "Bulgarskoe gosudarstvo do mongol'skogo zavoevanija," in *Materialy po istorii Tatarii* (Kazan', 1948), p. 140; A. P. Smirnov, "Volžskie bulgary," *Trudy GIM* 19 (Moscow, 1951), pp. 43ff.

20 A. X. Xalikov, "Volžskaja Bulgarija i Rus'," in *Volžskaja Bulgarija i Rus'* (Kazan', 1986), p. 9.

the scholarly literature one finds the opinion that, as a ratification of the peace treaty between Rus' and Bulgaria, Volodimer was married to a Bulgarian princess. Ludolf Müller reckons that Boris and Glĕb were Volodimer's sons by this Bulgar princess. One of the proofs of this thesis, according to Müller, is the fact that Boris and Glĕb ruled in Rostov and Murom respectively, lands that bordered on Bulgaria-on-the-Volga.[21]

In 990, as we have said, Volodimer offered his religion to the Bulgarians, but his attempt was not successful. The Nikon Chronicle tells of campaigns by Volodimer against Bulgaria-on-the-Volga in 994 and 997, although it does not disclose the reasons for the campaigns.[22] One cannot exclude the possibility that these were actions in response to border incidents.

In Tatiščev's *History* under the year 1006 there is an account of yet another Bulgarian embassy to Volodimer, the goal of which was to conclude a trading alliance: "The (Volga) Bulgarians sent envoys with many gifts (asking) Volodimer to allow them to trade in towns along the Volga and Oka rivers without fear, which Volodimer readily did. And he gave them seals for all towns so that they might trade freely everywhere and in everything, and that merchants of Rus' might travel without fear, with seals from governors, to the Bulgarians."[23]

Close relations between Rus' and Bulgaria-on-the-Volga began in the years 985–986 when the first peace treaties were concluded and were maintained in subsequent years, right up to the advent of the Mongol-Tatars.

According to the Chronicle, the next to come to Volodimer were the German emissaries: "Then Germans came from Rome, saying: 'We have come as envoys from the pope.' And they told him: 'The pope says this to you: Your country is like ours but your faith is not.' "[24] Further on the emissaries set forth the fundamental tenets of their religion. Revealing no interest in this religion and confining himself to the words "our fathers did not accept this," Volodimer directed the Papal emissaries to return home.

There is nothing improbable in either the coming of these emissaries or in the explanation of the goal of their visit. This mission, as is evident from Volodimer's response, was not the first. Our chronicle only hints at certain negotiations on this subject, which are clearly reflected in Western chronicles. According to the "Continuer of the Chronicle of Abbot Regino of

21 L. Müller, *Die altrussischen biographischen Erzählungen und liturgischen Dichtungen über die heiligen Boris und Gleb* (Munich, 1967), p. 11.
22 *PSRL*, 9: 65–66.
23 V. N. Tatiščev, *Istorija Rossijskaja*, vol. 2 (Moscow and Leningrad, 1963), p. 69.
24 *PVL*, vol. 1, p. 60.

Prüm," the author of which was the bishop Adalbert, in the year 959 there came to the German emperor, Otto I, in Frankfurt-am-Main an embassy from "Helen, Queen of the Rugi" with a request for the consecration of a bishop and priests for Rus'. In 961 the emperor dispatched his missionaries to Rus', with bishop Adalbert, formerly a monk in the monastery of St. Maximian of Trier, at their head. But, in the following year, Adalbert was forced to return. His activity in Rus' was unsuccessful. In this, as in other German chronicles, there are accusations against the kings of Rus' and their requests. The emissaries of Rus' "came to the king, as it later turned out, with falsehood" and "they lied in everything."

The French historian J.-P. Arrignon rejects the accusation of insincerity on the part of the Rus' emissaries and argues that it is doubtful that they requested a bishop for Rus'. It is more likely, he says, that the initiative was that of King Otto, in keeping with his imperial pretensions. Similar thoughts have been expressed by other scholars who believe that the Rus' embassy carried on negotiations on economic and political topics. Rus' attempted to find in Germany an ally and an economic partner.

This seems reasonable. Yet one must not exclude the possibility of an ecclesiastical aspect to the negotiations between the two countries. It would appear that there was some sort of discussion concerning the sending of a bishop to Rus'. It is another matter whether Otto's intention was to pursue purely diplomatic aims. This was an action to apply pressure on Byzantium. Clearly, one must not leave this aspect of international relations out of one's reckoning. The Bulgarian tsar Boris acted in an analogous manner in his time. In this, as A. G. Kuz'min correctly surmises, we see a reflection of the natural desire to retain complete independence from "enlighteners."[25] In the Nikon Chronicle there is a notice that emissaries from the pope of Rome arrived in Rus' in the reign of Jaropolk of Kiev.[26] This fact is not confirmed by sources extraneous to the chronicle. But, considering Jaropolk's disposition to Christianity, it is quite possible that it is true.

Golubinskij was even inclined to believe that it was the information in the chronicles concerning the embassies of the Greeks and the pope to Jaropolk which suggested the invention of the embassies to Volodimer to the author of the account of the baptism of Rus'.[27]

[25] A. G. Kuz'min, "Zapadnye tradicii v russkom xristianstve," in *Vvedenie xristianstva na Rusi*, p. 26.

[26] *PSRL*, 9, p. 39.

[27] Golubinskij, *Istorija*, 1: 143.

From written sources it is clear that in the time of Volodimer Svjatoslavič ties between Rus' and Germany and Rome became more constant than in previous times. According to the Nikon Chronicle, the pope sent his emissaries to Volodimer either to Korsun', when he was there, or to Kiev, soon after his return from the Korsun' campaign. "Emissaries from the pope in Rome came, and brought the relics of saints to Volodimer."[28]

Golubinskij reckoned that the goal of this embassy was the pope's desire to "win Volodimer over from the Greeks to himself."[29] In the Tatiščev Chronicle we read that "the papal legates were received in Kiev with love and honor."[30] Relations between Kiev and Rome were not curtailed in subsequent years. In 994 there returned from Rome "emissaries of Volodimer to the pope, having accomplished nothing." Some time around 999–1000, an embassy of the pope visited Kiev; and in the following year Volodimer again dispatched his own emissaries to Rome.

The rapprochement of Rus' and Germany, and therefore Rome, was furthered by the marriage of Volodimer to the Byzantine princess Anna, a relation of the German emperor Otto II. There arrived in Kiev, ca. 1006, a German embassy from Henry II, with the bishop Bruno of Querfurt at its head. Bruno stayed in Kiev nearly a month. There is information that he occupied himself there with missionary activity, but with no particular success.

Thus the embassy from the pope of Rome to Volodimer in 986 ought to be regarded as an ordinary occurrence, not only as a possibility but as an actual fact. It occupies a logical place in the scheme of Rus'-German and Kievo-Roman contacts in the second half of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century.

From the chronicle account of the arrival in Kiev of the embassy from the Khazarian Jews, it would appear that it was reports of the missionary activity of the Bulgarians and papal envoys in Rus' that forced the Khazars to increase their own activity. Whether or not this was indeed so, it is difficult to say, although there is nothing improbable here. Rus' carried on regular trading relations with Khazaria; in Kiev and in Itil there were, respectively, Khazaro-Jewish and Rus' trading colonies. Events which took place in Kiev could have been known relatively quickly in the Khazarian capital.

28 *PSRL*, 9, p. 57.
29 Golubinskij, *Istorija*, 1: 126.
30 Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 2, p. 64.

Nevertheless, we do not have sufficient ground to suppose that the embassy arrived precisely from there. After the crushing defeat of Khazaria by Svjatoslav, the country underwent a severe crisis that in its turn brought about a weakening of Judaism. In the words of Muqaddasī, who wrote at the end of the tenth century, "the inhabitants of the city of Khazar (Itil) are no longer Jews, but Muslims."[31] The change of religion was tied in with the weakened Khazar government's search for a powerful protector, which it saw in the Arab Caliphate. As is known, the conversion to Islam in no way altered the fate of Khazaria. The Muslim world was at this time beset by feudal quarrels.

In the scholarly literature the idea is put forward that the Jews might have come to Kiev from the Crimea. It seems more likely, however, to suppose that in fact we are dealing here with the initiative of a Jewish community that lived in Kiev itself. V. N. Tatiščev also supports this view and posits that the Jews "did not practice missionary activity abroad..., but in the place where they live, there they make bold to convert the inhabitants, as has occurred often in our country."[32] From the "Life of Theodosius," we learn that Jews living in Kiev in the eleventh century occupied themselves with the conversion of Christians to their faith. It was in response to this that Theodosius entered into sharp disputes with Jewish preachers: "Rising often at night, he went to Jews in secrecy from all and debated them on Christ."[33]

In favor of the supposition above, one might cite the circumstance that it was only in the case of the Khazarian Jews that Volodimer did not dispatch emissaries to test their religion.

There is an internal contradiction in the account of that embassy, which N. I. Kostomarov noticed. The point in question concerns Volodimer's reproach to the Jews that their own land, Jerusalem, was occupied by Christians. Such a reproach could not have been made before the very end of the eleventh century when Christians took control of those areas.[34] At first glance, this fact seems to undermine completely one's confidence in the entire account of the embassy. Because of that, many researchers have declared this account to be an invention of the chronicler. This is hardly justified. Such a contradiction is not a rarity in the chronicles. In most cases they are testimonies of periodic reediting of annalistic compilations,

[31] *Sbornik materialov dlja opisanija mestnostej i plemen Kavkaza* 38 (1908): 5.

[32] Tatiščev, *Istorija*, vol. 2, p. 231.

[33] *Paterik Kievskogo Pečerskogo monastyrja* (St. Petersburg, 1911), pp. 47–48.

[34] N. I. Kostomarov, "Predanie pervonačal'noj russkoj letopisi," *Sobranie sočinenij*, book 5, vol. 13 (St. Petersburg, 1905), pp. 364–65.

resulting in the frequent "enrichment" of original reports with new details. The chronicler's explanation on the conquest of Jerusalem by Christians belongs to these later details.

The last to come to Volodimer, according to the chronicle, was an embassy from Byzantium. Judging from the circumstances, Byzantium was alarmed by the activity of its potential rivals and could not have failed to react. Given the constant contacts between Rus' and Byzantium from the 860s on, the arrival of another embassy would not seem to be something to arouse doubts of any kind. But such doubts do exist. They are based on the long speech by a Greek philosopher, in which, having shown the imperfections in the Muslim, Jewish, and Roman Catholic religions, he gave Volodimer a detailed exposition of the essence of the Eastern Christian doctrine of faith. Concluding his speech, the Greek showed Volodimer a veil (*zapona*) on which was painted a representation of the Last Judgment. It made a strong impression on Volodimer, but not as strong as the Byzantines had expected: the image of the Last Judgment did not convince him to accept immediate baptism. Volodimer responded to the Greek's proposal to accept baptism by saying: "I will wait a bit longer."

Researchers have noticed that what we have here is a reworking of the tale of the baptism of the Bulgarian tsar Boris, executed in a fine literary style.[35] That this is then a retelling of an earlier tale is undeniable; however, acknowledgement of this is still not sufficient cause to doubt the arrival of a Byzantine embassy to Volodimer. On the contrary, the inclusion of a reworking of the Bulgarian tale into the chronicle and its adaptation to new circumstances makes it possible to assume that the situation itself was a repetition. Byzantium tried to achieve with Volodimer the same thing it had once wished to achieve with the Bulgarian tsar Boris—the adoption of Christianity. It seems probable that the preaching of another Byzantine missionary could have been somewhat similar to the speech given by Constantine the Philosopher. An element of imitation is quite possible here.

In 987, as the Primary Chronicle attests, Volodimer sent his embassy to Bulgaria-on-the-Volga, Germany, and Byzantium in order to "test the faith." Researchers have been confused by that report even more than by the number of embassies to Volodimer. Indeed, why was it necessary to go, say, to Byzantium in order to test the faith if Greek Christianity had been known in Rus' for a long time? Several Orthodox churches existed by that time in Kiev, including the St. Elias Cathedral in the Podil. Judaism and Islam were also known in Rus'.

[35] Priselkov, *Istorija*, p. 27.

From a purely religious point of view, Volodimer's embassies do not seem very logical. Nevertheless, their historical actuality should not be denied on that basis. For all its importance, the question of faith in itself was not the main concern of Volodimer and his government. This question arose in connection with the determination of the place of the Rus' in the system of inter-state relations. Kiev was not indifferent to the problems the adoption of a new faith might bring to the status of these relations. The establishment of a new faith could not be permitted to destroy an already organized system of economic and political relations between Rus' and her neighbors. Volodimer could not but fear the fate of Bulgaria, over which Byzantium had spread its religion and authority. Given this situation, negotiations were not only desirable but absolutely necessary. It would have been strange if they had not happened. Even Golubinskij was forced to admit that, when approaching the question of faith for Rus', Volodimer acted not only as an "equal to the apostles," but as a great sovereign.[36]

The reality of reciprocal embassies of Volodimer is confirmed by reports of Oriental authors. Two of them speak of a Rus' embassy to Khwārezm and of an alleged conversion of Rus' to Islam. The Arabic scholar al-Marwazī (eleventh century) and the Persian writer al-'Awfī (thirteenth century) both told generally the same story of how the prince of Rus' Būlādmīr (Volodimer) sent his envoys to the shah of Khwārezm in order to receive explanations on the advantages of the Muslim faith. The shah of Khwārezm allegedly was happy to hear this and sent his preachers to Rus' to teach the laws of Islam.[37] A. P. Novosel'cev thinks that the embassy sent by Volodimer to the Volga Bulgarians came to Xorezm.[38]

In conclusion, one must dwell upon the very problem of choice. Was there in Rus' an alternative to Byzantine Christianity? B. D. Grekov once wrote that Rus' had long been familiar with religions that appeared in a class society—Jewish, Christian, and Muslim. It was inevitable for the class society of Rus' to adopt one of them, but which—that was precisely a question of great political importance.[39]

M. N. Tixomirov saw in the chronicle account of Volodimer's hesitations merely a reflection of religious controversies in Rus' of the tenth and eleventh centuries. In this connection he did not recognize the reality of the reports of Oriental authors about Volodimer's request for Muslim

36 Golubinskij, *Istorija*, 1: 154.

37 *Zapiski Vostočnogo otdelenija Russkogo arxeologičeskogo obščestva* 9 (St. Petersburg, 1896): 267–68; A. P. Novosel'cev, "Vostok v bor'be za religioznoe vlijanie na Rusi," in *Vvedenie xristianstva na Rusi*, pp. 68–69.

38 Novosel'cev, "Vostok v bor'be," p. 69.

39 Grekov, *Kievskaja Rus'*, p. 476.

missionaries. He based his conclusions on the absence of any chronicle accounts of Muslim propaganda in Rus'.[40]

According to S. P. Tolstov, Volodimer might have sought in Islam a path to an alliance with the countries of the Arabic East against Byzantium. The structure of Islam as a church and religion, as it might have appeared to him, should also have been helpful in solving internal problems related to the final consolidation of the feudal system.[41]

A. P. Novosel'cev thinks that the adoption of one or another faith was for Volodimer first of all a political question. He chose the religion that was espoused by the most powerful state of his time. While the adoption of Judaism could not have been seriously considered, this cannot be said of Islam. Finally, however, the realization of the conditions in the Muslim states allegedly forced Volodimer to acknowledge his doubts about the ability of Islam to strengthen a central authority.[42]

As far as Christianity from Rome is concerned, this path, as many researchers believe, was not only possible but fully realistic. The literature even includes attempts to link, indirectly, Old Rus' Christianity with the Latin West.[43] There is no foundation for this, but neither should one deny the openness of Kievan Rus' to the West or the close ties maintained between the two. This can be confirmed by the negotiations of Rus' with Germany and Rome under Ol'ga and Volodimer concerning, among other things, questions of religion.

When one reads the chronicle tale about the choosing of a faith, one has the impression that in this case Volodimer acted according to the proverb: "Measure thy cloth ten times, thou canst cut it but once." It cannot be ruled out that, personally, he faced the extremely difficult decision of which faith to follow. Therefore he kept turning to "boyars and old men" for advice. The decision bore too great a responsibility.

And yet the true sense of the negotiations was not governed by doubt and hesitancy. Volodimer's hesitations were meant to demonstrate to Byzantium that, first of all, it was not the only country from which Rus' might adopt a new religion, and, secondly, that faith could not be imposed on Rus' but could only be of its own choosing. But the choice had actually been made a long time before in favor of the Greek Orthodox Church. It was made by life itself. Even if Volodimer had seriously intended to

40 Tixomirov, "Načalo xristianstva na Rusi," p. 269.

41 S. P. Tolstov, *Po sledam drevnexorezmijskoj civilizacii* (Moscow, Leningrad, 1948), p. 261.

42 Novosel'cev, "Vostok v bor'be," pp. 68–69.

43 Kuz'min, "Zapadnye tradicii," pp. 21–54.

choose, say, Islam, Judaism, or Roman Christianity, it would have been extremely difficult to do. The Byzantine Christian tradition had been present in Rus' for two centuries. What Volodimer had really to do was to give it the legal affirmation of the state.

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Booklearning and Bookmen in Kievan Rus': A Survey of an Idea

SIMON FRANKLIN

"Great is the benefit of booklearning; for through books we are instructed and inducted into the path of repentance; for from the words of books we attain wisdom and continence. For the words of books are rivers that water the whole earth; they are well-springs of wisdom: the depth of books is unfathomable."[1]

In these words the Kievan chronicler sums up what was for him perhaps the principal achievement and consequence of the conversion to Christianity. In the beginning was the Word and the Word became the words of books. Christianity is the religion of the book. The words of books are indeed the sources, the wells-springs, of the new faith, of the new culture, of the new status which the Land of the Rus' had acquired under Providence. According to the chronicler the first act of Volodimer himself, after baptizing his people and founding churches, was to propagate booklearning. Only then, says the chronicler, was the prophecy fulfilled.[2] Eulogies are formed from generalities. The task of the historian is to grind these generalities down to their specifics, to puncture the bubble of rhetoric, to attempt to convert symbols back into facts. Such is the regrettable purpose of this paper. The task is to consider what was implied by the term "booklearning," to investigate its scope and its limits.

Nevertheless, this investigation does remain to a large extent in the realm of images rather than of facts. If one were to attempt to describe and assess the actual booklearning of Kievan Rus', one would have to present the interrelationships between four sets of materials: first, the range of books potentially available from the full library of Byzantine culture; second, the reduced range of books that made their way to Kievan Rus' in Slavonic translation; third, the further reduced range of material that became part of what might be called the active vocabulary of Kievan culture—the books that were not merely present but that were used (copied, cited, imitated, etc.); and fourth, the native, non-imported components of Kievan writing.

[1] *Pověst' vremennyx lět*, ed. D. S. Lixačev, V. P. Adrianova-Peretc, vol. 1 (Moscow and Leningrad, 1950), p. 102.

[2] *Pověst'*, 1:81.

These are important areas of study, and polemical minefields. But they do *not* constitute the subject of this paper. I am here concerned not with the facts or the defects or the virtues of Kievan booklearning as viewed from the outside, but with the concept, with the image, with the idea of booklearning as it appeared to the Kievans themselves. What did it mean? What was its status? Did Kievan attitudes to its uses, and especially to its possible abuses, change in the course of time?

I

First, a word about words. Books—*knigy*—are "letters"; letters in the narrow and broad senses. The word translates the Greek *graphē, gramma, grammata, epistolē, biblos.* In the narrow sense of "letters of the alphabet," *knigy* is common in early imported translations, whence it creeps into native usage. Subsequently, and much more frequently, *knigy* are books—the things that you get when you put a multitude of letters together, whether as texts or as physical objects.[3] The *knižnik* is both literate and *litteratus*, a bookman, a man of letters. *Knižnoe učenie* is the study of, or the teaching of, letters: possibly in some contexts this is the study of basic literacy, but normally it is the study of books.

What books? What did the Kievans assume that the man of letters ought to have read?

In native sources the most common epithets for the books of booklearning are, unsurprisingly, "holy" and "divine": books as Scripture, books as Holy Writ, books as Bible, the Good Books—the equivalent terms migrate easily across the languages. The young Feodosij studies "divine books," and in his maturity he is revered for his apt citation of "holy books." His fellow monk Damian reads "holy books" in his cell. The "bookishness" of the Greek metropolitan John II of-Kiev is shown in his ability to quote "holy books."[4]

These epithets are general. But the "core curriculum" of booklearning was in fact more limited. It did not necessarily include all of the Scriptures. When native writers care to name the particular books, their lists are short and remarkably stable throughout the pre-Mongol period. According to the

[3] See A. S. L'vov, *Leksika "Povesti vremennyx let"* (Moscow, 1975), pp. 330–34; also I. Sreznevskij, *Materialy dlja slovarja drevne-russkogo jazyka*, vol. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1893), cols. 1391–97.

[4] *Uspenskij sbornik*, ed. O. A. Knjazevskaja et al. (Moscow, 1971), fols. 27d, 28a, 41d–42a, 59b15–19; *Pověst'*, 1: 137.

Primary Chronicle, Jaroslav the Wise showed his love for books by reading the discourses of the prophets and the teachings of the Gospels and of the Acts and Epistles, and the lives of the holy fathers.[5] The metropolitan Ilarion in his *Sermon on Law and Grace* praises his audience for being "filled to satiety with the sweetness of books," which he then specifies as a knowledge of "the predictions of the prophets concerning Christ, and the teachings of the apostles concerning the age to come."[6] A century later Kirill of Turov eulogizes "bookish understanding," which is to be acquired from the "writings of the prophets and of the apostles, and the Psalms, and the words of salvation from Christ the Savior himself."[7] And on the eve of the Mongol conquest Serapion of Vladimir, writing in about 1230, castigates his countrymen for ignoring their booklearning: for ignoring "the Gospels, the Acts and Epistles, the prophets," as well as the works of Saints Basil, Gregory of Nazianzus, and John Chrysostom.[8]

The basic list is an almost unchanging formula.[9] The actual range of Kievan books is wider; but this is the concept as contemporaries themselves defined it.[10] Booklearning is stated to imply principally, and sometimes exclusively, a knowledge of the Gospels, the Acts and Epistles, and the prophets—probably in their liturgical rather than complete versions.[11] The image is traditional. One could find equivalent statements in virtually any sample of medieval Christian writings. As with the terminology, so with the native definitions, thus far we remain within the generalities of Christian culture.

[5] *Pověst'*, 1: 103.

[6] A. Moldovan, *"Slovo o zakone i blagodati" Illariona* (Kiev, 1984), p. 79.

[7] I. P. Eremin, "Literaturnoe nasledie Kirilla Turovskogo," *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoj literatury* (hereafter *TODRL*) (1956) 12: 340.

[8] E. Petuxov, *Serapion Vladimirskij, russkij propovednik XIII veka* (St. Petersburg, 1888), appendix, 1/11–2/1.

[9] Cf. V. P. Vinogradov, *Ustavnye čtenija*, vyp. 3 (Sergiev Posad, 1915), pp. 33–96; N. Lavrovskij, *O drevnerusskix učiliščax* (Kharkov, 1854), pp. 110–86. Contrast the broader meaning imputed to *knižnoe učenie* by V. M. Petrov, *Vospitanie i obučenie v drevnerusskom gosudarstve IX–XV vekov* (avtoref. diss. kand. pedagogičeskix nauk, Moscow, 1982), pp. 8–11; and by S. D. Babišin, *Osnovye tendencii razvitija školy i prosveščenija v Drevnej Rusi (X–pervaja polovina XIII vv.)* (avtoref. diss. doktora pedagogičeskix nauk, Kiev, 1985), pp. 30–32.

[10] Cf. the somewhat different image of composition (rather than reading) as eclectic compilation, as a bee collecting honey from various flowers: see D. Bulanin, "O nekotoryx principax raboty drevnerusskix pisatelej," *TODRL* (1983) 37: 3–13.

[11] Hagiography and patristics are common but optional extras. Note that the Psalter is not a standard part of the lists: it was perhaps considered too basic to be worth mentioning; and it is also more widely associated with *singing* rather than with *reading*: e.g. *Uspenskij sbornik*, fols. 36b6–7, 37b21–30, 39a22–26, 44a12–14, 45a–5; *Pamjatniki literatury Drevnej Rusi: XIII vek* (Moscow, 1981), p. 76.

Is that all there is to be said on the matter? Not quite. But before moving to the next stage, let us consider a second introductory question. We have looked at the content of the Kievan idea of booklearning: what was its status?

Ask almost any writer from Kievan Rus'. The answers will not vary very much. Booklearning was a saintly virtue, a princely adornment, a miraculous gift to God's "new people" of Rus'. What, after all, was the Conversion? It was the acceptance of the words of booklearning. Eulogies to booklearning are ubiquitous, and the overwhelming impression is that they are uncritical. In native writing, to call a man a *knižnik* is automatically a compliment. The qualities of booklearning are eloquently advocated in the Primary Chronicle, in the work of Ilarion, and at great length by Kirill of Turov. Successive chroniclers, hagiographers, and preachers routinely praise great men (and occasionally women) for their attachment to books: Saints Boris and Glěb, Feodosij of the Caves, Evfrosinija of Polock, Avraamij of Smolensk; among princes Volodimer Svjatoslavič, converter of the Rus', "loved the words of books," and so it continues through Jaroslav's son Vsevolod, through the prince and monk Svjatoša, down to Rjurik Rostislavič at the end of the twelfth century and Konstantin Vsevolodovič at the start of the thirteenth; among churchmen the metropolitans John II, Klim Smoljatič and Kirill, bishop Paxomij of Rostov, and others.[12]

Again, the image is entirely traditional. It is not, however, the entirety of tradition. The Kievans did not invent either the list of books or their evaluation. But nor did they necessarily reproduce unmodified any and every traditional equivalent that happened to turn up in their sources. Let us consider a few examples.

All Kievan booklearning is ultimately indebted to the work of Cyril and Methodius, founders and fathers of Slavonic Christianity. The *Vita* of Methodius contains the definitive list of the basic books, and the *Vita* of Constantine-Cyril provides the definitive image of the bookman's education. Both passages are echoed in Kievan writings, and in both cases the echoes are curiously muffled. The *Vita Methodii* states that the brothers translated into Slavonic the Psalter, the Gospels, the Acts and Epistles, and selected liturgical texts; and that Methodius subsequently translated the

[12] *Pověst'*, 1:81, 102–103, 137, 158; *Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej* (hereafter *PSRL*), 1 (Leningrad, 1926; repr. Moscow, 1962), pp. 439, 443, 447; 2 (St. Petersburg, 1908; repr. Moscow, 1962), pp. 340, 710; A. Sapunov, *Žitie prepodobnyja Evfrosinija, knjažny Polockyja* (Vitebsk, 1888), pp. 2–3, 6; D. I. Abramovich, *Žitija svjatyx mučennikov Borisa i Gleba i služby im* (Petrograd, 1916 repr. with introd. by L. Müller, Munich, 1967), 5/9–11; S. P. Rozanov, *Žitija prepodobnogo Avraamija Smolenskogo i služby emu* (St. Petersburg, 1912; repr. with preface by D. Čyževs'kyj [Tschiževskij], Munich, 1970), 4/11–13, 28–32.

Nomocanon and "books of the fathers." These are all well within the range of actual Kievan erudition. Yet by the time the list reaches the Primary Chronicle the non-liturgical Methodian translations have been blandly glossed as "all the books."[13] Perhaps more informatively, Nestor's *Vita* of Feodosij of the Caves relates how the young Feodosij was sent to a teacher and rapidly mastered "all *grammatikia.*" Constantine-Cyril in his *vita* does exactly the same thing in virtually the same words. So do many other saints. But Constantine-Cyril then goes on to study "Homer and geometry... and all philosophical learning and also rhetoric and arithmetic and astronomy and music and all the other arts of the Hellenes." Feodosij does not: indeed, his learning is explicitly contrasted with that of "philosophers." Even Cyrillo-Methodian bookishness is translated into the world of Kievan expectations. This is both typical and topical. Byzantine hagiography provides both "philosophical" and "non-philosophical" *topoi* for a saint's education. In Kievan Rus' we find only the latter.[14]

As regards the status of booklearning, consider the preamble to a twelfth-century sermon by Kirill of Turov. Kirill alludes to the great bookmen of the past, whose example Kirill's humble self can barely aspire to emulate. These worthy sentiments are in fact a misrepresentation of the preface to the ninth-century Byzantine chronicle of George the Monk: George speaks sceptically of over-clever men of letters who apply their skills to worldly themes, whereas he, George, though no such virtuoso of empty style, will simply write the pious truth: "better to stutter the truth than to lie in the style of Plato."[15] The Byzantine monk's suspicion of bookishness is converted into the Kievan preacher's gushing appreciation of it. The reason is that the two writers had rather different notions of what such bookishness implied. Byzantine pseudo-classicism lay some way beyond Kirill's cultural horizons.

Thus the Kievans' use of imported tradition reinforces the pattern of their own statements on the contents and the value of booklearning.

This all looks fairly bleak. Is there no variation of attitude? Did the Christians of Kievan Rus' never question either the proper limits of booklearning or its proper uses? There are imported lists of canonical and uncanonical books, but they are of little significance: they turn up among

[13] *Uspenskij sbornik*, fol. 108c–d; *Pověst'*, 1:22–23.

[14] *Uspenskij sbornik*, fol. 28a17–18; see also D. Bulanin, "Neskol'ko parallelej k glavam III–IV žitija Konstantina-Kirilla," *Kirilo-Metodievski studii* 3 (1986):91–107.

[15] "Κρεῖσσον γὰρ μετὰ ἀληθείας ψελλίζειν ἢ μετὰ ψεύδους πλατωνίζειν": *Georgii Monachi Chronicon*, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1904; repr. ed. P. Wirth, Stuttgart, 1978), 2/9–10; see Ju. K. Begunov, "Kirill Turovskij ili Georgij Amartol?" *Byzantinoslavica* 35 (1974):86–87.

the clusters of minor appendages to major compendia on other topics; they migrate mechanically from Greek to Slavonic and from manuscript to manuscript, dutifully copied but otherwise ignored. They are unrelated to local practice, and there are no signs that anybody in the Kievan period took much notice of them.[16] There are arguments on bookish subjects: on the rules of fasting, on the correct procedure for electing a metropolitan, on the interpretation of heavenly portents. There is certainly an awareness that *others* could misuse books: an awareness of the existence of heresies, an awareness that Jewish bookmen ("scribes," in the doublet "scribes and pharisees," are *knižniki*) had failed to understand the prophets' predictions of Christ.[17] But the nature and status of native booklearning itself is not at issue.

Only three times does the mask appear to slip. From the Kievan period there are just three stories that indicate that the extent and the uses of booklearning might be controversial. These are the tales of three men: Nikita of Novgorod; Klim Smoljatič, metropolitan of Kiev; and Avraamij of Smolensk. Like all sources from Kievan Rus' the stories are problematic. But they are practically all we have, so we must extract what we can from them. What do they say?

II

The first of our potential abusers of learning is Nikita of Novgorod. Nikita was a distinguished man: bishop of Novgorod from ca. 1096–1109, perhaps the instigator of a program of decorations in the Cathedral of St. Sophia, patron of Antonij "the Roman" in founding a monastery, and reputedly the author of a kontakion, he came to be venerated within a few decades of his death.[18] Yet tradition has it that Nikita's path to sanctity was not unstained

16 See B. A. Semonovker, "Grečeskie spiski istinnyx i ložnyx knig i ix recepcija na Rusi," *TODRL* 40 (1985): 206–228; N. A. Kobjak, "Indeksy otrečennyx i zapreščennyx knig v russkoj pis'mennosti," in *Dreverusskaja literatura: Istočnikovedenie*, ed. D. S. Lixačev (Leningrad, 1984), pp. 45–54.

17 See, e.g., G. Podskalsky, *Christentum und theologische Literatur in der Kiever Rus' (988–1237)* (Munich, 1982), pp. 43–50. For the Jewish *knižniki* and their negative image, see, e.g., the sermons of Kirill of Turov for Palm Sunday and Easter Sunday, ed. I. P. Eremin, "Literaturnoe nasledie Kirilla Turovskogo," *TODRL* 13 (1957): 409–411, 412–14.

18 See *Pověst'* 1:170; *PSRL*, 9 (St. Petersburg, 1862; repr. Moscow, 1965), p. 125; *Novgorodskaja pervaja letopis' staršego i mladšego izvodov*, ed. A. N. Nasonov (Moscow and Leningrad, 1950), pp. 19, 473; *Novgorodskie letopisi* (St. Petersburg, 1879), pp. 186–87; *Gramoty velikogo Novgoroda i Pskova*, ed. S. N. Valk (Moscow and Leningrad, 1949), no. 103, p. 160; E. Golubinskij, *Istorija kanonizacii svjatyx v russkoj cerkvi*, 2nd ed. (Moscow, 1903; repr. Farnborough, 1969), pp. 54–56; A. S. Xorošev, *Političeskaja istorija russkoj kanonizacii (XI–XVI vv.)* (Moscow, 1986), pp. 44–45.

by scandal. The cautionary tale of his youthful indiscretion is told by the monk Polikarp in his section of the *Paterikon* of the Monastery of the Caves at Kiev.[19] It runs as follows.

Around 1077 or 1078 Nikita, then a young monk at the Caves, asked his abbot Nikon for permission to become a recluse. Permission was denied. Eremitic asceticism was diabolically dangerous, and not normally allowed under the monastery's cenobitic Studite Rule. But Nikita would not be put off: he closed the door of his cell and refused to come out.

The devil was not slow to take his chance. He appeared to Nikita in the guise of an angel and instructed him thus:[20] "Pray no longer, but instead pass your time reading books, and through them you will come to converse with God, and thus you may bestow the beneficial words of books on those who come to you. Meanwhile I shall ceaselessly pray to my Creator for your salvation."

O, the cunning of the devil's blandishments! What could appear more virtuous? Did not the Primary Chronicle, in a passage perhaps inserted by one of Nikita's fellow monks, Nikon or Nestor, likewise state that he who studies books "converses with God"?[21] And was it not a high duty of a monk, as exemplified in the life of the lately departed hegumen Feodosij, to bestow the benefits of his booklearning upon all who came to him?

So Nikita acted on the devil's words and applied himself diligently to reading. Soon he had acquired a reputation. People came to hear him, and he even began to make prophecies, "and all were amazed that his words came true."[22]

How could the hegumen Nikon object? Here, surely, was a precocious young monk bringing credit to his monastery? But no: Nikon saw through the devil's tricks. In the first place, he saw that Nikita's desire for renown was not pious but vainglorious, that he sought not to win the approval of God but "to be praised by men." Learning, therefore, could be exploited to glorify its possessor, and hence to betray its purpose. And secondly Nikon saw that Nikita's erudition was suspiciously idiosyncratic. We are told that:[23] "Nobody could out-argue [Nikita] on the books of the Old Testament, for he knew it all by heart: Genesis and Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Judges, Kings, and all the prophets in order; and he well knew all the Jewish books."

19 *Das Paterikon der Kiever Höhlenklosters nach der Ausgabe von D. Abramovič*, ed. D. Čyževs'kyj (Tschiżewskij) (Munich, 1964), pp. 124–27.
20 *Paterikon*, p. 125.
21 *Pověst'*, 1: 103.
22 *Paterikon*, p. 126.
23 *Paterikon*, p. 126.

What could be wrong here? All the named books are perfectly acceptable within the Christian tradition. Massive commentaries on sections of the Old Testament were routinely used in Kievan Rus' (versions of the *Hexemeron*, the various forms of *Paleja*, and chronographic compilations). Why should it be thought diabolical to acquire an expert knowledge of the Old Testament? Nikita's fault is made clear in the next sentence:[24] "But as for the Gospels and the Acts and Epistles, these sacred books that were given to us in Grace. . . he did not see them or hear them or read them, nor did he allow others to converse with him about them. Thus it became plain that he had been corrupted by the devil."

So Nikita's extracurricular reading was at the expense of the core curriculum. True booklearning was not to be confused with eccentric erudition. To learn books without *the* books is not learning, but a kind of anti-learning. It was fine to extend the basic list, but not to depart from it; this was diabolical. The structure of booklearning was not a matter of choice.

Let us not leave Nikita suspended in mid-delusion. The brethren prayed for him. It was an awesome display of collective prayer-power: the hegumen Nikon, the future hegumen John, Pimen the Faster, Isaiah the future bishop of Rostov, Matthew the Seer, the blessed Isaakij of the Caves, Agapit the Healer, Grigorij the Wonder-Worker, Nikola the future bishop of Tmutorokan', Nestor the Chronicler, Grigorij the Liturgical Poet, Feoktist the future bishop of Černihiv, Onisifor the Seer. And, wonder of wonders, their prayers were answered. The Lord intervened so as to reduce Nikita almost to a state of primal ignorance: he had to be re-taught basic grammar almost from scratch.[25]

We shall return to Nikita. For the moment we note merely that his flirtation with the fringes of booklearning serves not to extend the boundaries of the concept but rather to reaffirm its limits; at the same time, the story might suggest that erudition could at least potentially be regarded with suspicion. Of course this is all hagiography, but even hagiographical conventions are not necessarily regurgitated at random.[26]

24 *Paterikon*, p. 126.

25 *Paterikon*, p. 127.

26 Bulanin, "Neskol'ko parallelej"; on some imperfect parallels for Nikita, see F. Bubner, *Das Kiever Paterikon: Eine Untersuchung zur seiner Struktur und den literarischen Quellen* (Augsburg, 1969), pp. 99–100; on the general relationship of the *paterikon* to its literary antecedents, see also R. Pope, "O xaraktere i stepeni vlijanija vizantijskoj literatury na original'nuju literaturu južnyx i vostočnyx slavjan," in V. Terras, ed., *American Contributions to the Seventh International Congress of Slavists* (The Hague, 1973), vol. 2, pp. 469–93; W. Gesemann, "Vergleichende Analyse der Originalität des Kievo-Pečersker Paterikons," in R. Olesch, ed., *Slavistische Studien zum IX internationalen Slavistenkongress in Kiev 1983* (Cologne and Vienna, 1983), pp. 129–43; also Podskalsky, *Christentum*, pp. 159–70.

Our second story concerns the colorful and controversial figure of Klim Smoljatič, metropolitan of Kiev periodically from 1147 until the mid-1150s. In fact, to call Klim "controversial" is to sell him short: he was a focus of dynastic feuding among the Rurikid princes, of dogmatic dispute among the bishops, of an ecclesiastical rift between Kiev and Constantinople, and of intellectual indignation among his fellow churchmen.[27] And, to judge from the tone of his extant work, Klim was not the center of conflict by accident: he rather relished it.

Both by his admirers and by his critics Klim was acknowledged to be an exceptionally erudite man. A Kievan chronicler calls him a "bookman and philosopher such as there had never been in the land of the Rus."[28] And in Klim's own extant work is a letter in which he defends himself against a certain Thomas who apparently accused him of "seeking glory through writing, making himself out to be a philosopher."[29] What does the charge mean, and how does Klim cope with it?

There are two elements in the accusation. The first is reminiscent of Nikon's suspicions of Nikita: that learning is being displayed for the bookman's own self-advertisement. The second element is also in a sense analogous to the charges against Nikita. According to Klim's letter, Thomas had charged him with "abandoning the Scriptures and citing instead from Homer, Aristotle, and Plato."[30] Like Nikita, therefore, Klim is criticized not for any particular idea or thought or opinion, but for ignoring the "core curriculum" of booklearning and concentrating instead on something else. But in his case this "something else" is outside the limits of any Kievan definition of bookishness. The charge of citing classical authors is unique in Kievan Rus'.

Klim's defense is robust and devious. Like a skilled politician he manages to counterattack forcefully while not actually responding to the specific point put to him. He equates "glory" (*slava*) only with material

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Translated *paterica* included *topoi* which reflected *both* a suspicion of books *and* respect for them: for the former see, e.g., *The Protopaterikon Scaligeri*, ed. R. Nowak and W. R. Veder (=*Polata k''nigopis'naja* 12 [1985]), p. 8, unit 47; for the latter see, e.g., *Sinajskij paterik*, ed. V. S. Golyšenko and V. F. Dubrovina (Moscow, 1967), fols. 27v–28, units 49–51.

27 See *PSRL*, 2: 340, 347–49, 354, 383, 441, 484–85, 503–504, 521–52. On Klim's career, see P. A. Lavrovskij, *Poslanie mitropolita Klimenta Smoljatiča Fome presviteru Smolenskomu, kak istoriko-literaturnyj pamjatnik XII veka* (Smolensk, 1894), pp. 1–36; D. Obolensky, "Byzantium, Kiev, and Moscow: A Study in Ecclesiastical Relations," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 9 (1957): 21–78; also Podskalsky, *Christentum*, pp. 47–49, 93–96, 289–90.

28 *PSRL*, 2: 340.

29 N. K. Nikol'skij, *O literaturnyx trudax Klimenta Smoljatiča, pisatelja XII veka* (St. Petersburg, 1892), 103/13–14.

30 Nikol'skij, *O literaturnyx trudax*, 104/17–19.

ambition and greed, and says that he has none. He thus sidesteps the charge of worldly vanity. As for "philosophy," Klim begins with an equivocation. Did he write philosophically? Never. Well, hardly ever; not to Thomas, anyway, but to the prince.[31] Initially, therefore, Klim does not absolutely deny "philosophy," but neither does he defend it. Instead, he seems to accept Thomas's estimation of the subject, and he plays down the extent of his own devotion to it. After the cagey start, Klim switches to the attack. The trouble with Thomas, says Klim, is that he is really too stupid to understand what Klim had actually been doing: if Thomas had only had the wit to comprehend, he would see that Klim was in truth concerned with Scripture, not with "philosophy" at all. Klim insists only on the necessity for "detailed examination"[32] of obscure Scriptural passages, in order that their allegorical meanings may be elucidated.

Klim is the first native of Kievan Rus' to be described as a "philosopher," whether with approval or with disapproval.[33] He is also the only Kievan bookman whom our sources might appear to associate with the use of classical Greek writers.[34] He is therefore a crucially important figure for those who look for traces of any classically orientated learning in Kievan Rus'.

I have argued elsewhere that this apparent twelfth-century Kievan controversy over the classics is a hollow form, that Thomas and Klim borrow the terms of an argument from Constantinople—the terms, but not the substance.[35] There was no profession of "philosopher" in Kievan Rus' as there was in Byzantium, nor was there any "philosophical" education. It makes little difference whether Thomas is accusing Klim of actually being a "philosopher" in Byzantine style, or of merely aping such a philosopher, or indeed whether the whole exchange is a staged debate in fashionable but empty terms. It is significant that contemporary Constantinopolitan intellectual argument should have thus been echoed in Kievan Rus'. But it is no

31 Nikol'skij, *O literaturnyx trudax*, 104/20–22, 35–47.

32 Nikol'skij, *O literaturnyx trudax*, 105/57–58.

33 There are many references to foreign "philosophers." For uses of the word, see E. Granstrem, "Počemu mitropolita Klima Smoljatiča nazyvali 'filosofom'?," *TODRL* 25 (1970): 20–28.

34 Cf. Klim's contemporary, Feodosij, who, in the preface to his Slavonic translation of Pope Leo's letter to Flavian, writes that he is trained "in Homeric and rhetorical books": text ed. O. Bodjanskij in *Čtenija v Imperatorskom obščestve ljubitelej istorii i drevnostej rossijskix*, 3, no. 7 (March 1848), sec. 2, p. δ. But this Feodosij was almost certainly a Greek. The further evidence in Tatiščev is convincingly demolished by E. E. Golubinskij, *Istorija russkoj cerkvi*, vol. 1, pt. 1 (2nd ed., Moscow, 1901), pp. 871–80, though it is still accepted by, e.g., Petrov, *Vospitanie i obučenie* and Babišin, *Osnovnye tendencii*.

35 S. Franklin, "Echoes of Byzantine Elite Culture in Twelfth-Century Russia?," in *Byzantium and Europe*, ed. Th. Markopoulos (Athens, 1987), pp. 177–87.

more than an echo. Compare the Constantinopolitan equivalents: John Italos, who was anathemized for actually *believing* classical writers rather than using them for purely pedagogical purposes;[36] Theodore Prodromos and others, who insisted that the study of the Hellenic writers had an honorable place within Orthodox tradition.[37] Klim, by contrast, just brushes aside Thomas's terminology and reaffirms the conventional Kievan image of booklearning. Instead of a defense of *philosophia* he produces an explanation of *sophia*. Klim, the apparent exception, retreats back within the rules.[38]

Our third and final controversial bookman, at the turn of the thirteenth century, is the fiery preacher of doom Avraamij of Smolensk. Avraamij's story is told in his *Vita* written by his disciple Efrem.[39]

According to Efrem the young Avraamij entered a monastery outside Smolensk, where he devoted himself to the study of monastic books and tried to emulate the lives of the early monks. In time his hegumen, also a man of great booklearning, appointed Avraamij to serve in the monastery's church. But Avraamij's preaching was so effective that the devil grew alarmed at seeing how "many people came from the town, and through his teaching. . . repented of their sins."[40] So the devil set certain priests and monks against Avraamij. They failed to discredit him in bookish argument, but they did manage to mobilize sufficient anti-Avraamij protestors to force a response from the hegumen, who, mindful of his responsibilities before God, instructed Avraamij to cease preaching.

Avraamij was moved to another monastery, this time in Smolensk itself. Here he was no longer bound to public silence, and his audience grew still larger. So did Satan's rage. Satan stirred fresh discontent among the clergy

36 *Le Synodikon de l'Orthodoxie*, ed. and comm. J. Gouillard, in *Travaux et mémoires* 2 (1967): 11/214–216; also J. Gouillard, "La religion des philosophes," *Travaux et mémoires* 6 (1976): 305–324; L. Clucas, *The Trial of John Italos and the Crisis of Intellectual Values in Byzantium in the Eleventh Century* (Munich, 1981).

37 W. Hörandner, *Theodoros Prodromos: Historische Gedichte* (Vienna, 1974), no. 69, 11.111–122; also pp. 486ff. See also R. Browning, "Enlightenment and Repression in Byzantium in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," *Past and Present* 69 (1975): 3–23; A. Kazhdan and A. Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1985), pp. 120–66.

38 See Lavrovskij, *Poslanie*, pp. 49–76; G. Fedotov, *The Russian Religious Mind*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, Mass., 1946), pp. 63–69. I see no justification for the notion that Klim was "opposed to the ecclesiastical view of life," or that his work implies a "cryptic secularisation of knowledge": see A. F. Zamaleev and V. A. Zoc, *Mysliteli Kievskoj Rusi* (Kiev, 1981), p. 99; A. F. Zamaleev, *Filosofskaja mysl' v srednevekovoj Rusi* (Leningrad, 1987), pp. 137–47.

39 On Avraamij, see Fedotov, *Russian Religious Mind*, pp. 158–69; Podskalsky, *Christentum*, pp. 101–102, 139–142. Efrem's *Life*: Rozanov, *Žitija*, pp. 1–24.

40 Rozanov, *Žitija*, 6/22–24.

and people, and the accusations began to fly:[41] "Some slandered [Avraamij] to the bishop, others abused and berated him, others called him a heretic, and others said that 'he reads infernal books,' others that he associated with women, and priests said in indignation, 'He has already corrupted all our children [= spiritual children?].' Others labelled him a prophet, and many other things were said by other people."

Avraamij was tried by the prince and the magnates and found innocent of all charges. Yet, so as to appease the clergy, he was forced to return to his previous monastery, where he was kept under guard and forbidden to receive visitors.

The story has a happy ending. Avraamij miraculously produces rain during a drought, his opponents admit their error, and the bishop makes him hegumen of his own monastery, where he lives out his days in honor.

As we shall see, Avraamij's *Vita* contains several interesting passages on bookishness. But in the catalogue of reported accusations the bookish element is small. The uninformative claim that Avraamij read "infernal," or perhaps "secret," books[42] is almost lost in the litany of abuse. Since this is hagiography, the charges are meant to appear both grave and unfounded. Nevertheless, in one respect Avraamij's controversial use of his learning is analogous to that of Nikita and Klim. Avraamij's preaching was not of a general nature. It was highly distinctive in method and in content. He, too, concentrated on a "fringe" topic, in a very individual way.

His subject is eschatology: the "customs-houses" (*mytarstva*; in Greek *teloneia*) through which the soul passes after death; the Second Coming; the Last Judgment; rivers of fire and eternal damnation. In conversation he never stopped talking about these things. In church he was a mesmeric orator, skilled—we are told—not only at reading, but also at explaining. And he even produced his own visual aids. In technique Avraamij resorted to what might now be called a "multi-media" approach. For he was also a painter of icons. Efrem tells of two of his icons: one of the Last Judgment, and one of the customs-houses.[43] Indeed, iconography is peculiarly prominent in the *Vita*. Besides describing Avraamij's own icons, Efrem describes Avraamij *as* an icon. Any *vita* is a kind of verbal icon, but Efrem

[41] Rozanov, *Žitija*, 10/6–11.

[42] That is, *glubinnyja knigi*, or, as some scholars prefer, *golubinnyja knigi*: see Podskalsky, *Christentum*, p. 50, fn. 233; Fedotov, *Russian Religious Mind*, pp. 167–68.

[43] Rozanov, *Žitija*, 7/18–8/3. For an eschatological *Sermon on the Celestial Powers*, sometimes attributed to Avraamij, see Podskalsky, *Christentum*, pp. 101–102; Fedotov, *Russian Religious Mind*, pp. 169–75; but cf. the alternative attribution, to Kirill of Rostov (d. 1262): *Slovar' knižnikov i knižnosti Drevnej Rusi: XI–pervaja polovina XIV v.*, ed. D. Bulanin and O. Tvorogov (Leningrad, 1987), pp. 127, 223–25.

goes further, portraying Avraamij as a physical icon: "the image and likeness of St. Basil, with just such a black beard, but with a bald patch on his head."[44]

Efrem does not comment on the charge that Avraamij read improper books. As in the case of Nikita his interests are outside the narrowest definition of minimal booklearning, but are well within the mainstream of actual bookishness. St. Volodimer himself, according to the Primary Chronicle, was impressed by a picture of the Last Judgment.[45] And the customs-houses, though not biblical, have the respectable authority both of the popular translated *Life of Basil the New* (which was itself, on a different theme, cited in the Primary Chronicle) and even of the unimpeachable Feodosij of the Caves.[46] Avraamij's booklearning, like that of Nikita and Klim, was reasonably conventional; and his specialized presentation of it, like theirs, was perhaps idiosyncratic, though by no means unprecedented.

In their contents, and in their very rarity, the extant case histories of Nikita, Klim, and Avraamij confirm, rather than challenge, both the stability and the relative narrowness of Kievan notions of booklearning.

III

These are our three stories: the only three stories that present booklearning in Kievan Rus' as an accomplishment open to abuse. Between them they do not amount to very much. They are isolated fragments. They are distanced by genre and partiality both from historical facts and from each other. Perhaps we should leave them there: relate each to its own literary models and antecedents, or to the local circumstances of its composition, and retreat behind a shield of particularizing scholarship. That would be the prudent course. But, as so often in issues of Kievan history and culture, the scarcity of evidence forces us to a degree of imprudence, to look for the elusive and possibly illusory patterns among the scattered and ill-fitting scraps. The next step, therefore, is to consider the three stories together, rather than as separate incidents. What do they have in common? What, if any, are their shared features? I suggest that they reveal at least hints of a general pattern in four areas: intellectual, contextual, personal, and chronological.

44 Rozanov, *Žitija*, 8/31–9/1.

45 *Pověst'*, 1:74.

46 *Pověst'*, 1:33; *Uspenskij sbornik*, fol. 62c24ff. See also S. G. Vilinskij, *Žitie sv. Vasilija Novogo v russkoj literature*, vols. 1–2 (Odessa, 1911–13).

On the intellectual level, the writers of the stories all highlight the difference between mere erudition and true understanding. We hear that Nikita's knowledge of the Old Testament was such that "nobody could out-argue him";[47] yet his knowledge was a perversion of the truth. Klim writes scornfully that "there are those who know one, or a hundred, or two or three or four hundred alphas and as many betas. But, my friend, you have to think, to think and understand."[48] Avraamij's troubled hegumen was "skilled in the divine books... so that nobody dared to argue about books in front of him"[49] (again the curiously competitive notion of knowledge); yet this did not enable him to make the right judgment of Avraamij. In learning, breadth was no substitute for depth.

This point is not disputed on either side of the controversies. It, too, is traditional. Feodosij of the Caves used to speak obliquely, in parables.[50] The *Izbornik* of 1076 starts with an exhortation to linger in reading, to read each section three times so as to achieve proper understanding.[51] Kirill of Turov urges the brethren "not simply to pronounce the words that are written, passing over them with the tongue, but to read them carefully and with thought,"[52] and he also delights in parables and elaborate allegories.

However, in most Kievan utterances erudition and understanding are complementary, on the same plane of virtue, whereas here they are in potential conflict. Nikita, Klim, and Avraamij are all accused either of extending the range, or of concentrating unduly on the fringes of learning rather than on its essentials: they are idiosyncratic specialists (in the Old Testament, in "philosophizing," in eschatology). Nikita retreats, Klim denies the charge, and Avraamij ignores it. Nobody attempts to justify a broadening of the scope of booklearning, but all parties apparently accept that there is legitimate argument concerning the nature and uses of specialization. Accused of deviant erudition, Klim and Avraamij respond by demonstrating specialist interpretation and understanding. Klim insists on

47 *Paterikon*, p. 126.

48 Nikol'skij, *O literaturnyx trudax*, 126/540–127/544. See also E. Golubinskij, "Vopros o zaimstvovanii domongol'skimi russkimi ot grekov tak nazyvaemoj sxedografii, predstavljajuščej u poslednix vysšij kurs gramotnosti," *Izvestija Otdelenija russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti* 9 (1904), bk. 2, pp. 49–59.

49 Rozanov, *Žhitija*, 6/6–9.

50 *Uspenskij sbornik*, fols. 38d–39a, 56c13–14.

51 *Izbornik 1076 g.*, ed. V. S. Golyšenko et al. (Moscow, 1965), 1v1–8, p. 152. On this treatise and its related sources see W. R. Veder, "Three Old Slavic Discourses on Reading," in *Studia slavia mediaevalia et humanistica Riccardo Picchio dicata*, ed. M. Colucci et al. (Rome, 1986), pp. 717–30.

52 Eremin, "Literaturnoe nasledie Kirilla Turovskogo," *TODRL* 12 (1956): 340.

the necessity of "examining the Scriptures in detail,"[53] and displays his allegorical method, while Avraamij is said to have been skilled "not just at reading books, but also at explaining them."[54] All three stories focus on the problems of conspicuous specialization.

This leads to a second pattern: a pattern of analogous contexts. In each case the idiosyncratic uses of booklearning provoke objection not "in themselves," but when they are displayed for the delectation of lay society. Nikita, though a recluse, did not shut his door to the outside world. He attracted visitors, even courting successfully the attention of princes:[55] "Once Nikita sent to Prince Izjaslav saying, 'today Glěb Svjatoslavič has been killed in Zavoloč'e. Send your son quickly to rule in Novgorod.' And as he said, so it came to pass. In a few days the news arrived of Glěb's death. And thenceforth the recluse was reputed to be a prophet, and princes and boyars took great heed of his words."

Klim, too, had the ear of princes. His exchange with Thomas was conducted as a series of open letters read at court, perhaps in part as a deliberately constructed display. Still more significantly, Klim states that his allegedly offensive classical citations were in fact produced specifically *for* the prince, and not for Thomas.[56] And Avraamij's chief problem, or virtue, was that he was such a charismatic preacher. His hellfire sermons attracted huge audiences. And he, like Klim and Nikita, gained sympathetic attention from the social elite: at his trial, while the priests and abbots "bellowed at him like oxen,"[57] his judge and jury, who found him innocent on all charges, were the prince and boyars.

This recurrent context for the controversies may be linked to the third feature that the stories share: suspicion of the bookman's motives. In the cases of Klim and Nikita, questionable motive is virtually the main charge against them, and in each case the suspected fault is the same: they are said to use their skills in pursuit of glory for themselves. The critical word is *slava*—'glory,' 'renown,' 'praise.' Nikita attracted "great praise," and Polikarp explains to us that the young monk embarked on his plans "not for the sake of God, but because he wished to be praised by men."[58] Similarly, according to Thomas, Klim "philosophized" solely in order to bring praise upon himself. In most Kievan writings, learning is glorious, not vainglorious. Kirill of Turov, in his *Parable of the Body and the Soul*, written in the

53 Nikol'skij, *O literaturnyx trudax*, 105/57–58.
54 Rozanov, *Žitija*, 7/20–21.
55 *Paterikon*, p. 126.
56 Nikol'skij, *O literaturnyx trudax*, 105/57–58.
57 Rozanov, *Žitija*, 11/11–14.
58 *Paterikon*, pp. 124, 126.

mid-1160s, puts the common view: reading the divine books leads one *away* from thoughts of *slava*.[59] By contrast, the sources on Nikita and Klim suggest that for the bookman these two aspects of *slava* might be in conflict with one another.

The fourth type of pattern is chronological. When were the stories written? The events that they supposedly relate span the period from the 1070s (Nikita) to the 1210s (Avraamij). But as specimens of writing they are more closely bunched. The earliest is Klim's letter, which dates from around the mid-twelfth century. The latest is Efrem's *Vita* of Avraamij, which may have been written towards the mid-thirteenth century. Nikita's story is part of the monk Polikarp's contribution to the *Paterikon* of the Caves, written in the mid-1220s. Polikarp himself complains that nobody had previously bothered to record in writing most of the deeds of the early monks, so that in his day they survived only in the monastery's oral tradition.[60] Naturally the basic story of Nikita could have originated at any time over the 150 years from the 1070s to the 1220s. But the slanted interpretation belongs to Polikarp. The clue is precisely the emphasis on *slava*. Polikarp writes his section of the *Paterikon* ostensibly in response to criticism leveled at him by Simon, bishop of Suzdal'. For what fault is he criticized? Simon writes that Polikarp ''seeks praise from men, not from God,'' that he tries to gain praise for himself (*slaven sja tvorja*—coincidentally, or not coincidentally, the same phrase that Thomas had used of Klim), that Polikarp's ''wisdom'' is arrogantly over-lofty, that Polikarp has tried to secure advancement through princely patronage.[61] Polikarp opens his penitent response with the tale of Nikita, in the form of a letter to his own abbot Akindin. And at the very beginning, even before he has got to the facts, Polikarp states that Nikita's error had been a misplaced desire for *slava*.[62] It is an oblique but obvious way of showing that he understands and accepts the criticism of himself. Nikita, the vainglorious young monk of the Caves brought to humility by the hegumen Nikon, is a deliberate analogy for Poli-

59 Eremin, ''Nasledie,'' p. 340: note that Kirill states that it is vainglorious *not* to read, and that churchmen have a positive duty to provide booklearning in response to demands from laymen (p. 341).

60 *Paterikon*, p. 133.

61 *Paterikon*, pp. 101–102, 118.

62 The theme is recurrent in the Paterikon: see *Paterikon*, p. 108 (Evstratii ''wanted *slava* not from men but from God''), p. 130 (Agapit refuses gifts from Prince Volodimer Monomax because he ''did not want *slava*''). Bubner, *Das Kiever Paterikon*, pp. 6–43, considers that the epistolary form, and hence the ostensible pretext, for the Paterikon is a purely literary artifice; but for the opposing point of view see T. N. Kopreeva, ''Inok Polikarp, zabytyj pisatel'-publicist Kievskoj Rusi,'' in *Duxovnaja kul'tura slavjanskix narodov: Literatura. Fol'klor. Istorija. Sbornik statej k IX Meždunarodnomu s''ezdu slavistov* (Leningrad, 1983), pp. 59–73.

karp, the vainglorious young monk of the Caves showing humility before the hegumen Akindin. Polikarp offers his contribution to the Paterikon as a virtuous bookish counterpart to the misguided bookishness of Nikita.

If we accept that this version of Nikita's tale belongs to Polikarp, then our three stories are to some extent drawn together in time. We have a rudimentary chronological pattern. All the stories are relatively late, none of them dating from before the mid-twelfth century. Chronology gives shape, or at least the semblance of shape. It gives us the possibility of converting disparate observations into tentatively coherent narrative.

IV

For the first one hundred and fifty years of Kievan Christianity the possession and propagation of booklearning is extolled as an unmixed blessing, unambiguously glorious, received with unmodified rapture. Then, gradually, a small virus of unease infiltrates the eulogies, a germ of distrust. The object of distrust is not the book,[63] but the bookman and his motives. The image and the range of Kievan booklearning remain broadly stable throughout. The change, therefore, is one of attitude rather than of substance. From the mid-twelfth century we find the first small signs, in native writing, that booklearning might no longer be regarded as an automatically self-justifying activity; that it has come to be seen as open to abuse; that the glory of books can become the vanity of bookmen; that booklearning can be not only a blessed vocation, but also an earthly career.

Why should this realization have emerged so late? How can we account for the chronological pattern? Is there any other evidence to reinforce the somewhat flimsy impression of cultural change suggested by these stories?

Here the detailed investigation should begin. One could explore, for example, the mechanisms of patronage, or the social dynamics, or economic interests, or ideological undercurrents. Instead, however, we shall step back from particulars to generalities. By way of a conclusion, we may place the somewhat forced observations on booklearning in a broader context: a context that provides both a setting and perhaps a partial explanation for the patterns that have emerged.

[63] Some scholars have suggested that the stories of Nikita and Avraamij may reflect concern about the heresy of Bogomilism: on Nikita see D. Obolensky, *The Bogomils* (Cambridge, 1949), p. 278; on Avraamij see Fedotov, *Russian Religious Mind*, pp. 167–68. However, the charge against Avraamij is too vague to point us towards any specific heresy; Nikita's fault is to embrace the Old Testament too assiduously rather than to reject it as did the Bogomils; and we can hardly assume that Nikita's critics from Nikon to Polikarp were crypto-Bogomils.

The peculiarities and development of Kievan attitudes to booklearning need to be viewed against the background of two far larger processes of change in the cultural history of Kievan Rus': first, growth in the social uses of writing; and second, the growth of a native tradition, of a native Christian past.

Growth in the social uses of writing leads to diversification and specialization. In the Kievan Rus' of Ilarion and the early chroniclers, virtually all literacy was ecclesiastical booklearning, whose bearers proclaimed and putatively embodied the homogeneity of their new culture. The world of the *literati* was small, self-conscious, and self-confident. By the mid-twelfth century, however, literacy was no longer only the precious gift of the elite, but a fairly common and casual accomplishment: townsmen scrawled their jottings on any surface readily available, from twists of birch-bark to church walls. Writing had begun to proliferate in the market-place among tradesmen, and among princes in diplomacy and negotiations; there were rudimentary (and not instantly successful) attempts to introduce it into some areas of civil administration.[64] The bookman no longer shone merely with the possession of his bookishness. There is increasing differentiation of skills and functions. In the earlier age all bookish display was *ipso facto* a celebration of piety; from the mid-twelfth century there are numerous hints, from various sources, that bookish display was beginning to acquire a more autonomous and specialized status: that bookish edification and bookish entertainment, though complementary, were not always identical. Klim and Thomas exchange learned niceties in the form of a public disputation at court. The *Slovo o polku Igoreve* may well have been produced as aristocratic entertainment. And, quite brazenly, the literary persona of Daniil Zatočnik flaunts his bookishness as a form of display or performance with the declared aim of gaining favors from the prince.[65] In other words, the incipient suspicions both of specialization and of the bookman's flirtation with worldly *slava* were not just platitudinous and conventional abstractions; they were current issues, contemporary reactions to some of the ways in which, by the mid-twelfth century, Kievan booklearning had come to be diversely applied.

64 See S. Franklin, "Literacy and Documentation in Early Medieval Russia," *Speculum* 40 (1985): 1–38.

65 On the *Slovo* see, e.g., D. S. Lixačev, "Knjažeskie pevcy po svidetel'stvu 'Slova o polku Igoreve,'" *TODRL*, 38 (1985): 503–505; on Daniil, Klim, and court culture see Franklin, "Echoes of Byzantine Elite Culture."

The second process is the growth of a native Christian past, and with it the growth of native standards and traditions of booklearning. Early Kievan bookmen stand amazed by their own newness, dazzled and triumphant at the very fact that the Rus', through the Conversion and the acceptance of booklearning, have emerged into sacred history. The context is universal, and the great contests are between "us" Christians and "them" pagans. The Primary Chronicle claims to be the tale of how the "the land of the Rus' came into being." Ilarion in his *Sermon on Law and Grace*, and Nestor in his *Life of Feodosij* celebrate a miraculous present. But newness is the least durable of commodities. By the mid-twelfth century, the early exhilaration of recent achievement has mellowed into conservatism. Nestor and the early chroniclers have themselves been transformed from eulogists of the new order into authoritative voices from the past, cited with reverence by their successors. Unequivocal pride in the very possession of booklearning develops into care for its preservation—assiduous, and perhaps sometimes over-jealous. The golden age of the land of the Rus' is no longer "now" but "then," as bookmen look back wistfully at the days of Volodimer and Jaroslav. The context is no longer universal, but local, often regional; and the contests no longer set Christian bookmen against pagan non-bookmen, but—just occasionally—against each other. Booklearning had become familiar, and familiarity could breed contention.

Are these signs of an emerging cultural maturity, or of a failure of nerve? Of advancement or of retrogression? Kievan booklearning is already over-burdened by extraneous value judgments. I have tried to explore the concept of booklearning, and attitudes to it, as far as possible from within: to examine some of the ways in which the Kievans themselves perceived this crucial legacy of their conversion to Christianity.

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The Orient and Rome: Pilgrimages and Pious Visits between the Ninth and the Eleventh Century

ENRICO MORINI

"Do samogo Rima" ("to Rome itself") or "Daže do Rima" ("even to Rome") are such frequent expressions in Russian literature of the Middle Ages that they represent a rhetorical figure, as Krajcar has shown.[1] Referring to Volodimer Monomax,[2] or to Alexander Nevskij,[3] or to Vasilij Ivanovič,[4] they intend to express the greatest limit to which a prince's glory could extend, or, as in other texts, the farthest point to which navigation could venture. Also, the studies of Ščapov, Nina Sinycina, and Cazacu about the use of the words *Rim*, *rimskij*, and *rimljanin* from the eleventh to the sixteenth century have shown that Rome was a distant destination for the Russians of the Middle Ages for more reasons than latitude.[5] These words signify both a distance in time, when the adjective *rimskij* designates the old Rome of the Caesars, and a distance in geographic space, when the substantive *Rim* means the contemporary Rome and its region, i.e., Italy. To these meanings was soon added a political and religious connotation, which designates Rome and the Romans as the Latin West, as opposed to the Orthodox East. The appellation *rimljanin* attributed to Antonij, founder of a monastery near Novgorod in the twelfth century,[6] should be read in this meaning of Western Christian, even if for Tixomirov the saint was just a Roman, from the Rome of Gotland island in the Baltic Sea.[7] However, the geographical meaning of this "Roman" is privileged at the end of the

[1] J. Krajcar, "Fino alla stessa Roma," in *La nozione di "Romano": Tra cittadinanza e universalità* (Napoli, 1984) (Da Roma alla Terza Roma, Documenti e Studi, Studi, II), pp. 515–17.

[2] *Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej* (=*PSRL*), t. II, izd. 3 (Petrograd, 1923), p. 269.

[3] *PSRL*, XXV (Moskva, 1949), p. 135.

[4] *Acta Slavica Concilii Florentini*, ed. J. Krajcar (Romae, 1976), p. 102.

[5] J. N. Ščapov and N. V. Sinicyna, "La Rome antique et medievale dans les textes russes du XI^e^ au XVI^e^ s.: Étude sur le sens des mots russes 'Rim', 'Rimskij' et 'Rimljanin'," in *La nozione di "Romano,"* pp. 481–503; M. Cazacu, *L'idée de Rome chez les Russes: L'aspect philologique (XI^e^–XVI^e^ ss.)*, ibid., pp. 505–13.

[6] "Žitie Antonija Rimljanina," *Pravoslavnyj sobesednik*, 5–6 (1858), pp. 157–71 and 310–24; *Pamjatniki starinnoj russkoj literatury*, I (1860), pp. 263–70.

[7] M. N. Tixomirov, "O častnyx aktax v drevnej Rusi," in *Istoričeskie zapiski*, 17 (1945), p. 238.

fifteenth century, when the monk Niphon again writes a Life of this saint, already once composed by the monk Andrij. In fact, according to this account, Antonij was born in Rome and in the hagiographical description Rome at the end of eleventh century is a city where Orthodox Christians—among them Antonij's pious parents—were implacably pursued by Latin heretics. This is a clear anachronism in terms of the real interecclesiastical relationship between the East and West during the age when these events were supposed to have happened.

Our goal here is to investigate that relationship from a very particular point of view, namely, that of the flow of peoples between the two parts of Christendom because of religious faith. In fact, the movements and the pilgrimages of both Eastern people to Rome, proved by an unexpected abundance of documents from the ninth to eleventh century, and of Western people towards the spiritual and thaumaturgical elite of eastern monasticism, are further evidence that doctrinal contentions and estrangement had not yet compromised these forms of mutual ecclesiastical hospitality. From its side, Christianity in Rus' very soon knew the experience of pilgrimage. Not only does *stranničestvo* later become a peculiarity of the East European Slavic peoples,[8] but very early the reports of Rus' pilgrims to the Holy Land form a real literary genre.[9] Rome was, however, left out of the sacred itinerary of these pilgrims from Rus', although they were always aware that the *rimskaja strana*—as the metropolitan Ilarion says in his "Speech about Law and Grace"—or the *rimskaja zemlja*—as the "Praise of Prince Ivan Kalita" would later say—"glorifies the Apostles Peter and Paul."[10] Even if, according to the tradition recorded in the *Pověst' vremennyx lět*, it had been none other than the apostle Andrew who succeeded in making the journey from the Rus' to Rome on a voyage that had later led him to Byzantium,[11] for a long while Rus' believers did not follow their evangelizer in pushing onwards to the Western metropolis. Neither did the hegumen

[8] See P. Pascal, "Les pèlerinages de l'Orthodoxie," *Lumen Vitae*, 13 (1958), pp. 258–66; L. Zander, "Le pèlerinage," in *1054–1954. L'Église et les Églises. Neuf siécles de douloureuse séparation entre l'Orient et l'Occident*, Études et travaux offerts à dom Lambert Beauduin (Chevetogne, 1955), II, p. 468.

[9] This is the subject of a recent study: K. D. Seemann, *Die altrussische Wallfahrtsliteratur: Theorie und Geschichte eines literarischen Genres* (München, 1976).

[10] L. Müller, *Des Metropoliten Ilarion Lobrede auf Volodimer den Heiligen und Glaubensbekenntnis* (Wiesbaden, 1962), Slavistische Studienbücher, 2, p. 99; N. A. Meščerskij, "K izučenij rannej moskovskoj pis'mennosti," in *Izučenie russkogo jazyka i istočnikovedenie* (Moskva, 1969), p. 95.

[11] *PSRL*, I. izd. 2, (Leningrad, 1926), p. 7; see L. Müller, "Drevnerusskoe skazanie o xoždenii apostola Andreja v Kiev i Novgorod," in *Letopisi i xroniki*, (Moskva, 1974), pp. 48–63.

Daniel, at the beginning of the twelfth century, nor anyone else, until during the first half of the fifteenth century, when Antonij of Novgorod, Stephan of Novgorod, the archimandrite Grefenij, Ignatius of Smolensk, Zosima of the Trinity and St. Sergius's Lavra, reached the Holy Land on a route that touched Constantinople and, at times, Mount Athos and Thessalonica.[12] Only with the anonymous ecclesiastic, who wrote the short note linked in its origin to the *Xoždenie na Florentijskij sobor* will a Rus' who came to Italy (in the retinue of his metropolitan, to take part in the Council of Florence) cross the doors of the Roman shrines.[13] For this reason, our research here will deal with Roman pilgrims coming from other regions of the Byzantine *oikoumenē*, keeping in mind that this is surely a less considered area in the larger field of *peregrinatio religiosa*.[14]

The *martyria*[15] of the Apostles Peter and Paul are the pilgrimage's object. Chrysostom had already said that in the town *basilikotatē* of Rome, "*basileis*, *hypatoi*, and *stratēgoi* run because of the graves of the fisherman (Peter) and of the tent-maker (Paul)."[16] This is true of both the East and the West, at least until in the West the Roman pilgrimage *ad corpus* becomes a pilgrimage *ad limina*, as Prandi has happily noted.[17] If we move on to verify from the sources who the Eastern pilgrims in Rome really were between the ninth and the eleventh century, we find that most of them were monks,[18] in

12 For these itineraries, see Seemann, *Die altrussische Wallfahrtsliteratur*, pp. 173–242 (for editions and bibliography, pp. 428–34); French trans. in *Itinéraires russes en Orient*, traduits pour la Societé de l'Orient Latin par Mme. B. de Khitrowo (Genéve, 1889; rpt. Osnabrück, 1966).

13 N. A. Kazakova, "Zametka o Rime russkogo putešestvennikaserediny XV v.," in *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoj literatury*, 32 (1977), pp. 252–55; idem, *Zapadnaja Evropa v russkoj pis'mennosti XV–XVII vv.* (Moskva, 1980), pp. 52–55.

14 H. LeClercq, "Pèlerinages," in *Dictionannaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie*, 14 (Paris, 1939), cc. 65–176; B. Kötting, "Peregrinatio religiosa." in *Wallfahrten in der Antike und das Pilgerwesen in der alten Kirche* (Münster [Westf.], 1950), Forschungen zur Volkeskunde, 33–35; P. Maraval, *Les pèlerinages chrétiens en Orient: Histoire et géographie des lieux saints de l'Orient byzantin des origines à la conquête arabe* (Paris, 1984); idem, *Pèlerinages chrétiens en Orient des origines au 7e siècle*, s.v. "Pèlerinages," in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité, Ascétique et Mystique, Doctrine et Histoire*, 12 (Paris, 1987), cc. 901–909; V. Saxer, *Le pèlerinages aux apôtres Pierre et Paul (des origines à l'an 800)*, ibid., pp. 909–18.

15 A. Grabar, "*Martyrium*": *Récherches sur le culte des reliques et l'art chrétien antique* (Paris, 1946); J. B. Ward-Perkins, "*Memoria*": *Martyrs Tomb and Martyrs Church*, in *Journal of Theological Studies*, n. s. 17 (1966), pp. 20–37.

16 "Ioann. Chrys. Contra Iudaeos et Gentiles quod Christus sit Deus," 9, *Patrologia Graeca* (=*PG*) 48, c. 825.

17 A. Prandi, *La tomba di s. Pietro nei pellegrinaggi di età medievale*, in *Pellegrinaggi e culto dei santi in Europa fino alla I Crociata* (Todi, 1963), Convegni del Centro di Studi sulla Spiritualità Medievale, IV, pp. 445–47; P. Brezzi, *Epilogo*, ibid., p. 521.

18 "Vita s. Gregorii Agrigentini auct. Leontio presb.," *PG* 98, cc. 549–716, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca* (=*BHG*) (Bruxellis, 1957), n. 707; "Vita Cosmae et Ioannis Damasceni," ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta Hierosolymitikēs Stachyologias*, IV (Petro-

spite of the florid and moralizing rhetoric of Chrysostom's homiletic, that depicts the struggle among the powerful men that run and bow and the low social condition of those who are the object of such homage. In the hagiographical sources the only exception is a Greek from Sicily, spiritual son of

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poli, 1896), pp. 271–302 (*BHG* 394); "Synaxarium" of St. Gregory of Akritas, ed. H. Delehaye, *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* (Bruxellis, 1902), Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum (= *AA.SS.*) Novembris, cc. 372–74; "Vita S. Gregorii Decapolitae auct. Ignatio diac.," ed. F. Dvornik in *La Vie de saint Grégoire le Décapolite et les Slaves macédoniens au IX^e^ siècle* (Paris, 1926), Travaux publiés par l'Institut d'Études Slaves, V, pp. 45–75 (*BHG* 711); "Vita S. Michaelis syncelli Hierosol.," ed. Th. N. Schmit, *Kahrie-džami*, I (Sofia, 1906), Izvestija russkogo arxeologičeskogo Instituta v Konstantinople, 11, pp. 227–59 (*BHG* 1296); "Vita s. Methodii Confessoris," *PG* 100, cc. 1244–61 (*BHG* 1278); "Vita di s. Hilarionis Hiberi," Latin transl. (=I): P. Peeters, "S. Hilarion d'Ibérie," *Analecta Bollandiana*, 32 (1913), pp. 243–69; French transl. (=II): B. Martin-Hisard, "La pérégrination du moine géorgien Hilarion au IX^e^ siécle," *Bedi Kartlisa*, 39 (1981), pp. 120–38; "Vita s. Iosephi Hymnographi auct. Theophane mon." (=I), ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Monumenta graeca et latina ad historiam Photii patriarchae pertinentia*, II (Petropoli, 1901), pp. 1–14 (*BHG* 944); "Vita ejusdem auct. Ioanne diac." (=II), *PG* 105, cc. 939–75 (*BHG* 945); "Encomium s. Nicolai auct. Methodio patr. Const. (vel Basileo ep. Lacedaem.)," ed. G. Anrich, *"Hagios Nikolaos": Der heilige Nikolaos in der griechischen Kirche*, I (Leipzig–Berlin, 1913), pp. 153–82 (*BHG* 1352z); "Vita acephala ejusdem," ed. Anrich, *"Hagios Nikolaos"*, I, pp. 268–75 (*BHG* 1348b); "Thauma de duce cappadoce," ed. D. Papachryssanthou, "La Vie ancienne de saint Pierre l'Athonite. Date, composition et valeur historique," *Analecta Bollandiana*, 92 (1974), pp. 54–61 (*BHG* 1352v); "Vita s. Petri Athonitae auct. Nicolao," ed. K. Lake, *The Early Days of Monasticism on Mount Athos* (Oxford, 1909), pp.18–39 (*BHG* 1505); "Vita s. Eliae Junioris," ed. G. Rossi-Taibbi, *Vita di s. Elia il Giovane* (Palermo, 1962), Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici, Testi 7, Vite dei Santi Siciliani, 3 (*BHG* 580); "Vita s. Blasii Amoriensis," ed. H. Delehaye, *AA.SS. Nov.* IV (1925), pp. 657–69 (*BHG* 278); "Vita s. Lucae Junioris," *PG* 111, cc. 441–80 (om. suppl. E. Martini, in *Analecta Bollandiana*, 13 [1894], pp. 81–121) (*BHG* 994); "Vita s. Sabae Junioris auct. Oreste patr. Hierosol.," ed. I. Cozza-Luzi, *Historia et Laudes SS. Sabae et Macarii Juniorum e Sicilia* (Rome, 1893), pp. 5–70 (*BHG* 1611); "Vita ss. Christophori et Macarii auct. Oreste patr. Hierosol.," ibid., pp. 71–96 (*BHG* 312); "Vita s. Leonis Lucae," *AA.SS. Mart.* I^3^, pp. 99–102; *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina Antiquae et Mediae Aetatis* (=*BHL*) 4842 (Bruxellis, 1949); "Vita s. Vitalis a Castronovo," *AA.SS. Mart.* II^3^, pp. 27–35 (*BHL* 8697); "Vita s. Nili Junioris," ed. G. Giovanelli, *Bios kai politeia tou hosiou patros hēmōn Neilou tou Neou* (Grottaferrata, 1972), (*BHG* 1370); "Vita s. Bartholomaei Junioris" (=I), ed. G. Giovanelli, *S. Bartolomeo Juniore cofondatore di Grottaferrata* (Grottaferrata, 1962), pp. 5–84 (*BHG* 233); "Laudatio ejusdem" (=II), ibid., pp. 123–39 (*BHG* 233b); "Vita s. Lazari mon. in monte Galesio auct. Gregorio mon.," *AA.SS. Nov.* III (1910), pp. 508–88 (*BHG* 979); "Vita s. Christoduli mon. in Patmo auct. Ioanne metr. Rhodi" (=I), ed. I. Sakkelion in C. Boines, *Akolouthia hiera tou hosiou kai theophorou patros hēmōn Christodoulou* (Athenai, 1884^3^), pp. 109–133 (*BHG* 303); "Laudatio in translatione ejusdem auct. Athanasio patr. Antiocheno" (=II), ibid., pp. 134–62 (*BHG* 304); "Miracula ejusdem auct. Theodosio mon." (=III), ibid., pp. 163–208 (*BHG* 505); "Vita s. Meletii Junioris auct. Nicolao ep. Methonensi" (=I), ed. Ch. Papadopoulos, *Symbolai eis tēn historian tou monachikou biou en Helladi*, II (Athenai, 1935), pp. 34–66 (*BHG* 1247); "Vita ejusdem auct. Theodoro Prodromo" (=II), ibid., pp. 67–91 (*BHG* 1248); "Vita s. Cyrilli mon. Phileae in Thracia auct. Nicolao Kataskepeno," ed. E. Sargologos, *La Vie de saint Cyrille le Philéote, moine byzantin (+1110)* (Bruxelles, 1964), Subsidia Hagiographica, 39 (*BHG* 468)

Bartholomew of Grottaferrata, the Scholasticus Iōannēs, who was a pilgrim to Rome in the first half of the eleventh century. This phenomenon is explained first by the deep conaturality of the *peregrinatio religiosa* with the monastic life intrinsic to the profession, besides reasons extrinsic to monachism, such as freedom from the obligations imposed by social hierarchy, that make the monastic class more mobile.[19] The *xeniteia*, that is, the voluntary exile from the world, is the basis of monastic renunciation.[20] Even if all monks pursue this aim ideally, some of them begin the pilgrimage in reality, with a change marking the passage to a more regimented way of life in the same way as solitary retreat or voluntary reclusion. For Blasius of Amorium, deacon of the Great Church of Constantinople in the eleventh century and thus a member of the secular clergy, the journey that will induce him to enter the religious life in Rome is linked with conversion "to the hard text of the *xeniteia*" (8, p. 660). For Gregory the Decapolite the choice to make the pilgrimage to Rome at the beginning of the same century was the culmination of fourteen years as a cenobite and a long period of lonely life. The hagiographer presents this choice by the biblical model of Abraham's vacation (9, p. 53), a canonical theme introducing the call to monastic life.[21] Similarly, Psalm 54, at verse 8—"Lo! I have fled afar off" ("Idou emakryna phygadeuōn")—is the traditional biblical *auctoritas* in the fifth and sixth century to justify the choice of a hermitic life, as for example in the *Historia monachorum in Aegypto*[22] and in the Life of St. Sabas by Cyril of Scythopolis.[23] This quotation also appears later in more or less close relation to the decision to begin a pilgrimage. It occurs in the late tenth-century Life of St. Elias the Speleote—a Greek monk of

[19] See Maraval, *Les pèlerinages*, pp. 116–17.

[20] See H. von Campenhausen, *Die asketische Heimatlosigkeit im altkirchlichen Mönchtum* (Tübingen, 1930) (French transl.: "S'expatrier 'à cause de la foi,'" *La Vie Spirituelle*, 100 [1959], pp. 162–80); J. LeClercq, "Monachisme et pérégrination du IX^e au XII^e siècle," *Studia Monastica*, 3 (1961), pp. 33–52; A. Guillaumont, "Le dépaysement comme forme d'ascèse dans le monachisme ancien," in *Annuaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études*, V^e. Sect.: *Sciences religieuses*, 76 (1968–69), pp. 31–58 (=*Aux origines du monachisme chrétien. Pour une phénomenologie du monachisme* [Bégrolles en Mauges (Abbaye de Belle-fontaine), 1979], Spiritualité orientale, 30, pp. 89–116).

[21] See E. Lanne, "La 'Xeniteia' d'Abraham dans l'oeuvre d'Irenée," *Irenikon*, 47 (1947), pp. 163–87; G. Penco, "La vocazione di Abramo nella spiritualità monastica," *Rivista di Ascetica e Mistica*, 8 (1963), pp. 148–60; E. E. Pasetti, "I temi di Abramo 'peregrinus' e 'advena': Alla ricerca di una tradizione esegetica antica," *Studi e Ricerche sull'Oriente Cristiano*, 5 (1982), pp. 13–46, 103–124, 141–55.

[22] *Historia monachorum in Aegypto*, I, 31, ed. A.-J. Festugière (Bruxelles, 1961), Subsidia Hagiographica, 34; 11. 192–93, p. 20.

[23] "Vita s. Sabae auct. Cyrillo Scythopolitano," 12, ed. E. Schwartz, *Kyrillos von Skythopolis* (Leipzig, 1939), Texte und Untersuchungen, 49, 2, p. 95, 1. 13.

South Italy who defines himself "stranger and guest" ("xenos kai parepidēmos") while in Rome he lives under conditions that are already monastic in form—and, a century later, in the Life of St. Meletius of Mount Cithaeron on the eve of the long pilgrimage that will take him from Constantinople to Rome (I, 3, p. 37).

I. THE PILGRIMAGE TO THE APOSTOLIC GRAVES

All scholars who since the end of the last century have dealt even indirectly with this theme—from Bréhier to Leib to d'Herbigny, from Dvornik to Patricia McNulty to Bernard Hamilton and, recently, Sansterre—have composed more or less complete lists of Eastern pilgrims to Rome.[24] They move along pilgrimage itineraries that for the Christian East of these three centuries define a sort of "sacred geography." In fact they touch at least two of the three poles that, as Fontaine has rightly observed,[25] made the Christian *oikoumenē* in the early Middle Ages a world of three centers, namely, Jerusalem, Constantinople, and Rome. In these pilgrimage itineraries leading the Eastern monks as far as Rome, Jerusalem was hardly ever missing.

[24] L Bréhier, *Le schisme oriental du XI^e siècle* (Paris, 1899), pp. 28–33; idem, "Orient et Occident avant la séparation du XI^e siècle," *Istina*, 6 (1959), pp. 368–69 (=*Documentation Catholique*, n. 415, 18 février 1928); B. Leib, *Rome, Kiev et Byzance à la fin du XI^e siècle. Rapports religieux des Latins et des Gréco-Russes sous le pontificat d'Urbain II (1088–1099)* (Paris, 1924), pp. 93–95; M. D. Herbigny, "Les voyages et les voyageurs de Byzance vers Rome," in *Actes du II^e Congrès International des Études Byzantines, Belgrade 1927* (Beograd, 1929), pp. 2–4; F. Dvornik, *Les légendes de Constantin et de Méthode vues de Byzance* (Praha, 1933) (*Byzantinoslavica*, Supplementa, 1), pp. 292–93; P. M. McNulty–B. Hamilton, "'Orientale lumen et magistra latinitas': Greek Influences on Western Monasticism (900–1100)," in *Le Millénaire du Mont Athos, 963–1963, Études et Mélanges*, I (Chevetogne, 1963), pp. 196–99; J.-M. Sansterre, *Les moines grecs et orientaux à Rome aux époques byzantine et carolingienne (milieu du I^e s.–fin du IX^e s.)* (Bruxelles, 1983), Académie Royale de Belgique, Mémoires de la Classe des Lettres, 2^e s., t. LXVI/1, I, pp. 150–52; II, pp. 179–80; idem, "Le monachisme byzantin à Rome," in *Bisanzio, Roma e l'Italia nell'Alto Medioevo* (Spoleto, 1968), Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, XXXIV, II fns. 30–31, p. 714; see also X. Loparev, "Opisanie nekotoryx grečeskix žit'ii svyatix," *Vizantijskij vremennik*, 4 (1897), p. 381; G. Bardy, "Pèlerinages à Rome vers la fin du IV^e siècle," *Analecta Bollandiana*, 67 (1949), pp. 130–33; Kötting, "Peregrinatio religiosa," pp. 228–30, 243–44; F. Russo, "La 'Peregrinatio' dei santi italo-greci alle tombe degli apostoli Pietro e Paolo a Roma," *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata*, n.s., 22 (1968), pp. 89–99; Ch. Pietri, *"Roma christiana": Récherches sur l'Église de Rome, son organisation, sa politique, son idéologie de Miltiade à Sixte III (311–440)* (Roma, 1976), Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 224, I. p. 623; M. Maccarone, "Il pellegrinaggio a S. Pietro e il giubileo del 1300," I: "I 'limina Apostolorum,' " *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia*, 34 (1980), pp. 391–94, 412; V. von Falkenhausen, "San Pietro nella religiosità bizantina," in *Bisanzio, Roma e l'Italia nell'Alto Medioevo*, II, pp. 644–46.

[25] *Popoli e paesi nella cultura altomedievale* (Spoleto, 1983), Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, XXIX, I, p. 322.

This fact supports Parente's observation[26] that in that religious universe, the Holy City always represented something absolutely unique, to which Rome and Constantinople—the latter at the same time the New Rome and the New Jerusalem[27] —never fully compared. The Holy City could be either the first or the ultimate destination in the sacred itinerary. The order changed according to the perspective of the different hagiographers; thus Meletius goes first to Rome for Nicholas of Methone (I, 5, p. 39), but first to Jerusalem for Theodore Prodromus (II, 6, p. 72). Only the Life of Hilarion of Iberia, in the second half of the eleventh century, explicitly mentions the intermediate Constantinople *statio* in the pilgrimage from Jerusalem to Rome (22, I, p. 255; II, p. 129). It deals, however, with a monk from the area of the Caucasus who moves from the interior in terms of the Byzantine *oikoumenē*, but from the exterior in relation to the political borders of "Romania"—in this they are different from the later Russian pilgrims for whom Constantinople was a spiritually obliged stop on their Jerusalem itinerary. In other cases the destination of Constantinople is not reached for clearly declared religious reasons, as for Cosmas of Maiouma and Michael the Syncellus; or that destination is quietly assumed if the pilgrim has either begun monastic life in the capital, as Meletius did, or comes from the relatively nearby area of Bythinia, as Christodulus did. This "sacred geography" spread in several cases from the three great "metropolis of piety" to a series of *martyria* in the Christian East and—in one case at least—in the West. The *martryion* of St. Demetrius in Thessalonica is visited by two of these Roman pilgrims, by Hilarion (24, I, p. 257; II, p. 130) and by Meletius (I, 3, p. 37; II, 4, p. 70). Elias the Young goes to and prays at the shrine of St. Mark in Alexandria and at the *martyria* of Menas, of Cyrus and John and of the bishop Peter in Egypt (21, p. 30). The *apostoleion* of St. John the Theologian in Efesus, St. Theodore's shrine in Euchaïta, and Archangel Michael's sanctuary in Chonae are visited by Lazarus, the future stylite of Mount Galesion, who, having already been a pilgrim to Jerusalem, will head for Rome twice without actually reaching it (29, p. 518). We encounter this Chonae sanctuary again in the pilgrimage itinerary of Cyril the Phileote, who does not reach Jerusalem but connects the two Romes, the new one, where he visits the Marian sanctuary of the Blachernae, and the

26 *Popoli e paesi*, pp. 325–26.

27 See G. Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale: Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451* (Paris, 1974), Bibliothèque Byzantine, Étude 7, pp. 389, 408-409; idem, *Constantinople imaginaire: Étude sur le recueil des "Patria"* (Paris, 1984), Bibliothèque Byzantine, Étude 8, pp. 18, 303; G. P. Majeska, *New Rome to New Jerusalem: The Evolution of Constantinople as a Pilgrim Goal* (Cincinnati, 1984), 10th Annual Byzantine Studies Conference, Abstracts of Papers.

ancient one, where he venerates the Apostles' graves (18, 1. p. 940). Finally, Meletius surprises us by setting off from Rome to St. James *tēs Gallias*, that is, Compostela (II, 6, 72).

Different from the Holy City and the imperial one—respectively, the Ancient and the New Jerusalem—Ancient Rome is the destination of the martyrial pilgrimage. This is confirmed by the many sources that refer to Peter and Paul as martyrs, which often gets the better of their peculiar attribution of Coryphaei to the Apostles. The Life of St. Michael, syncellus of Jerusalem's patriarch, written in about the middle of the ninth century, specifies, probably a Eusebian echo, that the two Apostles met with martyrdom "epi Nerōnos" (p. 231). The persecutor of the Coryphaei is mentioned again by John of Rhodes, in his reference to the Roman pilgrimage of Christodulus of Patmos (I, 6, p. 116), whereas the author of the Life of St. Nilus of Rossano simply remembers Peter and Paul's dignity as martyrs (59, p. 100). Just as Kötting already saw in the saint's pilgrimage a "signa manifestantia sanctitatis,"[28] so have many scholars pointed out the topical character that Roman pilgrimages often have in Greek monastic hagiography.[29] This is particularly evident in the Lives written long after the events related, such as those of Cosmas of Maiouma, Gregory of Agrigento, and Grigentius of Taphar, which are marked by clear anachronisms and strong legendary features.

It is remarkable that this devotional habit could have become a commonplace for Greeks. Nevertheless the existence of these voyages is confirmed in several Lives by occasional reference to Roman pilgrimages by persons of secondary importance in the narration. One example is the Life of St. Luke of Stiris, a saint who lived between the ninth and the tenth century and was never a pilgrim to the West. In several places in this text there appear monks who, usually in pairs, have completed *poreia* in Ancient Rome and Italy. Evidence of these sources is the almost obligatory presence of a companion to the pilgrim.[30] These include the anonymous monk who in Thessalonica offers himself to Gregory the Decapolite as a companion for his Roman pilgrimage (11, p. 55), the one who invites Blasius of Amorium to

[28] Kötting, "Peregrinatio religiosa," p. 83.

[29] See G. Da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de Sicile et d'Italie Méridionale aux VIII^{e}, IX^{e}, et X^{e} ss.," *Byzantion*, 29–30 (1959–60), pp. 102–103; V. Peri, "Leone III e il 'Filioque': Echi del caso nell'agiografia greca," *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia*, 25 (1971), p. 14; Sansterre, *Les moines grecs*, I, p. 151; idem, *Le monachisme byzantin*, fns. 30–31, p. 714.

[30] This practice is in accordance with the most ancient monastic rule, as already testified in the *Praecepta* by Pacomius (92, in A. Boon, *Pachomiana Latina* [Louvain, 1932], Bibliothèque de la Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, 7, p. 56, ll. 15–16: "nullus solus foras mittitur ad aliquod negotium, nisi iuncto et altero").

make a pilgrimage with him from the New to the Ancient Rome (8, p. 660), and the Bulgarian bishop with whom Blasius finally fulfills his vows (10, p. 662). This bishop, who becomes a pilgrim in the hagiographic transposition, could be one of the Greek bishops designated by Patriarch Ignatius or an important prelate sent to Rome by Boris-Michael. Lazarus the Galesiote, in the first of his two unsuccessful attempts to reach the Western metropolis, joins a monk whose name is Paul (20, p. 515). To Sabas the Young, ascetic of Merkourion in Calabria, a mate in the much-desired Roman pilgrimage is revealed by a night vision as being Nicetas, a monk who came from the East for just this purpose (18, p. 30).

There is also supporting evidence in Western hagiography regarding Eastern monks who settled in the West after linking their Roman pilgrimage with one to Jerusalem: in the tenth century, Symeon of Polirone, an Easterner, perhaps an Armenian,[31] and in the first half of the eleventh century Symeon of Trier, a Greek of Sicily who was Constantinopolitan by adoption and a Sinaite monk,[32] and Dvin (or Davin) the Armenian, in Lucca.[33]

Particularly valuable for us, however, is confirmation from non-hagiographical sources. The documents concerning the Photian controversy, for instance, are rich in quotations about the Roman pilgrimages of the Greeks, particularly monks. So the supporters of Ignatius who, even if they were not ''tanta milia hominum,'' as Pope Nicholas writes—or Anastasius the Librarian for him—come to Rome ''protectioni ac intercessioni beati apostolorum principi Petri. . . properantium,. . . ab Alexandria, ab Hierosolymis, a Constantinopoli et confinibus eius, ab Olympo monte atque a ceteris mundi partibus'';[34] they had to leave for Rome under the pretext of pilgrimage. In fact Photius himself writes to the pope complaining about the favour granted to his enemies coming to Italy ''epi prophasei proseuchēs.''[35] The Latin collections of the Acts of the Eighth Council give us the names of some of these monk pilgrims, such as Basil who went to Rome ''orationis causa'' between 855 and 858 and stayed there twenty

31 ''Vita s. Symeonis de Padolirono,'' ed. P. Golinelli, ''La 'Vita' di s. Simeone monaco,'' *Studi Medievali*, 3a s., 20 (1979), pp. 747–80 (*BHL* 7952), esp. pp. 757–60.

32 ''Vita s. Symeonis Treverensis auct. Eberwino ab.,'' *AA.SS. Iun.*, I³, pp. 86–92 (*BHL* 7964), esp. p. 89 B.

33 ''Vita et miracula s. Davini peregrini,'' *AA.SS. Iun.*, I³, pp. 322–24 (*BHL* 2114), esp. p. 322 F.

34 ''Nicolai papae I Epistolae,'' 88, ed. E. Perels, in *MGH Epist.VI (Karolini aevi* IV) (Berolini, 1925), pp. 477, 11. 33–5 e 478, 11. 28–30.

35 ''Photii patr. Const. Epistolae,'' 290, ed. B. Laurdas–L. G. Westerink, *Photius. Epistolae et Amphilochia*, III (Leipzig, 1985), Bibl. Script. Graec. et Rom. Teubneriana, 11. 472–73, p. 138 (=3, ed. J. N. Baletta, London, 1864 [Darmstadt, 1978], p. 165).

months,[36] and the fierce Theognostus, hegumen of the monastery of the Theotokos of the Source (*tēs Pēgēs*) in Constantinople, who immediately after the council went to Rome, with a letter of presentation from the emperors "principi apostolorum ante promissum causa reddendi votum."[37] Pope John VIII gives us news about the Palestinian monks Theodosius, David, and Sabas, as he writes to the patriarch of Jerusalem Theodosius: "venientes Romam ad limina apostolorum Petri et Pauli."[38] Even more interesting, for the end of the period of our study, is the information given by Anna Comnena that Robert Guiscard, who was looking for an excuse to begin a war against Alexius I, planned the unlawful restraint at Crotone in Calabria of the most appropriate monk among the Greek pilgrims on their way to Rome, on the pretext that he was the deposed Michael VII Ducas.[39]

II. THE GREEK VOCABULARY OF PILGRIMAGE TO ROME

If it seems unreasonable to doubt the existence of a *peregrinatio religiosa* from the East to Rome, one must recognize that the sources, both hagiographical and not, tell about it in undeniably stereotyped terms. That language, at least in its key terms—for example, *poreia*, occurring already in Eusebius, where he mentioned the journey to Jerusalem[40] —uses the technical terms for pilgrimage in the area of Greek language and culture. Nevertheless, I have tried to compile a sort of small Greek dictionary for Roman pilgrimages. A first group of terms regards the pilgrim's spiritual attitude, more frequently expressed by the substantive *pothos*, which defines, in our case, the deep desire to sanctify contact with the martyrs' graves.

Christodulus of Patmos goes to Rome, as Athanasius of Antioch writes, stirred by the deep desire for the two Apostles, a tie stronger than the material chains with which the Apostle Paul had been brought as a prisoner to Caesar's city (II, 3, p. 136). This wish (*pothos*) that burns as a flame of love in Hilarion of Iberia until he reaches Rome is said to be divine (*theios*) (23: I, p. 256; II, p. 130). As for Sabas the Young, moved by the soul's desire ("ho pothos tēs pychēs") (19, p. 33), so for other Italo-Greek

36 Mansi XVI, cc. 136 E–137 B; see J.-M. Sansterre, "Les représentants des patriarcats au concile photien d'août'-septembre 867," *Byzantion*, 43 (1973), pp. 195–228, esp. 196–97, 205.

37 Mansi XVI, c. 203.

38 "Registrum Iohannis papae VIII," 178, ed. E. Caspar, in *MGH Epist.* VII (*Karolini aevi* V) (Berolini, 1928), p. 143, 11. 9–13.

39 Ann. Comn. *Alex.*, I, 12, 7, ed. B. Leib, I (Paris, 1937), p. 45, 11. 13–21.

40 "Eus. Hist. Eccl.," VI, 11, 2, ed. E. Schwartz, *Eusebius Werke* II (*Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten [drei] Jahrhunderte* 9) (Leipzig, 1903), p. 540, 1.26.

monks, like Elias the Speleote, (8, p. 851 A), Christopher and Macarius (13, p. 85), *pothos* is the inner impulse that pushes them to the Apostles' graves. The same feeling is expressed by the word *ephesis*. This term is used for Michael the Syncellus, who for a long time (''ek pollou tou chronou'') had the desire to reach Rome and prayed night and day to be able to satisfy it (p. 231), for Blasius of Amorium (10, p. 662), and for Christodulus of Patmos in the narration of the monk Theodosius (III, 4, p. 165). Among words describing the outward behavior of the pilgrims, the verb *proskynō* is absolutely predominant. This term, at first dedicated to God or to a place directly linked to God, comes to define the relationship with realities such as martyrs' relics have, which, as the Damascene will say on the subject of sacred images, are considered ''receptacles for the divine energy.''[41]

When Theodore Prodromus writes with rhetorical emphasis that Meletius has gone to Rome to venerate Peter's cross and Paul's decapitation, i.e., their martyrdom (II, 4, p. 72), the object of the Eastern pilgrims' veneration are the Apostles directly (by Michael the Syncellus [p. 231], Sabas the Young [18, p. 31], Christopher and Macarius [13, p. 85], and Cyril the Phileote [20, 1, p. 101]) or their graves (Gregory of Agrigento [38, c. 616 A], Hilarion of Iberia [22: I, p. 255; II, p. 129], Cyril [20, 5, p. 104], and Christodulus of Patmos [I, 6, p. 117]) or their bodies (Christodulus [III, 4, p. 165]) or their relics (Michael [p. 231] and Sabas [18, p. 30]). The pilgrim travels *euchēs eneken*, as Eusebius expressed it,[42] or *charin proseuchēs* or *logōi proseuchēs*. This expression is translated as *orationis causa* in the Latin version of the Eighth Council's Acts in the account of the monk Basil,[43] as well as in the Life of St. Vitalis of Castronovo (2, p. 27 C). Photius creates a negative connotation of it when he charges his enemies with going to Rome *epi prophasei proseuchēs*.[44] Elias the Young, an Italo-Greek saint who lived between the ninth and the tenth century, *charin proseuchēs* goes to Rome (29, p. 44), where once he had come *eplērosen tēn euchēn* (36, p. 54). Christodulus offers *tas euchas* to the Apostles (III, 4, p. 165), not differently from Meletius, who wished to reach Rome to diffuse *ta tēs euchēs* (I, 3, p. 37). The word is so volatile that in the last text Nicholas of Methone uses *euchē* as a synonym for *poreia*, the other expression used by Eusebius to designate pilgrimage; immediately afterwards we encounter Meletius taking a *tēs euchēs syllēptora*, that is, a traveling

41 ''Theias energeias... docheia'': ''Ioann. Damasc. Contra imagin. calumn. or. tres,'' III, 34, ed. B. Kötter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, III (Berlin–New York, 1975), Patristiche Texte und Studien, 17, 1. 16, p. 139.

42 See fn. 40.

43 See fn. 36.

44 See fn. 35.

companion.

Among words expressing devotion towards the martyrs and for their relics, the verb *aspazomai* or *kataspazomai* is most prevalent in our sources, where the Apostles' graves are the objects of demonstrations of pious affection. In both forms the verb is used by John of Rhodes in his Life of St. Christodulus (I, 6, p. 116), and in its intensive form it is used already by Orestes of Jerusalem in his Life of St. Sabas the Young (19, p. 33). The idea contained in this verb is expressed in more emphatic words in the Life of St. Elias the Speleote, who "washes with his hot tears the Apostles' graves and covers them with kisses because of his desire (*pothos*)" (8, c. 851 A). The narration's continuation, in which the saint derives abundant grace from the Apostles' relics, sheds light on the mental behavior that caused pilgrimages to the *martyria* by Eastern believers. In this hagiographical transposition of the Roman pilgrimage we can recognize clearly some real topical motives: such is the case in the journey decided upon but then either not made or begun and not completed. Apart from the case of Michael the Syncellus, who was kept in Constantinople on account of the second Iconoclasty, much more significant is the vicissitude of Lazarus the Galesiote who twice started for Rome from Asia Minor, only to change his mind.

It was not unusual for someone to reach the Apostles' graves only on the second attempt. In Italo-Greek circles Elias the Young and his disciple Daniel are prevented from going a first time (29, p. 44), and Sabas will wait for a sign, the arrival of a mate-monk from the East, to start the journey (18, pp. 30–1). In the case of Meletius, an angel from Heaven informs him that not now but only later will he be allowed to reach Rome as a pilgrim (I, 3, p. 37). This reference to a heavenly presence introduces the other recurring theme in the pilgrimage accounts, i.e., the intervention of the Apostles themselves who, through dream or vision, appear to the pilgrims as we read in the legendary Life of St. Grigentius of Taphar.[45] They compel the pilgrim to leave without delay, as is the case with Elias the Young (36, p. 54); or they reassure him after the journey, as happens to Christodulus of Patmos (I, 6, p. 117); or they appear at the ship's rudder pointing out the Roman course, as in the vision of the monk Macarius, a traveling campanion of Sabas the Young (18, p. 31).

These commonplaces—in addition to reflecting the precariousness wrought by natural and human dangers—can be a consequence of the substantial ambiguity that the more self-aware monks recognized in the quite

[45] A. Vasiliev, "Žitie sv. Grigentija episkopa Omiritskogo," *Vizantijskij vremennik*, 14 (1907), pp. 53–54.

traditional practice of monastic pilgrimage. The perturbation experienced by Nilus of Rossano at the sight of the tall and beautiful *Alemanna* entering St. Peter's Basilica (19, pp. 66–67) had already been foreseen, in some way, by Gregory of Nyssa when he dissuaded monks from making pilgrimages.[46] It was, in addition, almost inevitable to link pilgrimages with the kind of life led by the *kykleutai*, who were wandering monks already vehemently condemned[47] by St. Ephraem as "dry shoots of loneliness (*phrygana erēmias*)," as Nilus of Ancyra defined them.[48] In this connection, it is significant that Blasius of Amorium had been sold as a slave by the monk with whom he began his Roman pilgrimage (8, p. 660 F), and that Lazarus the Galesiote himself journeyed from Ephesus to Rome with a group of *kykleutai* (29, p. 518), i.e., the wandering monks called *peripatētikoi* in the Life of St. Paul of Mount Latros.[49] It is significant that at the end of a long invective against these *kykleutai* the hagiographer has Cyril the Phileote issue the warning not to confuse these idle people with the few who wander "dia Kyrion" and "pothōi proskynēseōs" visiting the holy places. Cyril cites as an example of a pilgrimage for a spiritual aim ("dia logismon. . . pneumatikon") his visit to Rome to venerate ("charin. . . proskynēseōs") the holy Apostles (24, 8, p. 117). The devotional journey of the Eastern monk to Rome has its own privileged biblical *auctoritas* in Psalm 18, verses 7–8, where the metaphor of the sun is applied to the saint, pilgrim to the West, which the Psalmist compares to a giant who runs a daily course from one border of Heaven to another. This applies to Cosmas of Maiouma (27, p. 299) and to Christodulus both in the narration of the monk Theodosius (III, 4, 165) and in the Life written by John of Rhodes, who curiously applies this image to the saint's coming back to the East, following a course opposite to the sun's (I, 6, p. 117).

III. THE "MONASTIC" PILGRIMAGE

The attractaction of the Roman shrines was what moved all the Eastern monk pilgrims that we have met up to now, even if in some cases the role of Rome as, in a sense, a martyr city was enhanced through mention of other relics. In fact, the pilgrim often extended his visits from the apostolic

[46] Greg. Nyss. *Epist.*, II, 12, ed. G. Pasquali (Leiden, 1959), Greg. Nyss. *Opera Omnia*, 8/2, p. 17, 11. 4–5. Also Paul of Mount Latros gives up his annual pilgrimage to the grave of St. John at Ephesus because he has been upset by a woman's face: "Vita s. Pauli mon. in monte Latro," 10, ed. H. Delehaye, in *Analecta Bollandiana*, 11 (1892), p. 38 (*BHG* 1974).

[47] J. S. Assemani, *S.P.N. Ephraem Syri opera omnia*, I (Romae, 1732), p. 94 F.

[48] "Nili De octo spiritibus malitiae," 13, *PG* 79, c. 1160 A; ejus. *Tract. ad Eulogium*, 26, ibid., c. 1128 B.

[49] "Vita s. Pauli mon. in monte Latro," 40, p. 154.

graves to the other Roman martyrs' sepulchres, keeping the same pious practices of *proskynēsis* and of *aspasmos*. This is evident in the Lives of St. Blasius of Amorium (10, p. 662), of Sabas (19, p. 33), and of Christopher and Macarius (14, p. 87), as well as from the inscriptions of Greek monks in the SS. Marcellinus and Peter's crypt near Via Labicana. At least once, in the case of Hilarion of Iberia, the pilgrim visited the shrines of the bishop saints of the first see of the Christian *oikoumenē* (23: I, p. 256; II, p. 130). "Panta topon hagion" was written by the author—a Greek monk in Rome—who composed St. Gregory of Agrigento's Life at the beginning of the ninth century (38, c. 616 A). In the Life of St. Grigentius of Taphar, composed a little later (and also more fantastic), some of the Roman *martyria* that were visited by the saint are mentioned.[50]

The Roman shrines—above all, the graves of the Two Apostles Coryphaei—were not, however, the only reason which drew the pious people of the Christian East to Rome. The whole history of the Greek presence in Rome, skillfully described by Sansterre, has shown that the Western metropolis was in this period an important center for Eastern and especially Greek monasticism. [51] There is a correlation between the practice of the pilgrimage to Rome of the Eastern people, above all the monks, and the establishment of Greek monastic colonies in the *Presbytera Rhomē*. These colonies soon became a further incentive for Eastern monastics to undertake *poreia* to the Western metropolis. In fact, the pious traveler pushed by *theios pothos* to embrace the Apostles' relics in order to partake of sanctifying grace is hardly able to part from them: hence came the inclination of some pilgrims to settle in the destination of their pilgrimages, in the desire to take part in the sanctity of the place. The hagiographer of St. Blasius of Amorium writes that the saint stopped in Rome because he was "insatiable to stay there" (10, p. 626 C), although his eighteen-year stay was probably also due to ecclesiastical politics. Hilarion of Iberia and his disciple Isaac stayed there together for two years (23: I, p. 257: II, p. 130). The same period of residence was set by the Greek "monachus peregrinus nomine Basilius," who, according to Einhard's words, was involved in the theft of St. Marcellinus's corpse.[52] Since pilgrimage also had as its object "the con-

50 Vasiliev, "Žitie sv. Grigentija," p. 154.

51 See Sansterre, *Les moines grecs*, I, p. 45.

52 *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores, Nova series*, VI, ed. A. Ferrua (Roma–Città del Vaticano, 1922), nos. 15965 (p. 92); 15968 (p. 93); 15975 (p. 95); 15981 (p.96); see Sansterre, *Les moines grecs*, II, fn. 104, p. 184.

templation of the signs of philanthropy of God,"[53] according to Gregory of Nyssa's expression, the monastic center itself soon began to attract a flow of pilgrims who were aware that the sanctity of a place is certainly no greater than the sainthood of the holy man as a manifestation or epiphany of the holiness of God. Rome as a center of Greek monastic life appears in our sources for the following two reasons. The first is represented by the curious phenomenon of the Eastern pilgrim who, even if not yet formally a monk, once in Ancient Rome, began a strictly individual practice that fully reflected the real nature of monastic life. Exemplary in this regard is the Roman stay of St. Elias the Speleote who, although not a monk, already lives according to the habits of the monks, whom he imitates and surpasses in ascetic rigour: details of this kind of life were painstakingly enumerated and described by Evagrius Scholasticus in his tribute to monastic life in Palestine in the first half of the fifth century.[54] In St. Elias' Life there is depicted the stay in a small humble dwelling ("oikiskon smikrotaton"), the hint of binary and ternary rhythms of fasting, as well as a constant attitude of compunction revealing itself by the gift of tears (9, p. 851 C). This picture of monastic practice already being lived in Rome by those not yet professed as monks—or by pilgrim-monks—is confirmed, albeit with fewer details, by other sources. In the Life of St. Gregorius the Decapolite (12, p. 56) and later in the Life of St. Lazarus the Galesiote, with regard to the story of Paphnutius the Athenian (37, p. 520), the usual humble Roman dwelling, whose small size is emphasized once again, receives the technical name *kellion*. Moreover, the note of Synaxarium dedicated to Gregory of Akritas specifies that this pilgrim from Crete, who had previously been twelve years in the Holy Land, lived in Rome at the beginning of the ninth century, where he would finally take the monastic habit. This result of the Roman pilgrimage of an Eastern Christian is a further indication of the attraction Rome had for many Greek candidates of monasticism. Such an attraction had to be very strong, for these witnesses of the Roman pilgrimage left the visit to the Apostles' graves in complete darkness. The monastic vows pronounced by Constantine-Cyril on his deathbed[55] can be easily connected to this practice, beyond the inner and external circumstances that moved him to take this step.

[53] Greg. Nyss. *Epist.*, III, 1, p. 20, 11. 1–2.
[54] "Evagr. Schol. Hist. Eccl.," I, 21, ed. J. Bidez–L. Parmentier, *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius* (London, 1898; rpt. Amsterdam, 1964), pp. 29–30.
[55] "Vita Constantini," 18, 1–5, ed. F. Grivec–F. Tomšič, *Constantinus et Methodius Thessalonicenses, Fontes* (Zagreb, 1960), Radovi Staroslavenskogo Instituta, IV, p. 210.

We owe to Sansterre recognition of the second reason why Rome appears as a center of Greek monastic life in our sources. Monks settling in Rome, or pilgrims becoming monks there, favored Greek monachism there because it provided them with an independent subsistence and hence freed them from the local autochthonous Greeks, who at the time were in rapid demographic decline.[56] From this point of view monastic Rome had a role similar to that of the monastic areas of Bithynia and of Mount Athos, with quantitative and institutional differences. Moreover, and particularly in one of the more respected hagiographical traditions, we find a case where entrance to monastic life is intentionally fulfilled in faraway Rome. This is an independent and quite widespread narration related to St. Nicholas' cycle; it later became an integral part of the Life of St. Peter the Athonite, a personage whose historical features are quite evanescent, but considered, at a certain point, the prototype of those who lived on the Holy Mountain practising *hēsychia*.[57] According to this narration, a certain Peter, soldier of the fifth *scholē*, freed in a prodigious way, was driven to reach Rome by a vision of the thaumaturge Saint of Myra in order to receive the monk's habit from the pope's hands. It is the merit of Denise Papachryssanthou to have reconstructed all the passages by which this theme, formed in the middle of the ninth century entered, in the last quarter of the tenth century, one of the etiological narrations of Athonite monachism, filling a real stemma of textual traditions.[58] Perhaps it is not sufficient to explain the unexpected Roman tonsure of this obscure personage by the consideration that the apostolic see of Rome was for the Eastern iconophiles the "interim" of Orthodoxy during the most difficult moments of iconoclastic repression, as expressed by Gouillard.[59] This is Lake's interpretation,[60] which was soon reshuffled by Binon.[61] Implicit in such an interpretation is an overestimation of the contribution by refugees from the Iconoclastic Orient to Greek monasticism flourishing in Rome. Yet, this phenomenon was undoubtedly considerable. It is enough to remember that in the first half of the eighth century the Seventy Martyrs of Jerusalem were undecided about whether to go back to Constantinople or to Rome because Iconoclasm was raging in

[56] Sansterre, *Les moines grecs*,, I, p.40.

[57] See D. Papachryssanthou, "Le monachisme athonite: Ses origines, son organisation," in *Actes du Prôtaton* (Paris, 1975), Archives de l'Athos, VII, pp. 19–22.

[58] Papachryssanthou, "La vie ancienne," pp. 16–54.

[59] J. Gouillard, L'église d'Orient et la primauté romaine au temps de l'iconoclasme," *Istina*, 21 (1976) (=*La vie religieuse à Byzance* [London, 1981], Variorum Reprints, C. S., 131), p. 46.

[60] Lake, *The Early Days*, p. 14.

[61] S. Binon, "La Vie de saint Pierre l'Athonite," *Congresso Internazionale di Studi Bizantini* (Roma, 1939), V, I (=*Studi bizantini e neollenici*, 5), pp. 46–47.

the former.[62] Moreover, a century later two important people, Methodius the Confessor (5, c. 1248 B–C) and Joseph the Hymnographer (16, c. 953), who were born in Sicily but lived in Constantinople, undertook the journey to Rome because of the Iconoclastic crisis. Yet one must be cautious about every potential overstatement, as pointed out by Sansterre.[63]

I believe that the reputation enjoyed by Rome in the Byzantine world in the mid-ninth century as a center of monastic life explains the origin of the tale about the Roman tonsure of Peter Scholarius, which is frequently part of the hagiographical tradition of St. Nicholas. This tradition also entered the Life of St. Peter the Athonite, which depicts the holy anachorete as a model of monastic life. This Life became part of the sharp conflict at the end of the tenth century between the hermitism traditionally practiced on the Chalcidic peninsula and the cenobitism of the Athanasian type then prevalent.

IV. THE "FANCY" IN GREEKS' PILGRIMAGES TO ROME

Some of our sources show a singular discrepancy with an elementary datum of Roman topography. In fact they seem to assume that the venerable relics of the two Apostles are in a unique temple, the *naos* or *temenos* of the Coryphaei of the Apostles, instead of two distinct *martyria* on the Vatican hill and along the way to Ostia.[64] Hilarion of Iberia visits this unique temple and Anna Comnena explicitly refers to it in the passage quoted above. Also, the *Thauma de duce cappadoce*, which before the end of the ninth century is one of the many versions of the miracle of St. Nicholas who frees the imprisoned soldier, depicts the Roman patriarch officiating in the Apostles' church (17, c. 60). It is worth asking whether these authors had only superficial knowledge of the "sacred geography" of Rome, an imaginary Rome, suggesting a purely idealistic description of the Sacred City. There, for clearly ideological reasons, Ancient Rome is depicted as housing the graves of the Apostles in a unique temple, according to the model of the Constantinopolitan *apostoleion*. Nevertheless, one must be careful about perceiving a clamorous ignorance of Roman topography in this mistake. Bartholomew of Grottaferrata, in the last ode of his canon for the 29th of June, celebrates the two Apostles because "people hasten from the borders

[62] *Passio LXX (vel LXXII) Martyrum auct. Symeone hesychasta*, 6, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Sbornik Palestinskoj i Sirijskoi agiologii*, I, in *Pravoslavnyj Palestinskij Sbornik*, 19, 3 (=57) (1907) (*BHG* 1218), p. 141, 1. 19.

[63] Sansterre, *Les moines grecs*, I, p. 43.

[64] The same datum is found in the *Synaxarium* referred to by St. Callinicus, patriarch of Constantinople, who died as an exile in Rome and was buried in the *naos* of Apostles Peter and Paul (*Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, c. 290, ll. 2–5).

of the earth to venerate your great and most sacred church'';[65] true, one must take into account metrical requirements in the evaluation of this witness. The consideration that in some versions of the legend of Peter Scholarius, like the *Encomium Methodii* (59, p. 181) and the Life of St. Peter the Athonite (2, 3, p. 23), the pope does not officiate at the Church of the Two Apostles but more realistically at St. Peter's, leads us to think that the term *naos* of the Coryphaei most probably means the Vatican basilica. Notably, in the Life of St. Bartholomew of Grottaferrata, in a great image of the religious fancy[66] of the Roman pilgrimage, when before the Scholasticus Iōannēs on the desert beach near Rome a completely idealized view of the whole city of Rome is displayed, St. Paul's Church is pointed out by the Apostle as ''his home,'' whereas for the other Apostle, St. Peter's Church is ''his large home'' (I, 14, p. 36; II, p. 136). The emphasis on such greatness, of course, assumes an ecclesiological importance as the everlasting ecumenical intercession to Peter recognized by the Christian Orient, which in itself does not imply, as pointed out by Gouillard,[67] the transmission of this mainly heavenly primacy to the Roman bishop. This privilege is the reason that St. Peter's grave was visited before that of St. Paul's, for instance, by Sabas the Young in his pilgrimage (19, pp. 32–33), and can even lead to a virtual oblivion of the Pauline *proskynēma* in Oriental sources. Meaningful to this problem is the account by Nicholas of Methone of the Roman pilgrimage of Meletius, which is concerned only with the ''Coryphaeus of the Apostles,'' or, as said afterwards, ''the Apostle,'' i.e., Peter (I, 3, p. 37; 5, p. 38). This information is singularly important because Nicholas of Methone, spokesman for the Orthodox theology under Manuel Comnenus, was a fierce controversialist against the Latins.[68]

V. ''PIOUS VISITS'' TO THE ORIENT

The same Nicholas of Methone reveals another surprise in his narration of the life of Meletius. It regards the other aspect of our research: the opposite movement of devout Western people piously paying a visit to the *pneu-*

65 G. Giovanelli, *Gli inni sacri di S. Bartolmeo Juniore* (Grottaferrata, 1955), p. 191.

66 See A. M. Orselli, *L'immaginario religioso della città medievale* (Ravenna, 1985).

67 Gouillard, ''L'église d'Orient,'' p. 53.

68 See E. Follieri, ''Santi di Metone: Atanasio vescovo, Leone taumaturgo,'' *Byzantion*, 41 (1971), pp. 378–451; Ath. Angelou, ''Nicholas of Methone: The Life and Works of a Twelfth-Century Bishop,'' in *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition*, ed. by M. Mullet–R. Scott (Birmingham 1981), pp. 143–8; idem, *Nicholas of Methone: Refutation of Proclus' Elements of Theology* (Leiden, 1984), Corpus Philosophorum Medii Aevi. Philosophi Byzantini, 1, pp. ix–xlvi.

matikoi, that is, the holy men of the Christian Orient.[69] What happened to Symeon the Stylite, under whose column many people gathered "from far Western countries"—Theodoretus of Cyrus distinctly enumerates Spain, Britain, Gaul, and Italy—[70] also happened to Meletius, particularly when the cultural unity of Christendom during Late Antiquity had been compromised for a long time. First there is the forced landing of a convoy of Western people in the Holy Land, who, in the opinion of Vasilievskij, Chalandon, and Leib, later participated in one of the armed expeditions somewhat linked to the First Crusade.[71] It is meaningful for us that those people, detained by the *archōn* of Athens as "suspects, extraneous to any pact with us and absolutely not favorably disposed towards the *basileus*," are called *rhōmaioi* because they are taken as "coming from Ancient Rome," i.e., in a broad sense, from Italy (I, 21, pp. 60–1). Calling them by this term, instead of *Latinoi*, the term used by Nicholas himself in theological polemics,[72] *Hesperioi ethnoi*, as he calls the Crusaders,[73] or *Phrankoi*, an already commonly used expression for Western people, the anti-Latin controversialist shows that Ancient Rome still held its place in his universal vision of a Christian *oikoumenē*. That term, so full of political and ideological meanings,[74] he uses with an ethnic and geographical connotation to hide an ecclesiastical dispute well-known to the author, which would have made the behavior of Meletius embarrassing to his readers. In fact he is convinced, according to the classical vision identifying religious orthodoxy

69 See P. Magdalino, "The Byzantine Holy Man in the Twelfth-Century," in *The Byzantine Saint*, ed. S. Hackel (London, 1981), Studies supplementary to *Sobornost*, 5, pp. 51–66; L. Cracco Ruggini, "Imperatori romani e uomini divini (I–IV sec. d. C.)," in P. Brown, L. Cracco Ruggini, M. Mazza, *Governanti e intellettuali, popolo di Roma e popolo di Dio* (Torino, 1982), Passatopresente, 2, pp. 9–91; P. Brown, *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity* (London–NewYork, 1982), pp. 103–65 (Italian transl.: Torino, 1988, pp. 67–127).

70 Theodoret. *Hist. Relig.*, XXI, 11, ed. P. Canivet–A. Leroy-Molingen, II (Paris, 1979), *SC* 257, p. 182, 11. 16–9.

71 V. Vasilievskij in *Pravoslavnyj palestinskij sbornik*, 6 (1886), pp. xxviii–xxxii; F. Chalandon, *Essai sur le règne d'Alexis I Comnène (1081–1118)* (Paris, 1900) (=idem, *Les Comnène: Études sur l'Empire Byzantin au XI^e et XII^e ss.*, I [New York, s.d.]), p. 224; Leib, *Rome, Kiev et Byzance*, pp. 274–75.

72 See "Pros tous Latinous peri tou hagiou Pneumatos...," ed. C. Simonides, *Orthodoxōn Hellenōn theologikai graphai tessares* (London, 1859), pp. 1–39; "Elenchoi Kephalaiodeis tou para Latinois kainophanous dogmatos...," ed. A. Demetrakopoulos, *Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica* (Lipsiae, 1865), pp. 359–80.

73 *Pros ton megan Domestikon erotēsanta peri tou Hagiou Pneumatos*, ed. Demetrakopoulos, pp. 199–218.

74 See A. Carile, "Impero Romano e Romania," in *La nozione di "Romano,"* pp. 247–61; idem, "La Romania fra territorialità e ideologia," in *Popoli e spazio romano tra diritto e profezia* (Napoli, 1986), "Da Roma alla Terza Roma," *Documenti e Studi*, Studi, III, pp. 409–419.

and political loyalty, that the foreigners are "favorably disposed towards God and the *basileus*" and it is through his intervention that the *archōn* allows them to leave again.[75] Our interest lies in the conclusion of this vicissitude: those Latins who were helped return every year to pay a visit to the ascetic of Mount Cithaeron, a mass pilgrimage of fifty or sixty people, as related in detail by the hagiographer. During these annual visits, the Latin pilgrims not only received the attention of the holy man, who once performed a miracle for them, but also shared the *trapeza* with the monks, an unequivocal expression of "communicatio in sacris" in light of the sacred value and paraliturgical character of the common meal for monks.

In the Occident it was not only pious believers who strove to be interested in the ascetic feats of the great Oriental holy men as depicted in the hagiographical Greek sources. In the Life of St. Paul of Mount Latros, second half of the tenth century, the saint received a mission from the pope of Rome, who sent an old monk to greet him and to learn about his virtues.[76] It is necessary to evaluate the reliability of this witness, because the whole context is structured to emphasize that the saint's fame dissolved outside the political borders of "Romania." In conformity with a scheme which notes all cardinal points (Crete, then occupied by the Arabs, on the south, Scythia on the north, and Ancient Rome in the west), such memory of "those who live in Ancient Rome" seems to emphasize more a distance than a proximity, because of the mention of the Cretans—a term which in this source always refers to the Arab rulers of the island instead of to the natives—and of the Scythians, that is to say, the steppe people in Byzantine onomatology, transfigured according to standards of classical derivation. On the other hand, in the account's continuation, when the personal relations of the saint with Peter of Bulgaria and with the pope are recalled, the subject passes from eminently geographical grounds to a well-studied political and ideological position. In fact, two institutions are recalled that, for the hagiographer, were formally part of the universal monarchy represented by the *basileia* of *Rhōmaioi*, although they are really outside the direct rule of the *basileus*. Peter of Bulgaria is the devout spiritual son of the *basileus*, as defined in *De administrando imperio*,[77] and the pope is the patriarch of Rome, always thought to be the bishop of the first see of the Christian *oikoumenē*, coinciding by right with the *basilea* of *Rhōmaioi*.

[75] Luke of Stiris had already fed the people of a wrecked Italian ship, "Vita s. Lucae Junioris," 45, ed. Martini, pp. 104, l. 22–105, l. 3.

[76] "Vita s. Pauli mon. in monte Latro," 27, pp. 71–72.

[77] Const. Porphyr. *De. cerim. aulae byz.*, II, 48, ed. J. J. Reiske, I (Bonnae, 1829), pp. 686–92.

Even if we have doubts about the papal mission to St. Paul of Mount Latros, the devotion of Western contemporaries to these holy men, who were so numerous in the Christian Orient, is proved, including the veneration of those already dead. It is sufficient to recall the Latin pilgrim to Jerusalem who, upon arriving in Euboea (as mentioned by John of Rhodes), indulges in a most common practice in the medieval West: the theft of relics.[78] He in fact succeeds in stealing the phalanx of a finger from the corpse of St. Christodulus of Patmos (I, 20, p. 132).

VI. CONCLUSIONS

The relationship between the Orient and Rome during the eleventh century was therefore quite different from the picture drawn by the Old Rus' hagiographer of the sixteenth century. In a period that was certainly not marked by religious tolerance, the pilgrimages of Eastern monks to Rome and the visits paid by Western believers to the masters of monastic life and to the thaumaturges of the Christian Orient appear as indirect and sometimes unconscious evidence of an uninterrupted ecclesiastical communion. The Latin West, which had already denied the Donatists access to the "memoria Apostolorum" because of their schism, as Optatus of Milevi tells us,[79] and which in the person of Pope Liberius had consistently forbidden the envoy of the Arian Constantius to enter St. Peter's *martyrion*,[80] evidently did not discourage the Greeks' pilgrimage to the apostolic graves until the very end of the eleventh century. On the other hand, the Greek East had come to believe the sanctity had disappeared from the holy places from the time they had fallen into heretics' hands. This was confirmed by the requests from the monophysites, so numerous in John Rufus's Plerophoriae,[81] not to attend the shrines held by the Chalcedonians. Nevertheless, the Greeks showed not only a strong fidelity towards the practice of pilgrimage to Rome, but also a firm tendency not to censor the free exchange of pilgrims and of pious visitors between East and West until the very end of the eleventh century.

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78 See H. Fichtenau, "Zum Reliquienwesen im früheren Mittelalter," *Mitteilungen des Institutes für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 60 (1952), pp. 60–89; P. J. Geary, *"Furta Sacra": Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1978); E. D. Hunt, "The Traffic in Relics: Some Late Roman Evidence," in *The Byzantine Saint*, pp. 171–80.

79 Opt. Milev. *De schism. donatist.*, II, 4, ed. C. Ziwsa (Vindobonae, 1893), *CSEL* 26, pp. 37–38.

80 "Athan. Alex. Hist. arian. ad mon.," 37, *PG* 25, c. 736 CD.

81 Ioann. Rufi *Plerophoriae*, 25, 30, 79, 90, 93, ed. F. Nau (Paris, 1911), *PO* 8, pp. 57–63, 72–74, 135–36, 157–58, 160–61.

CONCLUDING SESSION

En guise de conclusion: la religion traditionnelle slave et la christianisation de la Rus', changement et continuité

ALEKSANDER GIEYSZTOR

Qu'était le paganisme slave lavé par l'eau bénite de maints baptêmes d'approche jusqu'à celui, décisif, de la Rus' en 988? Quelles étaient les réactions impétueuses, et les réticences latentes, mais de longue durée, que provoqua la conversion imposée par le pouvoir politique? Et quels étaient les effets dans le temps long de la superposition de la nouvelle religion sur l'ancienne? Ces questions dont on pourrait allonger et préciser la liste, touchent un sujet de recherches toujours à reprendre et à continuer. Elles animent des débats où un accord est difficile à espérer.

On en connaît les raisons: l'indigence et la partialité des sources écrites dont on dispose; l'apport, parfois ambigu, de l'archéologie, cette grande muette aux armes qui trop souvent ne tranchent point; les traditions et les usages populaires devant lesquels, et en particulier face à leur extrapolation dans le temps révolu, un historien prudent se tient en garde; les incertitudes des linguistes et l'embarras du choix entre les conjectures proposées par eux.

Pour remédier à cette situation on entre sur toutes les voies ouvertes par les spécialistes concernés en considérant leurs résultats comme complémentaires, et espérant qu'ils soient mutuellement contrôlables. On a aussi recours aux méthodes et démarches des autres sciences de l'homme, aux analyses et interprétations structurales. En tout cas, on devient de plus en plus conscient que tout essai de solution des problèmes que posent les croyances et les mentalités, devrait disposer d'une grille théorique pour déchiffrer des messages souvent incomplets, et parfois même contradictoires.

Dans le premier volet qu'il nous faut ouvrir, notamment l'ensemble des croyances païennes existant au moment du baptême volodimerien de la Rus', des perspectives nouvelles sensibles au cours de son évangélisation ont été ouvertes par la nouvelle mythologie comparée. Elle nous fait penser

à un héritage commun lointain, partagé par les peuples slaves avec d'autres peuples du groupement linguistique et, par conséquent, culturel, indoeuropéen. Une relecture des témoignages permet—on croit—de supposer chez les Slaves anciens, la présence, déjà éclipsée, d'un *deus otiosus* originaire, être suprême et créateur du monde qu'il a laissé pour faire place aux divinités actives. Dans leur histoire, très lente, pour nous souvent inabordable, et aux maintes variantes, les divinités slaves se retrouvent, elles aussi, dans les catégories observées ailleurs, celles de la souveraineté politique et magique,—de la force et de la guerre,—de la fécondité, et de l'économie pastorale et agraire.

Les plus décelables, au moins par ceux qui acceptent ce fil conducteur et veulent le suivre, sont restés, chez les Slaves, les dieux souverains s'encadrant, comme dans d'autres structures parallèles, dans un binôme composé chez les Slaves de Perun et Veles. Ils sont suffisamment attestés par les sources écrites, dans la Rus' du onzième/douzième siècle et même après. Le premier, Perun, veillant à l'ordonnance du monde, déborde vers les activités militaires, tandis que l'autre, Veles, conserve ses compétences archaïques, magiques et eschatologiques, en les dépassant vers le domaine d'abondance, en particulier du bétail.

D'une façon qui manque désespérément de netteté, quelques autres divinités apparaissent sur cette échelle des valeurs mythologiques, comme dans la sphère du bien-être humain où les textes homilétiques de l'époque et le folklore accusent l'existence de démons protecteurs. Il ne convient plus de considérer la démonologie slave en tant qu'un domaine sousdéveloppé des idées religieuses. Par contre, il faudrait y voir une zone complémentaire aux mythes plus développés, et aussi un creux qui accueille des fragments du récit mythologique au temps de la dénivellation culturelle forcée par le christianisme. L'organisation interne de ce patrimoine religieux semble correspondre, dans les grandes lignes, à celle des cultures archaïques indoeuropéennes. Ceci n'exclut pas d'autres ascendants et compléments, et aussi des substrats plus ou moins perceptibles sur les vastes territoires occupés par les Slaves et leur voisins les plus proches. Des impulsions très importantes viennent, entre autres, du fait de la cohabitation protoslave et sarmate, de l'impact iranien qui visiblement enrichit l'horizon religieux slave que nous apercevons à la fin de l'Antiquité et à l'aube du Moyen Age. Un faisceau lexical de termes religieux, un élargissement durable des concepts dualistes, des croyances solaires et autour du feu, certains noms de divinités d'origine iranienne fort probablement, mais qui ne sont connus que des Slaves—voici quelques composants de cette augmentation de l'héritage religieux slave. Il faut mettre l'accent aussi sur l'apport linguistique et culturel de nomades altaïques et autres.

Le slave commun qu'on reconstruit pour l'époque de transition vers le Moyen Age, et dans lequel puisaient les interprètes slavons pour exprimer la parole divine chrétienne, cette langue contient des ressources lexicales d'ordre intellectuel et émotif qui nous ne permettent pas d'admettre le caractère présumé pauvre et primitif de l'articulation de l'environnement de l'homme ni de son conscient spirituel. Ce sont nos sources fragmentaires, et en particulier les textes déficients et partiaux, qui ne cessent d'amener les érudits à une vision réductionniste du paganisme slave. Malgré les insuffisances de notre documentation, une *Sinngebung des Sinnlosen* nous semble être plausible. Placée sur le fond comparé, une conscience religieuse, relativement étendue, d'un peuple agriculteur devient plus ou moins déchiffrable. Non dépourvue d'un plan mythologique supérieur et d'une démonologie à l'usage quotidien, cette connaissance spirituelle de sa propre réalité dispose d'une réflexion sur l'au-delà, cherche un recours dans les rites qui accompagnent l'homme slave de son berceau jusqu'à sa mort, et réglent, sur le plan symbolique, les activités humaines dans l'espace habité et en dehors de lui, tout le long de l'année avec son rythme saisonnier agraire.

La fin de l'Antiquité bouleversa la vie des Slaves qui, dans des directions diverses, répandent leur habitat, et modulent leur discours sur l'homme et la nature ainsi que sur la religion qui contribue à les comprendre. Avec la construction des organisations politiques d'envergure jusqu'aux monarchies structurées, c'est le palier le plus élevé dans l'hiérarchie des idées religieuses, celui des croyances polytheïstes et des rites solennels qui subit la première grande coupure du temps.

L'imaginaire sculpté des dieux commence encore à l'époque tribale qui doit beaucoup son existence aux peuplades iraniennes, turques et autres. Les lieux de culte amorcent des formes diverses et developpées ensuite, jusqu'à celle de l'édifice sacré. Un panthéon, réglé d'après un ordre plus ou moins hiérarchisé, et des rites publiques correspondants se dessinent. Ces formes atteignent leur expression spectaculaire à deux pôles éloignés des territoires slaves, dans la Rus' au dixième, et chez les Slaves polabes aux onzième et douzième siècles. Des recherches sur ces deux panthéons nous amènent aujourd'hui à les regarder comme une restructuration, non dépourvue d'ampleur, de l'héritage propre slave, réalisée à l'aide d'inspirations et d'emprunts partiels, tout ceci pour faire servir les nouveaux besoins du pouvoir et de la societé. Cependant, les plus essentielles sphères de l'imagination religieuse, couvertes par l'eschatologie et la magie de tous les jours et des grandes fêtes, ainsi que les terrains habités par les esprits auxiliaires ou nuisibles, n'ont été touchés par cette sorte d'extension que d'une manière partielle, et, en jugeant par leur

persévérance séculière, d'une façon assez peu profonde.

La deuxième grande coupure, et autrement importante, la christianisation oppose tout de suite l'Église supportée par l'autorité politique, au paganisme qui se voit obligé à renoncer au palier solennel et polythéiste instauré, peu de temps avant, par Volodimer à Kiev, et sans doute, dans d'autres chef-lieux du pouvoir. Par les mêmes procédés, les princes carantans à partir de la fin du huitième siècle, ou bulgares, croates, moraves et tchèques au neuvième siècle, polonais au dixième siècle,—ajoutons à cette liste aussi le cas hongrois—arrivent à installer, grâce à leur pouvoir autoritaire, un autre pouvoir en symmétrie avec le leur, l'Église diocésaine et monastique.

L'acte juridique et politique que fut le baptême de Volodimer dont «la piété s'alliait à l'autorité» comme le décrit Ilarion, la décision de Volodimer déclencha une causalité externe de la christianisation, importée comme institution et comme culture, nées et mûries ailleurs; cette causalité s'exprime dans la contrainte exercée par le pouvoir princier au nom d'une superiorité religieuse dogmatiquement affirmée, et imposée à une immense majorité autochtone, soumise au prince. L'Église réussit assez rapidement à convaincre les dynastes et les seigneurs, leur entourage immédiat, militaire et d'administration, de la prédominance du Dieu chrétien. Elle réussit même à faire intérioriser par eux les principes de la foi et du comportement chrétien. Dans ces milieux d'élite, l'acceptation officielle, au nom du pays entier, de la nouvelle religion fut précédée, en quelque sorte préparée, par des pénétrations missionnaires et des conversions, à titre personnel, en nombre et en qualité, et au cours de plusieurs générations.

Nouveauté donc relative, la christianisation apparaît néamoins à une échelle jusqu'ici inconnue parmi les populations de l'empire de la Rus'. Ces populations, loin d'être passives, participent dès maintenant à une causalité interne du processus qui est à analyser à l'aide des concepts de sélection et de refus, d'acceptation et d'adaptation, de syncrétisme et de réinterprétation des croyances, aussi bien nouvellement introduites qu'enfoncées dans le patrimoine séculaire.

Deux problèmes, deux difficultés majeures exigeaient des moyens de persuasion pour amener les fidèles au baptême, et ensuite pour les faire adhérer, dans leurs esprit et attitudes, à la foi chrétienne. Avec un système developpé d'interdictions et de commandements, deux domaines forment l'essentiel de l'activité missionnaire dans toutes les couches de la population.

En premier lieu, c'est la croyance en un Dieu unique et exclusif, créateur du ciel et de la terre, qui rencontre un héritage diversifié de divinités slaves personnalisées ou numeneuses. D'autre part, les convictions slaves, aux

vagues contours, sur le sort incertain de l'homme après sa mort, devaient céder devant la doctrine chrétienne du péché et du salut. Dans le récit de ce baptême de 988, une sorte de reflexion mythologisante, aucunement un rapport des faits événementiels, ce qui frappe c'est le penchant de Volodimer pour le monothéisme des grandes religions organisées. L'acceptation de la superiorité du Dieu des chrétiens, présenté par Byzance avec magnificence liturgique et artistique, découle d'un choix pragmatique d'une culture resplendissante. L'Église chretienne devait, de son côté, se faire représenter par l'introduction de l'architecture, au début modeste, de livres encore plutôt rares, de l'imaginaire, du chant et du geste liturgique qui, dans leur ensemble, éblouissaient la cour et les spectateurs jusqu'aux derniers rangs de l'auditoire.

Le Chronique des temps passés distinguait, après un siècle, deux étapes de la conversion de la Rus' chrétienne. Volodimer éclaira la terre par le baptême, la laboura et ameublit, Jaroslav sema les coeurs des fidèles par les paroles de livres. Les communications et les débats au cours de ce Congrès ont, avec force, fait ressortir l'essor du chistianisme à Novgorod et à Kiev à partir du deuxième tiers du onzième siècle. Si les Polanes autour de Kiev et les Slovènes de Novgorod entrèrent indubitablement les premiers dans le troupeau chrétien, le souvenir du Chronographe dont l'exactitude dans la matière ne suscite pas de doutes, nous présente, pour le onzième siècle, deux Rus': l'une, très chrétienne des Polanes, l'autre, naguère, donc plus longtemps, païenne des Drevlanes, Radymitches, Viatitches, Sévérianes et Kryvitches qui se trouvent sur la voie de la christianisation.

Il ne sera pas de notre propos de suivre de plus près l'évolution des institutions ecclésiastiques et de leur développement territorial, donc les bases de l'activité pastorale. Il faudra toutefois nous associer aux regrets exprimés dans la discussion au sujet de la communication d'Andrzej Poppe, que ce cadre organisateur de l'évangélisation n'ait pas pu trouver dans le Congrès une mise au point reflétant les recherches récentes. Une métropole, seize ou dix-sept sièges épiscopaux, soixante-dix établissements monastiques dans la Rus' prémongole ainsi qu'un réseau paroissial dense dans les villes, mais dont l'image reste sujette à caution dans les campagnes, dans un pays immense et irrégulièrement peuplé—tout ceci nous invite à partager une opinion prudente sur la profondeur de l'évangélisation que Wladimir Vodoff vient d'énoncer.

La présence de l'Église reste en effet inégale quant au nombre et quant à la qualité du bas clergé; les évêques ne se montrent que dans les centres les plus importants; les couvents, en principe, sont voués à leur propres tâches de dévotion et de culture littéraire, avec quelques moines missionnaires zélés. C'est avec eux que l'Église, secondée par les princes, tente, mais

avec des résultats plutôt maigres, de convertir les peuplades finno-ougriennes où le paganisme forme une force d'opposition avec ses sorciers chamaniques, les *volxvy* pénétrant dans la Rus', et attestés par les textes. Nous ne nous arrêterons cependant pas sur les résistances armées contre le christianisme, les soulèvements populaires et les martyres de missionnaires spectaculaires mais en somme assez rares.

La causalité interne de l'acculturation chrétienne entraîne pourtant des effets dans un temps beaucoup plus long que la conversion prônée par l'Église et le prince, et sur plusieurs niveaux d'une société en mouvement.

C'est à juste titre qu'on souligne l'importance du ritualisme de la religion chrétienne aussi bien en Occident latin qu'en Rus' de l'époque. Un sujet immense auquel il faudrait consacrer une rencontre d'experts, c'est l'ensemble des rites liturgiques et para-liturgiques qui charment, par leur magie chrétienne, le peuple et ouvrent son émotivité aux mystères de la foi. C'est à ce côté rituel qu'incombe, en grande partie, le succès de l'action pastorale, et en premier lieu dans les villes. Pour les campagnes, on n'en sait presque rien. Des distances énormes faisaient souvent illusoire l'administration des sacrements—le baptême inclu—ainsi que le contrôle de la vie spirituelle. Toutefois, un nouveau point de référence, important et très élevé, l'installe dans le conscient religieux même des populations rurales. Ajoutons que les réserves énoncées sur la compréhension du slavon d'Église par les fidèles, en tout cas à l'époque prémongole, ne semblent pas être fondées. L'attrait de la langue liturgique vernaculaire et non cantonnée à la pastorale seule devait produire des effets.

Dans l'évangélisation achevée des villes—c'est l'optique de nos sources qui en est responsable—une doctrine totalisante paraît englober assez tôt, en tout cas au douzième siècle, toute la vie d'un chrétien, et ceci sous peines fixées aussi bien par le droit princier que le droit d'Église. Le dialogue entre Kirik et son évêque témoigne cependant du rayonnement de ces principes et procédés sur les campagnes; le texte témoigne des tentatives réïtérées de dicter, aussi au paysan, le rythme chrétien de l'existence à partir du baptême, par l'eucharistie, par le mariage et jusqu'à l'enterrement.

L'intervention continue du *sacrum* chrétien ne fait pas de doutes dans le milieu princier et seigneurial aussi bien comme une interprétation théologique des événements que comme un élément hautement désirable pour le succès politique et militaire. La sacralisation, par des moyens divers, de la personne du prince, ensuite l'élevation du prince, de toute la Rus', à la dignité du peuple élu; le culte enraciné de la Theotokos et des saints intercesseurs parmi lesquels on trouva très tôt une place de choix pour les deux propres princes martyrs; la croix comme garant des accords politiques des princes en contraste frappant avec les procédés connus à

l'époque des accords avec les Grecs à l'époque païenne—tout ceci forme un encadrement impressionnant. Une autre magie, la chrétienne, s'installe, basée sur le principe de reciprocité dans les relations entre le chrétien et Dieu: d'une part vie exemplaire, prières, offrandes considérées comme incomparablement plus efficaces, et grâces, faveurs, salut de l'autre. En même temps, jusqu'au fond personnalisé, le christianisme fait découvrir les mauvaises inclinaisons humaines et le péché. Satan, d'origine biblique, le diable pour lequel un emprunt du mot devient nécessaire pour les Slaves, attaque les moines, parfois déguisé en voisin étranger de l'ouest, provoque les guerres et les querelles intestines.

Le monothéisme chrétien s'établit dans toute son ampleur et de façon durable, très developpée dans ses formes dues à une culture ecclésiastique savante. L'autre grand problème, celui d'eschatologie se présente devant une société qui aperçoit les clefs du Royaume céleste détenues par l'Église. La nouvelle religion sacralise la morale, jusqu'ici soumise, en principe, à une appréciation continue d'ordre coutumier. *Straxъ božij*—c'est la vision de l'éternelle damnation pour les péchés commis, mais, en même temps, un espoir exaltant du salut, tous les deux exposés d'une façon impressionante par le Philosophe dans son présumé discours devant Volodimer. La confirmation de l'idée eschatologique chrétienne enracinée ne tarde pas à se manifester: les enterrements païens commencent à disparaître à partir de la fin du onzième siècle, ce qui paraît dû non seulement au contrôle, parfois irréalisable, des autorités, mais à un changement profond dans l'eschatologie vécue.

Un seuil est certainement franchi, qui, avec le baptême, décide dorénavant qui est chrétien. Mais quel chrétien? Toute enquête dans les textes homilétiques de la Rus', et toute recherche dans le folklore ukraïnien, russe et biélorusse montre jusqu'à quel point la coexistence de la prière chrétienne et de l'héritage païen reste nécessaire pour la stabilité précaire de l'homme aux prises avec la nature, avec la société, avec soi-même.

Le terme médiéval de *dvojevěrije*, double foi, est souvent utilisé pour décrire la situation d'un Slave oriental dans ce dialogue entre deux structures d'idées et de comportements. Théodore le Grec définit cependant l'homme qui pratique la double foi comme «celui qui se met à vanter les mérites de sa foi et ceux de la foi d'autrui». Ce terme ne touche donc qu'une face qui inquiète la culture religieuse, savante et livresque, donc les survivances païennes trop complaisamment tolérées. Celles-ci, de plus en plus estompées au niveau des divinités et des démons à évoquer sous leur nom, plutôt rarement attestées par les textes, demeurent très vivaces au niveau profond des concepts sur le monde. Ces concepts et leur structures entrent dans une coexistence durable avec ce qui est chrétien, et arrivent à

établir une interprétation mutuelle, à un ensemble qui se compose dorénavant de parties fortement liées, et malgré les apparences, proprement harmonieuses.

Quelques mérites sont à attribuer à l'Église qui se garde de trop intervenir dans les parages qu'elle ne juge pas excessivement dangereux pour la foi, ou dans les domaines où ses démarches après des tentatives répétées, s'avèrent sans succès. Un exemple frappant et devenu classique après l'étude de V. Propp et d'autres recherches d'ethnographie, est celui des jours de fêtes populaires encadrés par le calendrier agraire, parallèle au calendrier d'Église, et continuant, dans le temps cyclique, d'une année à l'autre à pratiquer une symbiose organique. Est-ce une ritualisation offerte par l'Église pour sacraliser la vie quotidienne, est-ce une concession de sa part au patrimoine culturel toujours vivant? Le résultat dépasse de beaucoup une tolérance à demi volontaire ou un apprivoisement délibéré.

Il est grand temps de conclure. L'enfoncement du christianisme dans la societé de la Rus' médiévale, en particulier à l'époque prémongole, se produit à des niveaux differenciés dans le temps, dans l'espace et dans les couches sociales: le plus profondément, et avec tout le faste, dans les cours princières et seigneuriales parmi les populations citadines; beaucoup moins, mais nous ne sommes pas en mesure de l'apprécier à juste titre—dans les campagnes slaves et non-slaves de la Rus'. Ceci ne fait pas de doute que le baptême et l'enterrement chrétien signalent tôt et partout l'acceptation des actes rituels destinés à mettre l'âme humaine en rapport avec le Dieu de tous les chrétiens. Il faut y voir une barrière décisive franchie par les anciens païens.

Car la réceptivité de la Rus' face à ce qui arrive, aussi bien la sensibilité sur le plan de la culture savante et des élites que l'aptitude des populations à suivre les préceptes chrétiens, nous présente un spectre bien complexe. Le christianisme s'enfonce dans une matière ancienne, toujours vivante, celle de concepts spirituels en mouvement très lent. L'institution et la doctrine chrétiennes provoquent dans les hauts lieux de la culture intellectuelle une reflexion approfondie, historiographique, théologique et morale.

Dans l'ensemble des populations, le christianisme provoque une très longue mutation. Probablement à la fin de l'époque médiévale, il en surgit une mentalité, une culture spirituelle, à la fois osmotique et cohérente, celle des campagnes ukraïniennes, russes et biélorusses, et qui vit presque jusqu'à nos jours, et parfois dans nous mêmes.

Université de Varsovie

CLOSING REMARKS

I

DIMITRI OBOLENSKY

Mr. President, Professor Carile,

It falls to me to say a few words on behalf of one group of your guests, the speakers at this congress. I am grateful for this double opportunity to share with you and with my colleagues before we return home, a few impressions and memories of the past week, and to express our gratitude and appreciation for all that we have been given and have enjoyed during these days in Ravenna.

You will not expect me to attempt an overall picture of the congress that is about to end, but before we say goodbye to our hosts and to each other, it is surely right to cast a brief glance back at the week that has just ended.

May I first share with you a few rapid impressions of its academic character? I have this past week been struck with special force by four things. Firstly, by an awarenes that the event we are commemorating cannot be rightly understood outside a far wider context, one which includes not only Kievan Rus' but also a number of other societies. And that is why our program rightly included papers concerned with Armenia, Bulgaria, Bohemia, Hungary, Poland, and Scandinavia.

Secondly, regarding the context of Volodimer's conversion, many of us, I suspect, have this week become more aware that his conversion was part of a wider phenomenon. Social anthropologists, and some historians, call this phenomenon acculturation. It occurs when societies with different cultures come into direct and prolonged contact. Specifically, the conversion of Rus' to Christianity was a particular instance of the encounter between Byzantine culture and the Slav societies of Eastern Europe. This process is a complex and ambiguous one, and I wonder whether this complexity and this difficulty we have encountered were not reflected in the striking absence of agreed terminology. We were forced, in order to describe this encounter between Byzantium and the Slavs, to use a wide variety of terms: influence, impact, contact, conversion, transmission, contribution, importation, reception, transplantation, and, of course, the ambiguous acculturation.

Thirdly, our papers and debates were often dominated by what has been called the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition—a concept at once linguistic and cultural. Old Church Slavonic, I need hardly remind you, the language

created by the two great Byzantine missionaries, Cyril and Methodius, became, after Greek and Latin, the third international language of Europe and the common literary idiom of the Ukrainians, the Russians, the Bulgarians, the Serbs, and the Romanians, who, through their conversion to Christianity, gained entry into the Byzantine cultural commonwealth.

Finally, it might be worth pointing out a few—very few—absences. In our papers and discussions there was almost nothing on art and music, though the marvelous mosaics of Ravenna and the beautiful liturgy in Ukrainian this morning went some way to fill this gap. Perhaps, too, we did not ask ourselves often enough the question of what exactly made Volodimer accept Christianity. Was it a matter of politics and diplomacy, the desire, for instance, to marry the emperor's sister and thus enter the family of the prestige-laden Byzantium? Or the wish to give a new dimension to his own sovereign authority over his subjects? Or were there other, less tangible, causes that brought him to the baptismal font? The political and diplomatic factors were certainly present, and they were often mentioned this week. But I believe that we would be mistaken if we ignored altogether the interpretation placed on this event by Volodimer's contemporaries or near-contemporaries, for whom the driving force of personal belief was the decisive factor. We cannot, of course, for lack of evidence, know the exact nature of these beliefs. They may have included either at baptism or later the acceptance of the Christian message of moral regeneration. They were probably shaped and stimulated by the beauty of liturgical worship, perceived through eye and ear, and which, if the Primary Chronicle is to be believed, softened and held captive the hearts of his envoys to Constantinople. And it is not hard to imagine that, for more than one member of the ruling class of pagan Rus', whose social preoccupations had centered hitherto on tribe, clan, or ethnic group, the universal appeal of the Christian religion came as a novel and deeply stirring experience.

I now come very briefly to my second task of the evening: to express on behalf of the speakers our common thanks. First, to the Ukrainian Research Institute of Harvard University, who invited us and treated us throughout this week with such thoughtfulness and generosity; to the principal organizers of this congress—the "Big Four" as it were—Omeljan Pritsak, Ihor Ševčenko, Miroslav Labunka, and Antonio Carile. I confess it has been a source of constant wonder to me all this week how, even with the help of Professor Carile's valiant colleagues, a congress of this size and complexity could be organized with such remarkable efficiency over a distance of some four thousand miles. To these distinguished scholars we owe the admirable conditions under which we have worked, the opportunity to renew old friendships and to make new ones, not to mention the delicious food we

have eaten in this building every day of this week. We are also deeply indebted to our local hosts, to the Comune di Ravenna and to the sindaco and vice-sindaco who made it possible for us to meet in their historic city, amid so many famous monuments bearing witness to the age-long links between Italy and Byzantium. We are grateful, too, to his Eminence the Archbishop of Ravenna for a memorable dinner worthy of the feastings of Volodimer himself.

Finally, may I, Mr. President, return for a brief moment to ourselves. It is not my function to propose a vote of thanks to the speakers, but I can say, I think, without impropriety, that I learned a great deal from our discussions, which were marked throughout by an atmosphere of mutual tolerance. They did, it is true, get a little heated once or twice, but surely there was no harm in that. My final thanks must go to those members of the audience who, day in and day out, listened to our papers and debates in total silence. I hope that none of them felt excluded from our proceedings, and I can say in all sincerity that they were quite indispensable, for without them our discussions would have lacked that essential element of wider communication and may well have become introverted. We owe a real gratitude to our silent audience, to their patience, interest, and support.

In conclusion, Mr. President, may I be allowed perhaps to echo the hope expressed earlier by Professor Ševčenko that our saintly patron, looking down on our proceedings with an indulgent eye, may perhaps have said to himself, "So far, so good."

II

OMELJAN PRITSAK

Вельмишановні учасники Конгресу!

Ми провели з Вами дуже плідний студійний тиждень, що не тільки останеться як виїмкова пам'ятка для нас, учасників, особисто, але разом з тим плоди Конгресу у виді товстого надрукованого тому, створять повноцінний, вічний вклад у світову науку.

Тому від щирого серця я дякую Вам за Вашу учась, та за Вашу відданість у дослідах епохи, якій був присвячений наш Конгрес.

Оцим Равенський Міжнародний Конґрес присвяченні Тисячоліттю Християнства Руси-України є закритий. Щиро дякую.

Dear Members of the Congress!

Together we have spent a very fruitful week of study that will remain not only as a unique experience in the memories of us, the participants, but the results of our Congress will also endure in the form of the printed proceedings, a solid volume that will establish an eternal and memorable contribution to international scholarship.

I, therefore, in my capacity as the President of this Congress, express my sincere thanks to you, the active participants of our remarkable week, for your dedication and contribution to the knowledge of the field of study to which our gathering was dedicated.

Now, the Ravenna International Congress Commemorating the Millennium of Christianity in Rus'-Ukraine is adjourned. Thank you.

Cari membri del Congresso!

Abbiamo trascorso insieme una settimana di studio molto produttiva che rimarrà nella memoria di noi partecipanti come un'esperienza unica; inoltre i risultati del nostro Congresso saranno stampati nel grosso volume degli Atti che costituirà un contributo eterno e memorabile alla Ricerca Internazionale.

In qualità di Presidente di questo Congresso io esprimo i miei più sinceri ringraziament a voi partecipanti attivi della nostra rimarchevole settimana per la vostra dedizione e il vostro contributo alla conoscenza del periodo cui il nostro Congresso è stato dedicato.

Dichiaro quindi concluso il Congresso Internazionale dedicato al Millennio della Cristianizzazione della Rus'-Ucraina e tenutosi a Ravenna. Grazie.

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